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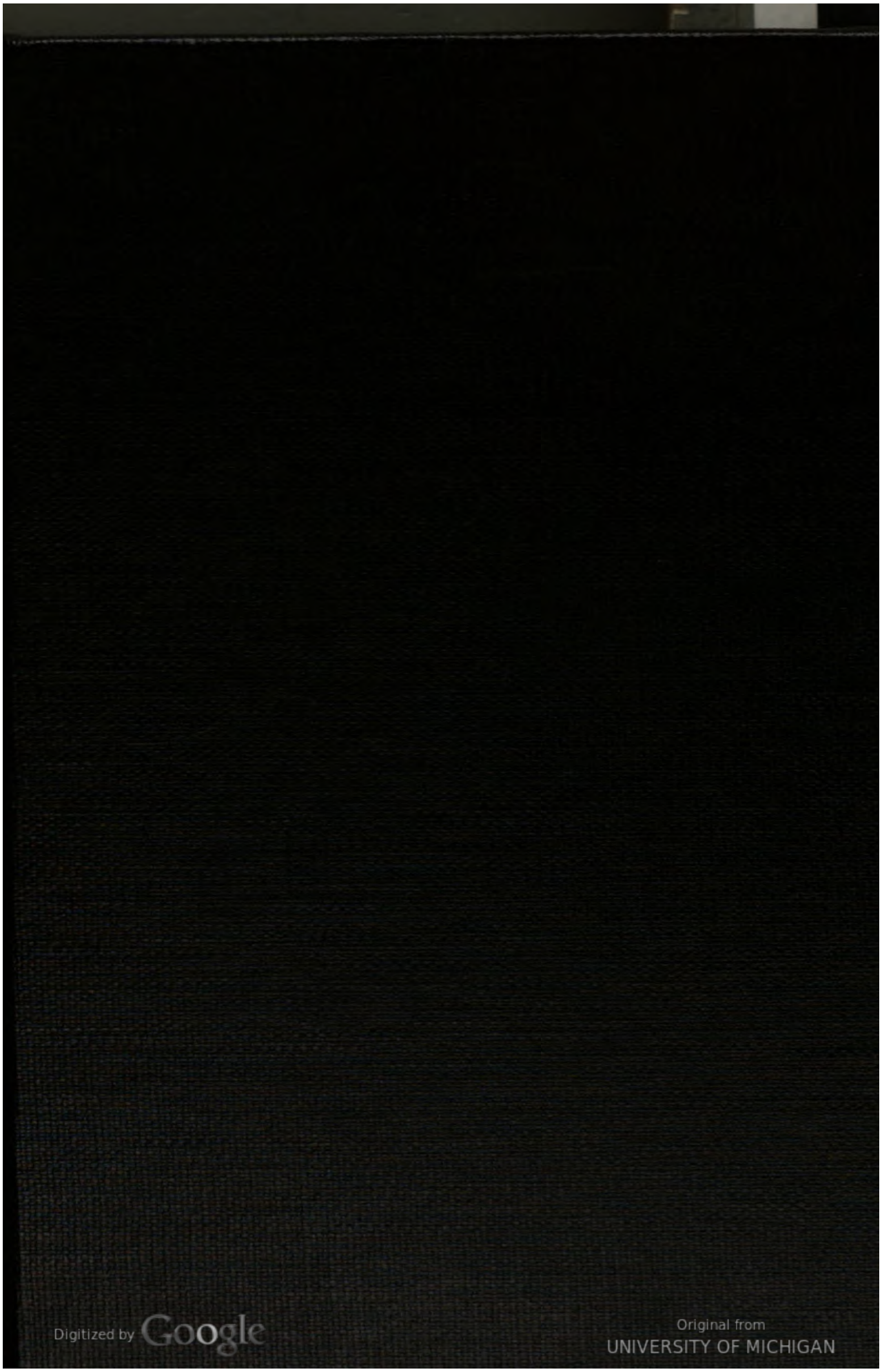
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MUSEUM NOTES

IX



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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Founded 1858 · Incorporated 1865

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH & 156TH STREETS
NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

PURPOSES: The Society was founded for the collection and preservation of coins, medals, decorations and paper money and for the investigation of their history and other subjects connected therewith

MEMBERSHIP: Applications for membership are welcomed from all interested in numismatics. Inquiries regarding membership should be addressed to the Secretary of the Society.

DUES: The annual dues for an Associate Membership are $7.50. Issues of the *Notes and Monographs*, *Museum Notes*, *Hispanic Numismatic Series*, and *Numismatic Literature* are distributed to all members.

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SOME PROBLEMS IN THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY COINAGE OF ATHENS*

(See Plates I–II)

It is a surprising fact that superficially the coinage of Athens, for the greater part of its course, is extremely dull. In the short initial period it has variety, interest and sometimes great beauty, and in the last period, technical achievement and the fascination of the jigsaw puzzle of changing magistrates and symbols which must be fitted one into the other to give a chronological sequence. But in the long period between, including the time of her greatest achievement in the Vth century—those seventy years following the Persian Wars,—the coinage, in striking contrast to other manifestations of the Athenian genius, soon becomes uniform to the point of monotony—an uninspired repetition of the old formulas, and often carelessly executed at that. It isn't altogether easy to see why this should have come about. No doubt it was partly due to cautious conservatism—to a subconscious fear that any change in the currency might make it less acceptable in world markets. But Corinth, whose coinage, though to a lesser degree, was also an international one, had something of the same problem to face, and solved it with a fine coinage, combining uniformity of types with variety in execution. It is true the Athenian coinage had a wider circulation, far beyond the limits of the Greek world, and deep into the Persian Empire, into Egypt and the Levant, and that there the development of Greek art had, so far, roused little interest and had hardly affected local styles. In this connexion I show you some local coinages of Syria and Palestine, principally Gaza, of the late Vth and early IVth centuries (Plate I, 1–4), and you can see how far they fall behind the average Greek coinages of the time in this respect. It is interesting to note a similar phenomenon at the other fringe of the Greek world, in Etruria, where the coins seem to pass, in style, straight from the archaic period into the

* An address delivered at the Fall Meeting of the American Numismatic Society, 1958.

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IVth century. On these Syrian coins you still see the full-face eye and the old fashioned formal treatment, and how well they go with the Athenian tetradrachm (PLATE I, 5). But the current explanation of the arrested development, the artistic poverty, of these later Vth century Athenian coinages, I mean the fear that any change might interfere with their circulation in these areas, does not seem quite adequate. After all, Athenian coins were struck primarily for use by Athenian citizens, and, in fact, when Athenian coinage was resumed early in the IVth century, after the gap made by the War, the style is no longer archaic, though just as poverty-stricken.

I cannot help feeling that there may be some factor involved which still escapes us, perhaps a psychological one,—perhaps linked in some way with that other curious fact about the Athenian coinage, that throughout the Vth and IVth centuries, and indeed practically down to the introduction of the New Style coinage, there were no symbols or mint marks of any kind to bring responsibility for its quality, or appearance, home to anyone. It is surely significant that the New Style coinage goes so far to the opposite extreme that not only the names of those involved in it, but even the months of issue are recorded; and that, unlike its predecessor, it is as fine and well struck as any other coinage of the time. However that may be, to the average Vth century Athenian the appearance of his coinage remained something of a blindspot if we may judge by the complacent words of Aristophanes in the Frogs. He calls it, you will remember, not only the most popular of all coinages, but the finest and the best struck into the bargain. This is a passage which we shall examine later in detail, so I won't linger on it now. It is only when we can look at this Athenian coinage against its historical background that it begins to grip our attention.

I need not remind you of the historical importance of the second half of the Vth century, culminating in the war between Athens and Sparta. The war itself was not only a long one, full of dramatic reversals of fortune, with the issue in doubt up till the last; but the whole period is one of the watersheds of history, decisive for the evolution of the ancient, and so of our modern world. Fortunately it is very fully documented, not only by contemporary historians, but in addition, and especially important from the numismatic point

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of view, through the many surviving official records. Last, and not least, we have Aristophanes with his commentators, and fragments of the other Comic Poets, who now and then give us just those details of the daily scene which contemporary historians are so apt to omit, either because they take them for granted, or because they think them not worth recording. Viewed in this light the hackneyed Athenian coinage, which at first seems only of importance from its mere existence and abundance, takes on a new interest.

I said its abundance, but indeed it was never abundant enough in itself to supply the needs of the Empire as well as of the Metropolis. This becomes clear from the way in which the currency decree, passed in mid-century, failed of its purpose. This remarkable measure, for the date of which I think we must accept the epigraphical arguments of Segré, Meritt and Wade-Gery, supported as they are by the numismatic evidence,[1] had for its aim the establishment of a uniform silver currency within the Empire. (Only silver was in question; the electrum coinages of the Asiatic cities were left alone.) It seems to have been launched without realization of all that such a measure would entail. Uniformity was to have been achieved by a twofold operation: on the one hand all local mints striking their own silver coins within the Empire were to be closed as soon as possible; on the other, all non-Athenian silver circulating in public or private hands, was to be called in, and recoined into Athenian money. The measure as a whole never came near permanent success, and, in particular, the vast operation of recoinage never got under way, as is indicated by the hoard evidence from Olynthos and elsewhere, scanty though it is. A main factor in the failure of this part of the scheme must have been the impossibility of preventing the export of coins to places outside the controlled area. As the hoards show,[2] there was a constant outflow of tetradrachms into the Persian Empire, and this must have produced the same kind of problem as did the drain of gold to the East under the later Roman Empire.

The closing of the local mints was a simpler matter, and made

[1] See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor; *Athenian Tribute Lists* II, 61 ff.; Segré; *Clara Rhodes* IX (1938), 151 ff.; for the numismatic evidence *Hesperia Suppl.* VIII (1949), 324 ff. For a later dating see Cavaignac, *RN* 1953, 1–7.

[2] E.g. the coins from Al-Mina. *NC* 1937, 182 ff., the Karaman hoard, *NC* 1948, 48.

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considerable headway, though naturally its effectiveness varied with the distance of the individual mints from Athens. Among the islands of the Aegean and along its eastern coast, with significant exceptions at Melos, and for a short time at Kos,[3] there is no coinage at all from mid V[th] century till 412. Then the revolts which followed on the Athenian disaster before Syracuse brought about its resumption on a considerable scale among the rebels. How well established the use of Athenian currency had become meanwhile in this area, is shown by the fact that when, in 412, the Spartans were in negotiation with the Persian satrap, Tissaphernes, for subsidies to send a fleet against the Athenian dependencies in Asia, they stipulated that payment should be reckoned in Athenian money.[4]

We get an interesting side light on this transaction from a unique piece (PLATE I, 7) in a recent hoard unearthed near Karaman in S. E. Anatolia.[5] The hoard otherwise consisted of Athenian tetradrachms of the period we are discussing, many bearing an Aramaic countermark (PLATE I, 6). It is of Attic weight and its reverse, as you will see, is practically indistinguishable from that of an Athenian tetradrachm, with owl, olive spray and even inscription, which at first sight looks like the usual AΘE but it is really the three initial letters of the King's title, BAΣ. On the obverse the head of Athena is replaced by a magnificent portrait of a Persian satrap in national dress, almost certainly Tissaphernes himself, who had not only been in charge of the negotiations but was also governor, for the Persian King, of the area involved. This is one of the earliest, and incidentally one of the finest, portraits on any coin. To complete the record I have added another tetradrachm of Tissaphernes (PLATE I, 8), struck some fifteen years or so later in the same part of the world.[6] Again it is an extremely fine portrait, though without the grandeur and stark force of the other. But its interest to our present inquiry is that the standard is no longer Athenian but Rhodian. With the rise of the new city of Rhodes the Rhodian coin standard spread rapidly,

[3] Melos was independent, Kos recalcitrant, as is implied by the copy of the currency decree found there, and cut in Attic script on Pentelic marble, see *Hesperia* ibid. 337.
[4] Thucydides VIII, 29, cp. VIII, 5.
[5] *NC* 1948, loc. cit.
[6] Ibid. 49, 55.

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and in a very few years after the collapse of the Athenian Empire, had replaced the Athenian all along the coasts of Asia Minor.

In the Northern Aegean the stoppage of local coinage was neither so complete nor so prolonged as in the centre and South East. There seems to have been a pretty general break about mid-century; but at some mints, the coinage, after this break, seems to have begun again in the thirties.[7] We may guess that the partial failure of the measure was due as much to its inherent difficulties as to the deterioration of the political situation, which set in from c. 440 onwards, internally and externally. You will remember how at that time the revolt of one of her allies, Samos, shook Athenian power to its foundations; and, though the damage was temporarily repaired, a train of events was soon under way which led to the long war with Sparta and the final collapse. Thus the currency position never had a real chance to settle down; and Athens seems to have pursued from the thirties onwards, a hand-to-mouth policy, tolerating pretty freely local coinages when and where it might be convenient for administrative or military purposes, for instance at Ainos, Thasos or Akanthos, but allowing no general resumption among the subject allies. A reference in Aristophanes' comedy, the *Birds*,[8] suggests that twenty-five years later, in 414, an attempt may have been made to enforce the decree again. In that year, the system of collecting tribute from the subject cities had been abandoned in favour of a general tax on exports and imports, and the advantages of a uniform currency for this, are obvious. If so it was again brought to nothing, and for the same reason—the rapid deterioration of the political and military situation. In the following year Sparta had resumed active hostilities, and Athens had failed disastrously in the attempt to conquer Sicily.

Before we go into this second part of the Peloponnesian War, and its emergency currencies, I want to reconsider and amplify an old suggestion of Svoronos that there had been an earlier currency of

[7] *Hesperia* ibid. 337.

[8] Aristophanes, *Birds* 1040. The context almost requires that the decree should have been recently re-enacted, for the speaker describes himself as a 'decree-vendor' who has come to sell new laws to the inhabitants of CloudCuckooland, and gives as a sample of his wares, a spoof decree laying down the weights, measures and by a sudden punning substitution of Ψηφίσμασιν for νομίσμασιν, the laws they are to use.

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bronze, which has not been generally recognized. It is true that the commentator on the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, in a note which we must come back to,[9] says that bronze coins were struck when Kallias was archon, that is in 406/5; he does not say "first struck" though this is usually taken to be his meaning, and actually he is speaking of the plated issues to which we shall come later. On the other hand, Athenaios, in his Table Talk,[10] has an anecdote about a certain Dionysios, which should perhaps be brought into this connexion. Dionysios had been one of the leaders of the mid-century Athenian settlement at Thurioi in S. Italy, and so would be familiar with an area in which some of the earliest bronze coins were produced. Athenaios tells us that he was nicknamed "Chalkus"—Dionysios "the Copper"—because he advised the Athenians to introduce a copper currency; no doubt he got the idea from the West. Whether his advice was taken we are not told, but in the late twenties, when he would have been between fifty to sixty and a man of influence, the Comic poets begin to speak of a tiny fractional coin which they call a kollybos. The best instance is in Aristophanes' *Peace*,[11] where he makes one of his characters, an ironmonger, recounting the blessings of peace, say "Before peace was signed no one would buy a reaping hook even for a kollybos, but now I'm selling them for 50 drachms apiece." The grammarians describe the kollybos as a tiny coin, or weight, without specifying the metal; and they record the further forms dikollybon and trikollybon, built up on the analogy of the diobol and tribol. The verb κολλυβίζειν means in general to cut into small pieces, but it has the special meaning to give small change. κολλυβίστης is slang for money-changer.[12] It is clear that there must have existed a small coin of trifling value called a 'kollybos,' a kind of 'widow's mite,' with its double and treble. T. Reinach, one of the first to discuss it, believed it to be the smallest of the silver coins struck in the IVth century, as an $\frac{1}{8}$ of an obol;[13] but this is not early enough for the references of the Comic Poets in the late twenties of the Vth century and any-

[9] See p. 11.
[10] Athenaios XV, 669D.
[11] *Peace* 1198, cp. Eupolis, frag. 233 (Kock).
[12] For an exhaustive discussion of the meaning of κόλλυβος and other words of the same family with references, see Tod, *NC* 1945, 108ff.
[13] *RN* XXXI, 145ff.

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how, as I hope to show you, it is possible to prove that the kollybos must have been a bronze coin, not a silver one. Svoronos, though he did not, I think, realize this, identified the kollybos with a class of minute bronzes such as you see on PLATE II, 9–17. These are always found in Attica (there are some from the Agora), and bear a large number of miscellaneous types, or sometimes single letters, but never an ethnic, or anything to show who made them, or what they were made for. They are traditionally described as tesserae or tickets, in the idea that they were used for admission to the Law Courts and other public functions. Some of them may have been—but, as a whole, they are quite different from other Athenian tesscrae, and I think Svoronos must be on the right track, though the final proof depends on the identification of some later bronze coins struck after the war, which we must discuss in their proper place. There are between six and seven hundred varieties and the diversity of the numerous types recalls, though on a much larger scale, the first archaic Athenian issues, the armorial coins. The explanation may be the same in both cases: that the types are personal and not civic. At first the kollyboi may have been used primarily by money changers as make-weights in exchange transactions, and even perhaps made by them. But, whatever their original purpose, I suggest that with the spread of inflation and the growing shortage of small coin which a state of war always seems to bring about, these tiny bronzes were multiplied more and more towards the end of the war; that they were taken into circulation to help out the scarcity of small change; and that they passed for some small fraction of the obol.[14] If so their position would have been not unlike that of the 17th and

[14] The subject is so complex that in the time available my statement of it was necessarily over-simplified. I owe to Professor Homer Thompson a list of the twenty-two pieces from the Agora. They were each found separately, in association with objects ranging in date from the early 4th century B.C. to the 12th century A.D., which merely means that they are so small that they can stray a long way from their proper contexts; and, as he writes, "even if the contexts don't afford positive support for a date as early as the late 5th century neither do they present any serious obstacle to such a dating." But the types are so numerous and varied that I would not suggest that their manufacture ceased altogether with the resumption of normal silver coinage in 394, only that they ceased to be employed as currency (employment perhaps never official, though widespread), and reverted to their original use.

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18th century tokens used in England when the government could not, or would not, provide the necessary small currency.

It is time to return to the main course of the war, but remember that the chief argument for this explanation of the kollybos is bound up with a later coinage and is still to come.

When the news of the Athenian disaster before Syracuse broke, in 413, the situation became desperate. The subject allies revolted one after another, and Sparta, who had recently established a strong point in the heart of Attica, was using it to harry the countryside. This is specially important for our subject in that it interrupted the working of the silver mines in two ways: first by threatening their land-communications with the capital, and secondly by offering asylum to runaway slaves; and slaves provided the man power for the mines. The Athenian economy was shattered. It had rested on two main foundations: the dues paid by the subject allies, and the silver produced by the mines at Laureion. Now the dues were largely being withheld by rebels, while supplies of silver were beginning to run dry owing to Spartan activities. For the next six years the output of new money must have been negligible; and it is, significantly, just in these years that the direct imitation of Athenian tetradrachms begins in the Levant; the supply of genuine ones was beginning to dry up. Athens threw everything into the struggle, her war reserve, even her constitution. The reserve, a treasure laid up for just such a last ditch occasion as this, consisted of 1000 talents. It would be, most probably, already in the form of money, 1½ million tetradrachms; so no new coinage was called for. With its help Athens made a notable recovery, and at one time could have had a not unfavourable peace. But she was out for all or nothing, and missed her chance. Then came another crushing defeat at sea. It again became necessary to equip a new fleet, and now there was no last ditch reserve. The silver mines were practically out of production, and without command of the sea it was not possible to raise the usual dues from the subject allies. In the summer of 406 the decision was taken to issue a new coinage of a revolutionary kind. It was to consist of two sorts of coin. The bulk of it was to be provided by copper coins plated with silver, of the same types as the existing tetradrachms and drachms of pure silver, and intended to pass at the same value.

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These plated coins were to be accompanied, we might say backed, by a limited issue of pure gold coins. Though gold coinage had long been used in Asia, its occurrence is practically unknown in Greece before the IVth century. There it had always been a sign of emergency, and meant that the state had found it necessary to raid the temple treasures. It is interesting to note that on the other side of the fence, Sparta's ally Corinth was reduced to similar straits, and produced a brief gold coinage about the same time, though without the plated silver to go with it.[15]

The new Athenian issue of pure gold and base silver, though far from popular as we shall see, succeeded in its initial purpose. It sufficed to equip and dispatch a new fleet, which regained command of the sea for Athens. But the fruits of victory were never gathered and in the next year Athens lost the last battle of the war. Fighting was soon over and her collapse complete. This is the setting in which we must see this new coinage and its successors. It is a surprising innovation economically in that it combines a value coinage with one consisting of mere tokens, both of them apparently legal tender to an unlimited extent, and intended to exchange with each other, and also with the old silver still in circulation, which there was no attempt to withdraw. A true bimetallic currency would already be familiar to Greeks who had lived or travelled in the Persian Empire, which had its peculiar currency of gold darics and silver shekels circulating side by side, each with its own intrinsic value, but so adjusted to each other that twenty shekels always made a daric. The Athenian issue represented a further development, in that it introduced a fiduciary element. It was also complicated by the fact that the plated silver circulated side by side with the old silver, and at the same rate; that is, greatly above its intrinsic value.

Here is the gold issue (PLATE I). First the staters (nos. 9–12), of which only four are known.[16] The types are the conventional Athenian ones but the distinctive mark is the little spray of olive below on the right, which appears in this place on no other Athenian coins in this

[15] *Traité* II, 3, 439, Pl. CCXIV, 21–23. Babelon dates these considerably later.
[16] In the British Museum, Gulbenkian (ex Jameson), and Dewing Colls., and an unknown private collection. I am indebted to Mr. Dewing for communicating his specimen.

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or any other metal. Next come the other denominations after the didrachm or stater (PLATE II): the drachm (no. 1); triobol or quarter-stater with owl's body facing, like the triobols in silver (no. 2); diobol or sixth with two owls (no. 3); and the obol with one (no. 4): note how all except the triobol have the spray of olive, and how pieces which might be confused are differentiated by their types. It appears from an inscription that the hemiobol or twenty-fourth stater was also struck,[17] but no hemiobols have survived. These perfectly sound gold coins were accompanied by a flood of plated silver pieces, examples of which you see on PLATE II, 6–8 (no. 5 is an old tetradrachm of good silver for comparison). Only tetradrachms and drachms were struck, there are no small pieces, and they seem to have been issued in very large quantities; an enormous hoard of both denominations was unearthed some fifty years ago in the Peiraius.

In what relation did they and the gold coins stand to each other? Athens previously had had no official rate of exchange for gold and silver, unlike Persia, where it stood at $13\frac{1}{3} : 1$. Inscriptions show that recently the rate had been ten or sometimes perhaps eleven, to 1.[18] It looks as if a ratio of 12:1 was now adopted. Only on this basis can every denomination be given an exact equivalent in the standard silver coinage. At 12: 1; the gold stater would be worth six tetradrachms and the gold drachm three; the gold triobol would be worth six silver drachmai; the diobol one tetradrachm; the obol two drachmai; and the hemiobol one. The gold was perhaps a little overvalued in terms of silver.

How did this new currency strike the man in the street? We get more than a hint of this from the passage in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes,[19] produced in the winter following, which I have already referred to. The Chorus is girding at the politicians of the day, and drawing parallels between them and the coinage. I give you a paraphrase. "I often think" Aristophanes makes them say "that our reaction to honest, upright public men today is like our reaction to the good old silver coinage and the new gold. There's nothing the matter with them, they're not fraudulent—they're the finest of all coins, well

[17] I G II², 1414, 6, where it was set in a gold mount.
[18] Cp. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena* 19–20 and 872, n. 2.
[19] *Frogs*, 721 ff.

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struck and ringing true, but we never use them; all we use are these base coppers struck the other day and very vilely struck too. In just the same way we turn down the men we know—men of decent birth, moderate and fair-minded, gentlemen and men of liberal education, and we use for all our business these men of brass—aliens, redheads, base-hearted, base-born upstarts." One thing anyhow is clear from this volley of abuse. As anyone familiar with Gresham's law might expect, the bad money, in this case the plated pieces, was already driving out the good, that is the old silver tetradrachms and the new gold. All the abuse poured over the heads of the politicians applies equally to the plated coins. They are just struck, brassy, from base metal, imported from abroad, not good native silver from Laureion; and what is especially significant they are 'redheads.' At first this is a puzzling epithet, but it really clinches the comparison and shows what Aristophanes is referring to. The thin silver envelope of a plated coin soon begins to wear through with constant circulation. The first place to go is the area of highest relief, above the temple. As it wears away the natural colour of the copper begins to show through, so that 'redhead' can be an accurate description of a rubbed plated coin as well as a jibe at a politician. I can't help feeling that Aristophanes had some particular *bête noir* of his in mind, who was probably sitting in the audience. Anyhow we get a lively picture of what was happening to the currency, going from bad to worse till the final collapse came next year. The older coins of good silver, and the new ones of good gold were alike disappearing into hoards and stockings, or the equivalent, and all that was left in circulation was the base plated coinage. If, as I have suggested, small change was also being provided unofficially by the innumerable little kollyboi, the position would be even worse.

Aristophanes' scholiast gives us a good deal of learned and sometimes misleading comment on the passage. In the first place he tells us that the gold was struck in 407/6 and the coppers (i. e. the plated coins) in the following year, without apparently connecting the two issues; and these successive dates have been generally accepted. But Ferguson[20] has given excellent reason for believing that these differences are due to a misunderstanding of the exact time at which

[20] Op. cit. 86ff.

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certain officials took up their yearly office. It is only reasonable to assume that the gold and plated silver are complementary to each other, and indeed Aristophanes makes this pretty clear. Specially interesting is another of the commentator's notes to the effect that the gold was provided from the golden Nikai. These were a set of gold statues of Victory of which we have epigraphical record,[21] dedicated in pairs over the previous twenty-five years or so, always with the possibility that they might be used in emergency. They were not simply cast of solid gold, but consisted of a core, a kind of framework to which the gold was attached in plates, which could be detached, and checked for weight, at regular intervals. The weight of gold aimed at for each statue seems to have been two talents. One statue is still recorded as intact in the early IVth century inventories after the war, and may have been specially preserved to show what the rest were like. The frames, only, of seven others are recorded in another inventory of the period so that it is almost certain that there had been not less than eight, of which seven were melted down. This would provide fourteen talents of gold; about 940 lbs. avoirdupois; or 84,000 drachmae by weight. If, as is possible, some other gold offerings were taken as well, then the total must be increased. Put it roughly at 100,000 drachms by weight. We know of twenty-six gold coins in all, of all denominations, including four staters, and these weigh altogether twenty-five drachmai, so that the survival rate of the gold in its original form is something like one part in 4000.

How long the coining of gold continued is uncertain, perhaps till the end of the war in 404. When it ceased, the dies used for the staters were laid up in the Treasury of Athena, as is shown by an inventory of 398/7.[22] The entry runs—"One wooden rack containing the strikers and the little anvils with which they struck the gold staters." That is the punch and anvil dies. In later inventories[23] the

[21] E.g. IG I^2, 368. The Nikai are exhaustively discussed by Dorothy B. Thompson in *Hesperia* 1944, 173ff.
[22] IG II^2, 1408, 11.
[23] Cp. *Hesperia* VII (1948), 211ff.; I G II^2, 1424a, 117–20; cp. 1471, 557. The χαρακτῆρες recorded in the Chalkotheke: 1424a, l. 280 (five) and 1425, l. 374 (eight) must belong to another context.

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wooden rack has disappeared, but they give us the actual numbers of the dies, and the interesting information that they were made of iron, and not, as commonly, of bronze. There were four anvil dies and twenty-two punch dies; and two hammers were preserved with them. Two of these obverse dies and three of the reverse dies were used in the striking of the four staters which have survived.

There is an interesting postscript to be added to the account of this war emergency issue. Athens had narrowly escaped complete destruction and for a year or two she was brought very low. Then the democratic constitution was restored, and her fortunes began to mend. At the end of ten years, partly by her own efforts, partly with Persian aid, she had recovered something of her former importance. Meanwhile she had been in no position to resume her old silver coinage; and the currency must still have consisted of the dregs of what had been in circulation before,—plated silver and, I suggest, the tiny bronze pieces already discussed, to which we shall find another reference in Aristophanes just in this post-war period. To these, however there is an addition to be made of a most interesting nature, not I think, hitherto recognized. This is an issue of obols and diobols in bronze instead of silver. They are real tokens, bronze for silver, with no trace of plating, but with marks of value: two pellets for the diobol and one for the obol (PLATE II, 18–19). No doubt the idea of the marks of value was borrowed from Sicily.[24] The Athena heads, particularly that on the diobol, are of fine style, of the period round about 400, and the inscription, unlike that on any previous or subsequent Athenian coins until Roman times, is spelt with an H and not E. It was in 403, the year after the war, that the reformed alphabet, with special signs for the long vowels, was introduced officially. But when, ten years later, silver coinage was resumed on the old pattern, so strong was the pull of conservatism that the older form of lettering, AΘE with epsilon, was reintroduced, along with the old types. We thus get a maximum period of ten years in which these interesting little pieces with the eta could have been struck. They are very scarce (I was delighted to find one in the ANS collection) but there are two references to them in Aristophanes. The

[24] Svoronos *Monnaies d'Athénes*, Pl. 22, 93–8, figures them under Lachares.

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first reference is in the *Ekklesiazusai*[25] the Parliament of Women, first produced in the spring of 392. As you will see the return to a currency of true silver has just been made. Two old gentlemen are talking about various ill-considered measures recently passed in the Assembly. "Do you remember that decree about the Salt Tax?" says one. "I do" replies the other "and what about the time we voted to strike those copper coins?" "Yes indeed" says the first, "and that was an unlucky strike for me! I had just sold some grapes, and I'd gone off to market with a jawful of coppers" (small change was regularly carried in the mouth) "to buy some flour. I was just holding out my shopping bag when the Town Crier bawled out 'No one is to accept copper coin henceforward; we're back again on the silver standard.'" The old man has usually been taken as speaking of the plated coins, but the context shows that this cannot be so. One does not do the household shopping with tetradrachms, or even drachms, nor carry them in one's mouth. He can only mean small bronze coins and pretty small ones at that—in fact our token diobols and obols and, maybe, kollyboi. This is the world of Aristophanes and we need not suppose that the change was made quite so suddenly, or so completely without notice; but people who were left with stocks of coppers must have lost heavily, as we can gather from another fragment preserved from a lost play of Aristophanes,[26] produced a year or two later. Again they are talking about the return to the silver standard, and someone says "All that was left in my jaw (that is his purse) was a two-obol piece, and hey presto, it turned into a two-kollybos." This is like saying his dime turned into a cent and, I suggest, clinches both the identifications I have proposed. His two-obol piece must have been bronze as well as his two-kollybos; and the diobol turned dikollybon can only be one of these bronze pieces marked with two pellets, and struck to pass for a diobol, but now cried down to its metal value. If the dikollybon is bronze, so, still more, must be the kollybos, and this passage is the final proof of it.

After such experiences we may guess that, as Aristophanes might have said, the Athenians had had a bellyful of copper coinage.

[25] *Ekklesiazusai* 814.
[26] *Aiolosikon* quoted by Pollux, IX, 63 (with Bergk's emendation).

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Anyhow for the next half century, all official small change, down to the tiniest fractions, was made of silver; and had, so far, its own intrinsic value.

E. S. G. ROBINSON

SOURCES OF COINS ILLUSTRATED ON PLATES I–II.

Pl. I. 1–8. British Museum. 9. formerly Jameson Coll. 10. Dewing Coll. 11. BM. 12. Market 1948.

Pl. II. 1. Paris. 2. BM. 3. Paris. 4. ANS. 5–8. BM and ANS. 9–17. Athens. 18–19. BM.

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AN EARLY PTOLEMAIC HOARD FROM PHACOUS

(See Plates III–V)

The hoard with which this account is concerned was discovered in 1956; from the information available the find-spot was at or near Phacous in the Nile delta not far from Zagazig. The coins had apparently been buried in two jars of glazed earthenware. The first jar contained tetradrachms of Alexander the Great together with those of the type 'Alexander head in elephant-skin/Athena Alkidemos': the second jar held coins of the type 'Ptolemy Soter head / Eagle,' mainly tetradrachms but including a few octodrachms. In confirmation of this, I am informed that some of the pieces were stuck to broken fragments of the jars, and that in other cases groups of coins were stuck together, but that the 'Soter' type coins from the second jar were never found stuck to coins from the types in the first jar. The coins were evidently soon dispersed on the market. The size of the total hoard was estimated by those competent to judge at a possible 1,200 pieces from each of the two jars, which would make a grand total of something like 2,400. The details which it is possible to give here are of a portion only of this total, comprising some 513 coins from the first jar and 363 from the second. However, there seems no reason to think that the portion known is not representative of the whole.

It is of course virtually impossible to decide whether the two jars were finally interred at the same time, or as the contents would rather suggest, twenty years apart. A hoard from Byblos (Noe 175) gives some sort of analogy for the two jars containing different sorts of currency: and one suspects that perhaps the Khan-el-Abde hoard published by Seyrig in *NNM* 119 may have been of a similar character. In the present instance it seems necessary, for practical purposes, to regard each of the jars from Phacous as a separate entity.

In the list which follows the coins are described with reference to the following publications:

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D — E. T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards—II. Demanhur hoard* (*NNM* 19), New York (1923).

N — E. T. Newell, *Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, New Haven (1916).

M — L. Muller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, Copenhague (1860–74).

BT — M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, "A Hoard of Alexander Drachms," *Yale Classical Studies* XIV (1955), 3–45.

S — J. N. Svoronos, *Ta Nomismata tou Kratous ton Ptolemaion*, Athens (1904–08).

It hardly seemed necessary to give the inscription for all the coins of Alexander type: it is always ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (with or without ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ) except where it is expressly stated to be ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

LIST OF THE COINS

AMPHIPOLIS c. 336–318 B.C.

In field	*Below throne*	*Ref.*	*No. of specimens*
Janiform head		D 91	2
Rudder		D 159	2
Grapes		D 198	1
Wreath		D 229	1
Kantharos		D 254	1
Ivy leaf		D 266	1
Eagle's head		D 373	1
Club		D 422	2
Club		D 455	5
Dolphin		D 509	1
Aphlaston		D 514	4
Ε		D 536	4
Crescent		D 579	1
Caduceus		D 614	1
Herm		D 716	10
Cock		D 792	3
Cornucopiae		D 909	2
Bow and quiver		D 1014	1
Cornucopiae		D 1043	2
Pallas		D 1100	3
Macedonian helmet		D 1251	2

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In field	*Below throne*	*Ref.*	*No. of specimens*	
Phrygian cap		D 1344	4	
		D 1512	2	
Barley ear		D 1541	2	
Crescent		D 1551	1	
Laurel sprig		D 1563	1	
Laurel sprig		D 1564	1	
				after c. 318 B.C.
Dolphin		M 542	1	
Shield		M 558	2	
Aphlaston		M 280	1	
Branch		M 560	2	
Λ, Torch		M 37	1	
Λ, Torch		M 69	1	
PELLA				c. 336–318 B.C.
Bee on rose		D 1586	1	
		D 1591	1	
	Θ	D 1601	4	
	Bucranium	D 1631	1	
Bee	A	D 1632	1	
Bee (? cicada)	A			
	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ	D 1637 (?)	1	
				after 318 B.C.
Boeotian shield		M 751	1 (PLATE III, 1)	
Thyrsus	Boeotian shield	M 756	1	
LYTTOS				after 318 B.C.
Boar's head		M 900	3	
PROPONTIS (? LAMPSAKOS)				before 318 B.C.
Demeter with torches		D 1702	1	
SARDES				c. 320–306 B.C.
Torch	TI	(320) M 90, BT 12	2	
Star		(309–6) M 164, BT 15	2	(PLATE III, 4)
	A	(309–6) M 1642, BT 17	1	

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MILETOS — before 318 B.C.

In field	*Below throne*	*Ref.*	*No. of specimens*
		D 1775	6
		D 1798	3
		D 1813	1

LYCIA-PAMPHYLIA (Phaselis or Side) — before 318 B.C.

Wreath	ΔI	D 1819	16
ΔI		D 1929	2
ΦI	BΣ	D 1952	2
ΦI	ΛΣ	D 1969	1

TARSOS — c. 333–318 B.C.

In field	*Below throne*	*Behind Zeus*	*Ref.*	*No. of specimens*
	B		D 2096	1
Plough	•	•	D 2232	2
Plough	Θ	•	D 2265	2
Nike		Θ	D 2370	2
Nike, caduceus	Θ		D 2400	2
Nike, caduceus, Θ			D 2425	4
				after 318 B.C.
			M –	1
ΣΩ			M 1467	1

CYPRUS (SALAMIS) — before 318 B.C.

In field	*Below throne*		*Ref.*	*No. of specimens*
Bow			D 2445	2
Rudder		ΦIΛIΠΠOY	D 2544	1

CYPRUS (KITION)

		D 2619	10

CYPRUS (AMATHOS)

Prow		D 2684	1

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MYRIANDROS — c. 330–319 B.C.

In field	*Below throne*		*Ref.*	*No. of specimens*
BA/	M		D 2796	5
⋖	M		D 2770	5
M	A	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ	D 2896 var	1

DAMASCUS — c. 332–319 B.C.

Ram	ΔA	D 2919	3
Ram	Δ.A	D 2976	5
Ram	Δ:A	D 3051	5
Ram	Δ^A	D 3247	2
Ram	ΔA	D 3250	2

ARADUS — c. 330–319 B.C.

Σ	A	D 3334	5
ΣΩ	A	D 3405	1
I	A	D 3439	1
Caduceus	A	D 3467	6

(*WSM* p. 192) — c. 319–316 B.C.

Grapes Σ	I	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ	M 56	1
Star	I		M –	1
T	I		M 108	2
⋇	I		M –	1
T	I		cf. M. 110	1

MARATHUS (v. *WSM* p. 194)

Ω	R	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ	M 113	3
⋈	R	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ	M –	1

BYBLOS

R		D 3264	14

PHOENICIA (Uncertain Mint)

Athena	Φ	D 3654	1

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SIDON

Year	*Year* B.C.	*Ref.*	
9	325–4	N 26	2
12	322–1	N 36	2
13	321–0	N 39	2
18	316–5	N 50	3
1	309–8	N 65	1
4	306–5	N 70	1

AKE-PTOLEMAIS

—	c. 327	N 10	1
22	326–5	N 16	2
23	325–4	N 18	3
24	324–3	N 20	2
26	322–1	N 24	1
27	321–0	N 28	2
28	320–19	N 29	4
29	319–18	N 31	5
30	318–17	N 33	4
31	317–16	N 34	4
32	316–15	N 35	3
33	315–14	N 37	2
35	313–12	N 40	3
38	310–09	N 44	3
39	309–08	N 46	3
9	308–07	N 48	2
10	307–06	N 50	2 (PLATE III, 5)

BABYLON — c. 331–320 B.C.

Kylix	𐤌 M	D 4163	3
Sickle (?)	,,	D 4182	1
Serpent	,,	D 4231	1
Artemis	,,	D 4274	2
—	,,	D 4325	1
Trident M	𐤌	D 4421	2
Nike ,,	,,	D 4432	1
Star ,,	,,	cf. D 4458	1
Caduceus ,,	,,	D 4461	1
Nike ,,	,,	D 4465	1
— ,,	,,	D 4467	2
Bee ,,	,,	D 4410	1
M	ΛY	D 4479	15

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Year		*Year* B.C.		*Ref.*	c. 320–317 B.C.
M		ΛΥ	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ	D 4526	14
M		[illegible]		D 4595	2
M		B		D 4601	3
Wheel	N	[illegible]		D 4602	2
Wheel	—	,,		D 4606	4
Wheel	[illegible]	[illegible]		D 4609 var	1
Wheel	A	[illegible]		M 26	1
Helios head		KY		M 117	6 (PLATE III, 2)

				c. 316–306 B.C.
[illegible]		MI	M 734	40 (PLATE III, 3)
MI		[illegible]	M 735	9
X		,,	M 728	3
[illegible]		H	M 714	15
,,		[illegible]	M 715	1
Bee	MI	[illegible]	M 745	1
Club	,,	,,	M 739	2
Trident	,,	,,	M 737	2
Corn ear	,,	,,	M 746	1
—	—	,,	cf. M 1412	2

SUSA			c. 318–316 B.C.
	ΛΑ, [illegible]	cf. M 831	1
	ΛΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ	M 85	1

UNCERTAIN MINTS			without ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	
ΔΕ	[illegible]	(Macedonia ?)		1 (PLATE III, 6)
Trident				1
Torch	[illegible]	(Amphipolis ?)		1
A	B			1 (PLATE III, 7)
ΣΙ		(Macedonia ?)	M 1397	1
[illegible]	[illegible]			1
Lagobolon	K	(Peloponnese ?)	M 237	1
[illegible]				1
[illegible] (Trident ?)				1
B	OI			1
[illegible]				1

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Year	*Year* B.C.	*Ref.*	with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
M	(Βασιλεως below retrograde)		1
Δ	A		1
Laurel wreath	Γ		1
⋔	M		1
M			1
⋔	(Babylon?)		1
⋔			1

			with ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
Δ	I Ω	cf. M 134	1
	ΛΔ	M —	1

ALEXANDRIA — c. 325–318 B.C.

Herakles head in lion skin/Seated Zeus

Rose	ΔIo	D 4614	9
Khnum	Δ	D 4748	6
Thunderbolt	ΔI	D 4781	3
—	OP	D —	1 (PLATE IV, 1)
Pegasos	Π	D 4822	1 (?)

c. 318–315 B.C.

Alexander head in elephant scalp/Seated Zeus

Pegasos	Π	S 93	1
Thunderbolt	PY	S 20	6
do.	PA	S 21	1
do.	⋔	S 22	8
do.	OP	S 24	2
Eagle	Δ	S 29	2 (PLATE IV, 2)

(Plated, unofficial copy of above type; 15.50 gm.)

Thunderbolt	ΔI	S —	1 (PLATE IV, 4)

c. 315–310(?) B.C.

Alexander head in elephant scalp/Athena Alkidemos

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ATTIC WEIGHT

Year	*Year* B.C.	*Ref.*	
	ΔΙ	S 33	14
	♠	S 37	1 (?)
	ΕΥ	S 42	12
Α	ΕΥ	S 44	5
Α	ΕΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ	S —	1 (PLATE IV, 3)

(Lucerne sale 1957/317)

Alexander head in elephant scalp / Athena Alkidemos

REDUCED WEIGHT

M	S 109	1 (PLATE IV, 6)
♠	S 110	

CYPRUS c. 310 B.C.

Alexander head in elephant scalp / Athena Alkidemos

ATTIC WEIGHT

(attributed to Eunostos of Soli)

Ε Β	S —	1 (PLATE IV, 5)

(Lucerne sale 1957/314: cf. *Trans. Int. Num. Congress* 1936, pl. IV, 8)

REDUCED WEIGHT after 310 B.C.

Caduceus	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ	S 96	1 (PLATE IV, 7)

PTOLEMY I c. 300 B.C. and after

(Tetradrachms unless otherwise stated)

Octodrachm (1)	Α	S —	1 (PLATE V, 1)
	Α	S 183	5
	Δ	S 185	7
	Δ	S 190	6
Octodrachm (2)	M	S 198	1 (PLATE V, 2)
	M	S 199	1
	M	S 201	15
	M	S 203	12

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Year	*Year* B.C.		*Ref.*	
			S 205	10
			S 214	6
			S 218	8
Octodrachm (3)			S —	1 (PLATE V, 3)
			S 224	5
			S 231	1
Octodrachm (4)		(Lucerne sale, 1957/319)	S 233	1 (PLATE V, 4)
			S 234	4
			S 236	3
	A		S 240	5
,,	Δ		S 241	4
,,	Λ		S 242	2
,,			S 243	1
,,			S 244	1
			S 245	2
,,			S 246	3
P	A		S 247	12
,,			S 248	5
,,			S 249	4
,,	E		S 250	4
,,			S 251	2
,,			S 252	47
,,			S 253	8
,,			S 254	7
,,			S 255	72
,,			S 256	35
,,			S 257	1
,,			S 259	10
,,	Σ		S 260	2
,,			S 261	3
,,	Φ		S 263	9
,,			S 265	15
Φ			S 266	1
,,			S 267	1
,,			S 268	2
				c. 285–283 B.C.
			S 344	3
EY			S 354	5
,,			S 358	1
,,			S 362	6
ΣT	KI		S 366	2
ΣT			S 369	1

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NOTES ON THE LIST

Amphipolis: the post-Demanhur issues are detailed in Newell, *Reattributions* p. 16. This group with Γ can only have lasted about 2–3 years, at the same average rate of issue as obtained before 318 B. C. The next very large group with Λ and Torch should then begin about 316–15 B.C., and presumably continued until the end of Cassander's reign in 297. The Λ and Torch group was attributed to Uranopolis by Breitenstein in *ActaArch* XIII (1942) 248ff., but in Newell's trays is given to Amphipolis. It seems likely enough that the main Macedonian mint should have remained there throughout: however there seems still a distinct possibility that the group of issues with the *Obelisk and Star* (Muller 641–5) may after all be of Uranopolis, as this group is distinct in style from the Λ and Torch group. In spite of the copious issues of the Λ and Torch group, only two specimens are present in our list of the Phacous hoard.

Pella: the post-Demanhur issues M 751 and M 756 are included here under this heading as that is where the corresponding issues are placed in Newell's trays. It is however permissible to wonder whether these coins, with the Boeotian shield symbol, may not after all be of Thebes, which Cassander began to rebuild in 316 B.C.

Propontis: the issue D 1702 is definitely given as Lampsakos in BT: however the monogram ⌖ is also known on a gold issue, M 394, with symbol conjoined horse-foreparts, which is clearly the symbol of Perinthus both on pre-Alexander local coins and e. g. Lysimachus. It seems hard therefore not to be tempted by Perinthus for the ⌖ group, though of course it would not affect the Lampsakos attribution for the rest of the series so given in BT.

Tarsos: the post-Demanhur issues are among those so assigned in Newell's trays.

Sidon and Ake-Ptolemais: the years B.C. for Sidon are those assigned by Newell. The scheme proposed by G. Kleiner (in *Alexanders Reichsmünzen*) according to which year 1 of Sidon is 332/1 B.C. instead of 333/2, as given by Newell, seems ruled out by the existence of a Sidon dated coin of Ptolemaic type inscribed for year 22 (Baldwin Brett, *TINC* London 1938, p. 26 and pl. IV.7: cf. Bellinger, Byblus hoard[1]

[1] A. R. Bellinger, "An Alexander Hoard from Byblos," *Berytus* X (1950–1) 37–49.

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no. 140 for another specimen): on Kleiner's dating this would have to be of 311/10 (October to October). But Antigonos had recovered Syria and Phoenicia from Ptolemy by late 312 B.C. (*CAH* VI, 487 ff.) so that an issue at Sidon of Ptolemaic type is impossible after that date, and Newell's equivalence for year 22—312/11—is clearly correct. For the Ake dates, I should explain that I have here followed the equivalence which Newell gives in *NNM* 19, p. 135: the latest year of Ake in the Demanhur hoard being year 29—319/8 B.C. There seems to be some discrepancy with *Dated Alexander Coinage*. For the purpose of the Phacous hoard it is quite unimportant.

Babylon: the issues here given after the ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ group have not yet been worked out in detail. There are stylistic links between the ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ coins and the succeeding issues both in the gold series and in the silver. These would indicate that the main groups represented in the hoard list should be approximately in the order given; cf. PLATE III, 2–3.

Susa: for the dating see Bellinger, Byblus hoard, p. 45.

Uncertain mints: except where some tentative suggestion is given in the list, I cannot trace anything like a plausible attribution and in several cases no photograph is, unfortunately, to hand.

Alexandria: the only issue of Alexander type included in the Phacous list which is unpublished is the one with OP (PLATE IV, 1). This variety is also represented in the Kuft hoard, and the letters recur in the next series (with Alexander head in elephant scalp) of c. 318/315 B.C., though with a thunderbolt symbol which is lacking here. A further "Alexander" which seems to be unpublished but is clearly of the Alexandria mint is in the Kuft hoard in Oxford with *Thunderbolt* and  , exactly as it occurs under Svoronos 22 of the next series: the style of the Kuft coin, as of the OP coins, seems perfectly suitable for the mint. The coin of the series of c. 318/315 B.C. here illustrated in the form of an unofficial plated contemporary forgery from the Phacous hoard (PLATE IV, 4) is the only evidence for the existence of a variety with *Thunderbolt* and ΔΙ of this type: again there is an Alexander type with these marks. Another instance of the same marks occurring on the Alexander type and on the series of c. 318/315 is found in Svoronos 93, 94, where the marks in question are *Pegasus* and  . Thus there may be up to four issues which appeared both

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with the Herakles head and with the Alexander-in-elephant scalp head: this suggests at least a partial overlap between the types.

The coin in the hoard list with inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ is otherwise unpublished, though it has already appeared in Lucerne sale 1957—lot 317: this is clearly a variant of Svor. 44 to which it is obviously enough related. For the exact interpretation of the word Αλεξανδρειον, which could mean either 'Alexander-coin' or 'Alexandria-coin', the analogy of Κυραναιον[2] seems strongly to suggest the latter. The dating of the various series of Alexandria prior to the introduction of the Soter type is discussed further below.

As regards the Soter type coins in the hoard, there is little which calls for specific comment. The series with a single monogram must be homogeneous, if only on account of the die-links which can be observed among the octodrachms. Of the hoard pieces of the octodrachm, (1) shares an obverse with (2): the hoard pieces of (3) and (4)[3] share an obverse with the BM piece of (2): finally the specimens of (2) and (4) illustrated by Svoronos (nos. 198 and 233) share another obverse. Since two of the octodrachms (viz. 1 and 3) were unknown before the present hoard came to light, it is clearly to be anticipated that others as yet unknown may appear in the future.

In the summary which follows I have included alongside the Phacous hoard figures the corresponding details of the Kuft hoard in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[4]

[2] E.g. *BMC Cyrenaica*, 39–170.

[3] Now Boston, MFA, see *Archaeology* 12 (1959) 5 (illustration).

[4] The Kuft hoard is contained in the Balliol College collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. In some respects we cannot be sure which coins are from the hoard and which not, though it is clear that the late Ptolemaic (Ptolemy VI onwards) and late Alexanders (3–2 century B.C.) are not. It is just possible that a number of Ptolemy I–II may be from Kuft (if so it would be a further parallel with Phacous): but Newell's burial date for the Kuft hoard (310–305) as cited by Noe (no. 582) seems most likely and it is of coins down to this date that I take the hoard to consist. One cannot eliminate all uncertainties simply from the appearance of the specimens; but having regard to the appearance, I would not like to be too sure that the fourteen post–318 Amphipolis specimens given in my list are necessarily part of the hoard.

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SUMMARY AND COMMENTARY

	PHACOUS		KUFT	
	336–318	318–305	336–318	318–305
Amphipolis	61	8	43	14 (?)
Pella	9	2	3	1
Lyttos	—	3	—	1
Propontis	1	—	3	—
Sardes	—	(320–) 5	—	(320–) 4
Miletos	10	—	4	—
Lycia-Pamph.	21	—	6	—
Tarsos	13	2	15	—
Cyprus (3 mints)	14	—	10	2
Myriandros	11	—	3	1
Damascus	17	—	3	—
Arados	13	6	9	3
Marathos	—	4	—	—
Byblos	14	—	3	—
Phoenicia	1	—	—	—
Sidon	6	5	4	2
Ake-Ptolemais	20	26	7	11
Babylon	65	(317–) 76	26	(317–) 20
Susa	—	2	—	3
(Ecbatana)	—	—	—	2
Uncertain	(total) 20		—	—

	PHACOUS				KUFT			
	318/15	315/10	310/05		318/15	315/05	310/00	
Alexandria	20	21	34	3	15	2	9	32

PHACOUS TOTAL 513 (Jar I) KUFT TOTAL 271

In the above summary I have made the main chronological division at 318 B.C., the date of the Demanhur hoard, rather than at the death of Alexander as Bellinger does in his summary of the Byblos hoard. The discrepancy is not however a large one, and some of the same results are to be observed as in the Byblos hoard. Most important is the fade-out of Amphipolis after 318. Added to this there is the disappearance after 318 of almost anything from Asia Minor except a few pieces from Sardes, though here it must be remembered that the minting of tetradrachms ceased or was severely curtailed at most of the Asia Minor mints, and some of those in Syria (e. g. Damascus). For the post-318 period in the hoard then we are left with little from

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outside Egypt except Babylon, which continues very plentiful, and Ake-Ptolemais with a number of other coins from Phoenicia.

These features of the period after Alexander's death are, generally speaking, similar both in the Phacous and Kuft hoards to what was found at Byblos. Macedonia and Asia Minor evidently provided a strikingly reduced share of the currency for the eastern part of the empire. Incidentally, however, we may note that at the same time the eastern-minted coins, notably of Babylon, do seem to have continued to penetrate westwards. This is instanced by a hoard just published by Mme. Dušanka Vučković-Todorović, from Prilep in Macedonia[5]. One salient feature of this new hoard is the quantity of coins minted in the Syria-Babylon area between 318 and 305 B.C., 41 in all as against 60 of Macedonia and Greece for the same period. A parallel for this is provided by the Salonika hoard (Noe 896) in which there appear to be 24 eastern-minted Alexanders as against 28 for Macedonia and Greece[6]. In neither hoard however do coins of the Syria-Babylon area come in after 305, though the burial date for Prilep and Salonika is c. 280. It seems thus that Cassander's Macedonia was becoming economically isolated, in the sense that hardly any of its currency was leaving the country, though it could still to a consider-

[5] In *Glasnik* (Soc. des Musées et de l'Inst. de Conserv. de la R. P. Macedoine) I, nr. 12 (Skopje 1958) 213ff. with pls. 1–18. Fortunately all the coins are illustrated in Mme. Todorović's article, and more of them can be attributed to mints than she identifies. Apart from a few which remain uncertain, the following will summarize the mint-representation:

	Macedonia and Greece	*Asia Minor (incl. Cyprus)*	*Syria-Babylon*
Alexanders pre-318	14	7	10
do. post-318	60	5	41 (incl. Seleukos I of pre-300)
Demetrios Pol.	12	1	
Lysimachos	6	13	
Athens (4th cent. type)	20		

[6] The Salonika hoard, allowing for twenty or more pieces which cannot be certainly identified from the list by Walla, may be summarized as follows:

	Macedonia and Greece	*Asia Minor*	*Syria-Babylon*
Alexanders pre--318	9	10	10
do. post-318	28	3	24
Demetrios Pol.	7		
Lysimachos	10	16	

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able extent find room for coin imported from the east. In this sense we may well agree with Bellinger that Syria, Phoenicia and Babylon began after Alexander's death to comprise a monetary district cut off from the north; that the Syria-Babylon area was also cut off from the south, viz. Egypt, is a proposition that must be taken in the same way, namely that although Egyptian currency was certainly not leaving Egypt, that from Babylon, and to a lesser extent from Ake and other Phoenician mints, was until c. 305 still entering Egypt. This is shown by both the Phacous and Kuft hoards. It will remain for future investigation to determine how far such figures of distribution in hoards reflect special local conditions particularly as affecting Macedonia on the one hand and Egypt on the other, during the quarter-century after the death of Alexander, and to what extent the picture which is gradually forming out of the hoard evidence reflects primarily the great output of the Babylon mint, surely not less after 318 than it had been prior to that date.

To return however to the Phacous hoard: the salient feature of the first jar, containing all the coins other than the Soter type, is that the hoarder continued to put away Alexanders from Ake and Sidon until c. 306, and similar pieces from Babylon down to a like date, but included along with his numerous earlier Alexandrian coins only a mere three specimens of the very copious tetradrachm issue of the type 'Alexander head in elephant scalp/Athena Alkidemos' which were minted on a reduced standard. Many important aspects of this last-mentioned issue were dealt with by Brooks Emmons in *ANSMN* VI: notably she revealed for the first time that these coins are frequently overstruck on earlier pieces of the Attic standard (with of course a weight-adjustment). The almost total absence of these reduced pieces from our hoard might at first sight be construed as some support for Svoronos' dating of the reduced series, which he begins at 305 B.C.: this dating is followed by Brooks Emmons. Unfortunately it cannot be correct. It is true that the first issue of gold with Ptolemy's portrait and name, starting in 305 B.C., goes with the reduced silver tetradrachms. But it is at the same time demonstrable that the reduced silver pieces must have started before 305 B.C., mainly on account of the Chiliomodi hoard[7]. There are a number of the reduced

[7] O. Ravel in *TINC* (London 1938).

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Ptolemaic tetradrachms in that hoard, which can scarcely have been buried at any other date than 306 B.C., when the brief Ptolemaic occupation of Corinth came to an end. It seems impossible to explain the presence of these coins near Corinth at all except as the direct consequence of the occupation, and therefore we have to allow for their issue earlier than 306 B.C.

There is however no contradiction in admitting this and yet at the same time of course retaining 305 B.C. as the only possible starting date for the corresponding gold issues. A brief analysis of the reduced silver tetradrachm series will soon reveal that we have to distinguish between those issues of the silver represented in the Chiliomodi hoard (and therefore prior to 306 B.C.), and those issues of the silver for which corresponding gold issues exist. The two groups will be found to be mutually exclusive. Svoronos' catalogue might have been specially designed to obscure this distinction: his list (Taxis A of Ptolemy I), though full and scarcely to be added to after the lapse of over fifty years, is mechanical and formal and scarcely begins to give any idea of the true sequence of issues. The sequence is, however, recoverable in its broad lines, which is all that will concern me here.

I propose to run over briefly the groups into which it is necessary to divide the series.

(a) a group with the monogram ♠ alone or in combination.

S. 110
S. 146 (with two other monograms)
S. 154 (with *aphlaston*)
S. 168 (with *helmet*)
S. 144 (with two other monograms one of which is ⓐ)
S. 140
S. 143 (with ⓐ but without ♠)

Of this group, S. 110, 168, 146 and 142 are present in Chiliomodi. I agree with Mrs. Brett (*TINC* 1938, p. 26) that ♠ gives the point of transition from the Attic to the reduced standard, S. 110 (reduced) being so close to S. 37 (Attic) in style.

(b) a group with monogram ⋔ alone or in combination.

S. 109
S. 139 (with ⋔)
S. 159 (with ⋔ and *cornucopiae*)

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S. 160 (with Ⱪ and *dolphin*)
S. 161 (with Ⱪ and *helmet*)
S. 153 (with *bee*)

This group is of characteristic style throughout, with an obv. die-link between BM specimens of S. 153 and 161. Chiliomodi contained S. 139, 153.

(c) a group with ⱮⱮ

S. 107
S. 166 (with *helmet*)

Of a different style from the foregoing: BM coins again give a die-link between S. 107 and 166. Chiliomodi contained S. 107.

(d) a group with ⱧⱣ

S. 170 (with *helmet*)
S. 174 (with *star* and *helmet*)

Similar in style to (c): Chiliomodi contained S. 170. No group after this was in Chiliomodi.

(e) a miscellaneous group, both with and without *helmet*, style mostly similar to groups (c) and (d).

S. 164 Ɫⲇ *helmet*
S. 108 ⱫⱧ
S. 137 ⱠⱢ ⱫⱧ
S. – ⱮⱮ
S. 162 ⱬ *helmet*
S. 165 ⱢⲈ *helmet*
S. 167 ⱰⱰ *helmet*

(f) a group similar in style to group (g) below.

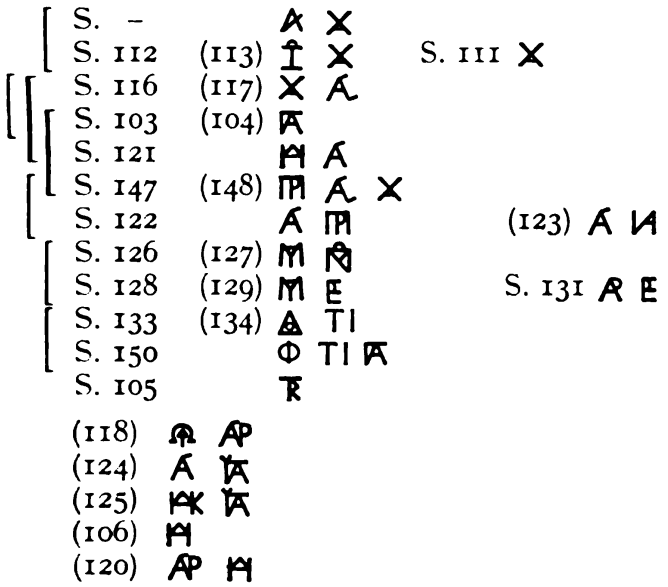
S. 179, S. 177, S. 169 — *Helmet* — Ⱡ ⲁ / ⲞⲈ ⱠⱢ / ⱠⱢ

Compare especially S. 177, 169 with S. 129 (below).

(g) final group with gold issue, starting about 305 B.C. It is a closely-knit group, noticeable for its exclusion from the Semenood hoard (which consisted entirely of tetradrachms of the reduced series of previous groups, Noe 954). The following list shows that the gold issues are closely die-linked: it is to the gold issues that the Svoronos

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references are primarily given, the silver issues being given in brackets throughout.



The above analysis of the series of reduced tetradrachms serves only to confirm, in its broad outlines, the chronology given by Newell, Robinson and Brett:

ATTIC STANDARD

Head of Alexander in elephant scalp	/	Zeus	c. 318–315
,,	/	Athena	c. 315–310

REDUCED STANDARD

gps. (a)—(f)	,,	/ ,,	(no gold issue) c. 310–305
gp. (g)	,,	/ ,,	(with gold issue) c. 305–300

Even so I would regard 310 as a conventional rather than an exact date—for if the reduced series begins only then, and groups (a) to (d) at least must have been struck before 306, there is little enough room. The true date might be more like 312. Does the fact that the issue of the Athena type by Eunostos of Soli (c. 310) is still on the Attic standard necessarily mean that the reduction had not already come in at Alexandria? It is difficult to be sure. But in any case enough has

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been said to show that Ptolemy's financial difficulties which led to the reduction of standard, simultaneously with an extensive re-striking of earlier Attic-standard coins, must have arisen in the circumstances of the period c. 312–310 rather than in 305—perhaps Ptolemy's loss of Syria and Phoenicia to Antigonos (late 312) may have been a contributory factor. At the same time, as previous writers on this subject have observed, a sign of reduction is already seen in the 'light' drachms which accompanied the Attic standard tetradrachms: and may it be that Ptolemy was already experimenting with a reduction of the tetradrachm at the time of the issue of Svor. 32 (with ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ)?—this is suggested by the BM specimen of the latter which shows little sign of extensive wear or loss of weight yet only weighs 15.70 gm. (almost exactly the reduced weight). Such phenomena seems to provide some warrant for thinking of a 'disguised' reduction before the new low standard was really introduced.

To return to the Phacous hoard: it is clear that the hoarder of Jar I continued to obtain and put away Attic-standard coins from outside Egypt until about 305. But he put away with them scarcely any at all of the new reduced tetradrachms in spite of the fact that they were being issued in great abundance in the years immediately preceding the secretion of Jar I. Had there been a third jar in the hoard containing reduced pieces, these would certainly have appeared in the same way as the rest. We can take it as definite that the hoarder rejected these pieces from his collection, and the rejection must have been quite deliberate, however we explain it.

If we assert that our hoard simply exemplifies the workings of Gresham's law, we have to ask ourselves, in the light of Bolin's new discoveries,[8] whether we know anything of the price of silver bullion in Egypt at this time, and consequently what element of 'state charge' is included in the coins. As Bolin has shown with regard to the Roman empire, provided that one does not reduce a coin-standard by an amount greater than the amount of 'state charge' incorporated in the coins, the reduction will not result in the disappearance of earlier and heavier coins as it will not pay to melt them down. We have no evidence from Egypt at this time: if Bolin's laws were to be applied

[8] Sture Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire* (Stockholm 1958).

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to the reduction of c. 312–310 B.C., being of about 7 % (from c. 17.0 gm. to c. 15.70 gm.), we ought to have an overvaluation of the metal in the coins of somewhat more than 7 %—a modest enough amount compared with the 25 % overvaluation which Bolin finds in the Roman coinage. The fact that the reduced coins show no change of type from the Attic standard issues may be held to be in favour of the view that the reduced pieces passed current in Egypt for the same valuation as the Attic pieces. Confusion might easily have arisen, admittedly, when it came to exchange against gold, since the only gold would still, down to 305, have been of the Attic standard: in any case no fresh gold was minted during the issue of groups (a) to (f) of the reduced tetradrachms. If it seems more likely, following Emmons,[9] that the number of tetradrachms equivalent to a gold stater remained constant, it would probably have paid well to buy gold with the reduced tetradrachms, if there was any available. The position can only have become clear again with the fresh minting of gold, also on a reduced standard, in 305.

No doubt it would have been in the sphere of external trade that the reduced tetradrachms would have been the most confusing, and least acceptable. If our hoarder was a trader with overseas interests it is likely enough that he would not want to keep ambiguous coins as part of his working capital, as weighing would be necessary in every case to distinguish the standards. It would certainly be wrong to try to explain the lack of the reduced coins in the Phacous hoard as being that these coins had any tendency to disappear abroad: the Chiliomodi hoard is after all an isolated case with a specific explanation, and the reduced tetradrachms do in fact normally come from Egypt. There are plenty of them in the Kuft hoard, and the Semenood hoard (Noe 954) consisted of nothing else.

G. K. JENKINS

[9] Op. cit., 82.

Note. Since the above went to press I have been shown a specimen of Ptolemy I (S. 255) from the hoard, with a small portion of the pot stuck to it by a layer of oxide that had built up between it and the surface of the coin. My colleagues of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, were kind enough to examine the fragment, and tell me that it is made of a finely levigated clay, probably non-Egyptian and possibly Attic: also that although the fragment itself shows no traces of decoration it could well come from a decorated pot.

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THE SILVER COINAGE OF ANTIGONOS GONATAS AND ANTIGONOS DOSON

Four different series of coins with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ have come down to us from antiquity, three of tetradrachms and one of drachms.[1] The inscription on the coins obviously indicates that they were struck during the reigns of one or more of the three kings named Antigonos—Antigonos I Monophthalmos (306–301), Antigonos II Gonatas (277–239), and Antigonos III Doson (227[2]–221).

The first tetradrachm series, which uses the types of Alexander the Great, was probably struck very early in the reign of Antigonos Gonatas.[3] In this article we are not concerned with this coinage. It is with the other three series, the attribution of which has been a vexing problem, that this article will be concerned. On the obverse of the second issue appears a Macedonian shield, in the center of which is a horned head of Pan with a pedum at his shoulder. The reverse represents an Athena Alkis or Alkidemos facing left, holding a shield and hurling a fulmen. On some of the coins the shield which Athena holds has a head in its center, perhaps the very shield represented on the obverse. The inscription is arranged in two parallel, vertical lines on either side of the goddess. There is another variety that has the Athena facing right. The third tetradrachm issue bears the bearded head of Poseidon with flowing locks. On the reverse a nude Apollo holding a bow in his right hand is seated on the prow of a ship.

[1] This article was first prepared as a paper for the 1957 Summer Seminar of the ANS. It later comprised the sixth chapter of my doctoral dissertation submitted to Princeton University in 1958. I must express my gratitude to the ANS for the grant that made this possible and to Miss Margaret Thompson, Mr. G. K. Jenkins, Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland, and Mr. J. V. A. Fine for their assistance and patience while I tried to learn how to use numismatic evidence. Both Miss Thompson and Mr. Fine read this article in manuscript and aided me with many useful comments and criticisms.

[2] Demetrios II died in 229, but it seems that it was not until 227 that Doson accepted the crown. See Fine, "The Background of the Social War of 220–217 B.C.," *AJP* 61 (1940) 142–143.

[3] Newell, *The Coinage of Demetrius Poliorcetes* (Oxford 1927) 14, n. 1.

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ΒΑΣΙΛΩΕΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ is inscribed on the prow, and below the prow is usually found a monogram,  . This monogram appears on most of the coins, and sometimes a second monogram appears as well. Some coins, stylistically different, have a trident instead of the . The fourth issue, of drachms, shows a bearded head on the obverse, which is probably Zeus, although it has been called Poseidon. The wreaths about the heads on the drachms and on the Poseidon-head tetradrachms are different, as is the arrangement of the locks, which should apparently differentiate these two heads as Zeus and Poseidon. On the contemporary coins of Epiros, we can see the similarities of treatment and style of a head that is clearly that of Zeus and the head on the drachm coinage.[4] The reverse of the drachm coinage is the same as the reverse of the tetradrachm coinage with Athena Alkidemos.

Although Mionnet attributed the Poseidon-head tetradrachms to Antigonos I whom he calls *Rex Asiae*, no one at present would attribute this coinage to Antigonos Monophthalmos. It seems almost certain that Antigonos I continued the use of the types of Alexander the Great in the mints which he controlled even after he assumed the diadem in 306 B.C. Consequently the three issues must be distributed between the two remaining kings. The use of stylistic arguments in this case would be particularly futile, since a period of only about ten years separates the reign of Antigonos Gonatas from that of Antigonos Doson. The hoard evidence, however, can furnish a solution to the problem of the dating of the tetradrachms.

Thirteen known hoards contain the coins of these two kings, but most of these are valueless for our purposes, some containing only bronze coins, and some being too late to be of any use in determining the time of issue of these coins. Three, however, are of value and from these the reign during which each of the two tetradrachm coinages was issued can be determined with fair certainty. In several of these hoards we find the Pan-head tetradrachms alone, and in others in company with the Poseidon-head, while the Poseidon-head is never

[4] *BMC Thessaly to Aetolia*, Pls. XVII, 9; XVIII, 8; XX, 3, 4, 10.

[5] Thessaly (1938); Eretria (1937); Gordion (1952); Palaiokastro (1931, Noe 783); Syracuse (1900, Noe 1034); Greece? (1928, Noe 463); Urfa (1924, Noe 1147); Sardes (1911, Noe 925); Aleppo (1896, Noe 30); photographs of part of another hoard on file at the ANS.

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found alone.[5] This is fairly certain evidence that the Pan-head type was issued before the Poseidon-head.

The first of the three hoards was found in Thessaly in 1938. Most of the hoard is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, and the missing coins are represented by casts. It contained 574 silver coins: 288 drachms struck in Asia Minor, 72 Attic old style tetradrachms, 155 drachms of Larissa, 22 tetradrachms of Demetrios I, 29 tetradrachms with the name of Lysimachos and struck during his reign and after, one tetradrachm of Eumenes I and seven Pan-head tetradrachms. The 288 drachms from Asia Minor are quite worn and were probably taken out of circulation after an extensive period of use. They have the head of young Herakles in a lion skin on the obverse and a seated Zeus holding an eagle and a staff on the reverse, and the names of Alexander, Philip III or Lysimachos. The date of issue of these coins is before 297[6] when Lysimachos began to issue coins with his own types—the head of Alexander and a seated Athena— in place of the Alexandrian types which are found in this hoard. Unfortunately, these drachms are of little value in giving us a *terminus ante quem* for the hoard. In all probability these coins were taken out of circulation and hoarded many years after 297. The evidence from the rest of the hoard confirms the fact that these drachms were in continued use in the third century as small change because of their great abundance and because of the decrease of production of drachms in the third century.[7] The old style Attic tetradrachms are very difficult to date, but none of them in the hoard has the changing symbol on the reverse that is characteristic of the last series of the old style tetradrachms. Since the New Style was first issued in 196,[8] it seems probable that these coins were struck sometime in the middle portion of the third century. The chronology of the 155 drachms of Larissa is even more uncertain than that of the Attic tetradrachms. Percy Gardner in *BMC Thessaly* dates the types of our hoard between 400 and 344 B.C. as does Head in his *HN*. Many of these drachms are

[6] M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, "Greek Coins in the Yale Collection IV: A Hoard of Alexander Drachms," *Yale Studies* 14 (1955) 11 and E. T. Newell, *Royal Greek Portrait Coins* (New York 1937) 19.
[7] M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, op. cit., 44–45.
[8] M. Thompson, "The Beginning of the Athenian New Style Coinage," *ANSMN* V (1952) 25–33.

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very worn and would seem to have come from current circulation. Perhaps a large issue of drachms of the fourth century from Larissa continued to be used for small change locally long after their date of emission in a manner similar to the use of the Alexander drachms of Asia Minor. The 22 tetradrachms of Demetrios I Poliorcetes are all dated between 300 and 287 by Newell in *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*. A few of these are rather worn, but most are only slightly worn. The 29 tetradrachms of Lysimachos are likewise difficult to fix chronologically, for Lysimachos' types and the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ were used for many years after his death by the cities of Asia Minor. The size of the flan can give some indication of the date of the coin, for over the years the size of the flan increases. The very compact coins with a small flan were probably struck during the reign of Lysimachos. Those with a moderately spread flan were probably struck during the period shortly after Lysimachos' death. All but one of the tetradrachms of Lysimachos in the hoard are of these two types. The exception is a tetradrachm with a large flan which has been tentatively attributed to Kyzikos. This coin seems to be not much later than 250 B.C. It is almost perfect in condition, and is probably the latest coin in the hoard. One other coin is a tetradrachm of Eumenes I. This is dated 263–241 B.C. by Head in his *HN*[2]. In all probability the coin belongs to the early or middle part of the reign rather than to its end.[9] It is only slightly worn. In this hoard there are seven Pan-head tetradrachms with Athena facing left on the reverse with the Macedonian helmet in the field to the left and with different monograms to the right. They are all in very good condition, almost unworn.

From the dated coins it would seem that this hoard was deposited fairly soon after c. 250. It was found in Thessaly a natural area of circulation for the coins of the Macedonian Kings. The presence of Panheads and the absence of Poseidon-heads indicated that the Poseidon-head coins were not yet in circulation at the time of the deposit of the hoard during the decade of the 240's, shortly after c. 250.

[9] M. Thompson, "A Countermarked Hoard from Büyükçekmece," *ANSMN* VI (1954) 32–34. The hoard coin is of Imhoof's Class A, III (*Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, p. 5).

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The second hoard that is of any value to us was found in Eretria in 1937.[10] The hoard consisted of over 500 silver coins, most of which are in the National Numismatic Museum in Athens. Among these are one tetradrachm of Philip II; eight drachms of Alexander III; one tetradrachm, one drachm and one hemidrachm of Demetrios Poliorcetes; three tetradrachms and one drachm of Lysimachos; eight Pan-head tetradrachms; one triobol of Phokis; one didrachm of Opountian Lokris; five didrachms of Boeotia, one of which is of Tanagra, and also two early and five late drachms of Boeotia; three didrachms, seven tetradrachms and 275 drachms of the Euboian League; 31 tetradrachms of Attika; seven drachms of Rhodes; and 106 tetradrachms of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II. The coins listed above are all in the National Numismatic Museum. In addition there were other coins which the Museum did not obtain and which appeared in trade in 1937. As far as is known these coins duplicate the types in the museum except for at least one coin of Philetairos.[11] Mme. Varoucha who first reported the hoard gave a tentative date of 220 B.C. for the hoard. She based this on the appearance in the hoard of certain silver drachms of the Boeotian League.[12] Since bronze coins with the same types, the head of Demeter and a standing Poseidon, are found overstruck on the coins of Antigonos Doson, it was assumed that the silver coins of the Boeotian League as well as the bronze ones were to be dated after the coins of Antigonos Doson. Wallace in his monograph on the Euboian League rejected this and adopted the date c. 235 B.C. for the hoard. He claimed that 235 B.C. fitted the coins of the Euboian League much better than 220 B.C. In addition, the presence of the coins of only Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II, and the absence of the coins of Ptolemy III, especially in a hoard from Greece where the coins of Ptolemy III are found, seems to give support to the idea that the hoard was deposited at a date earlier than 220, and closer to the year 246, the year of accession of Ptolemy III. Wallace also used the argu-

[10] E. Varoucha, *Epitymbion Christou Tsounta* (Athens 1941) 670–672. W. Wallace, *The Euboian League* (New York 1956) 47–49.

[11] There is another group of coins mentioned in a letter on file at the ANS including a coin of Antiochos III, but I am inclined to doubt that it belongs with the Eretria hoard.

[12] *BMC Central Greece*, Pl. VI, nos. 6, 7. The bronze coin is no. 8.

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ments developed by Miss Cox in her study of the Gordoin hoard.[13] On the basis of wear of three coins (one Pan-head and two Poseidon-heads) she attributed the Pan-head to Antigonos Gonatas and the Poseidon-head with the ⛨ monogram to Antigonos Doson. I think that it is indeed possible that the silver coinage of the Boeotian League (*BMC Central Greece* Pl. VI, nos. 6, 7) may have been struck at an earlier period than the bronze coins (Pl. VI, no. 8). In addition, the bronze coinage of the Antigonid Kings of Macedon have not yet been fixed, and perhaps these Boeotian coins were struck earlier than it had been supposed. Since there is an absence of the coins of Ptolemy III, and some of those of Ptolemy II are in good condition, it would seem that Wallace's date of c. 235 is perhaps the better one. Since the hoard was found in an area controlled by the Macedonian Kings where the Poseidon-head coin should be expected if it existed, it must be concluded that the coin was not struck until after the deposit of the hoard. On the basis of the evidence of this hoard, therefore, the Poseidon-head coinage was not struck until after c. 235 B.C., i.e. in the reign of Antigonos Doson.

The third hoard that is of any value for the attribution of the Antigonos coins is the Gordion hoard mentioned above of 114 silver tetradrachms found in 1952. The burial of the hoard is dated between 210 and 189. In it are two Poseidon-heads and one Pan-head. The Pan-head is worn while the Poseidon-heads are in a state of splendid preservation, an indication that the Pan-head is earlier. Miss Cox has on this basis attributed the Pan-head to Antigonos Gonatas and the Poseidon-head to Antigonos Doson.

As a result of our study of these three hoards, all of which have come to light since the last edition of Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, we can see that the Pan-head tetradrachms were almost surely struck by Antigonos Gonatas (277–239) and the Poseidon-head tetradrachms were struck by Antigonos Doson (227–221). But who struck the drachm coinage? The identity of the reverse types of the drachms and the Pan-head tetradrachms indicates that the drachms were issued by Antigonos Gonatas, who as we have seen above, issued the Pan-heads. I have been able to find eleven examples

[13] D. H. Cox, *A Third Century Hoard of Tetradrachms from Gordion* (Philadelphia 1953) 8.

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of this drachm, struck with two obverse dies which are not die-linked to each other, and seven reverse dies. Each reverse die bears in the field to the left a Macedonian helmet which appears to be a mint symbol. This symbol, one of three, is also found on the reverse of most of the Pan-head tetradrachms. On each of these seven reverse dies, in the field to the right, are the letters T I.[14] On the reverse of some of the Pan-heads we find these same letters. I think that the helmet is the symbol of one of the Macedonian mints and the letters are the signature of one of the mint officials. The small number of dies suggests a small issue of drachms which were struck for a limited time. Further the identity of the symbol and signature on the drachms and the Pan-head tetradrachms indicates that the drachms were struck during the period of office of T I simultaneously with the Pan-head coins with T I. Thus, the drachms are to be connected with a short period in the reign of Antigonos Gonatas.

On the reverse of the Pan-head tetradrachms in the field to the left appears a symbol. In my search for examples of this coinage I have found only three different symbols, a Macedonian helmet, a kalathos or bakchos-ring,[15] and a X.[16] The kalathos is always found on the reverse with Athena facing right, while the helmet and the X are found with Athena facing left. The Macedonian helmet is found on the overwhelming majority of the reverse dies, 97 out of 104. There are 53 obverse dies connected with the reverse with the helmet. The largest number of reverses linked to one obverse is six and many obverses are known with only one reverse. There are, moreover, very few cases of one reverse connected with more than one obverse. Here, I think, the widely different numbers of reverses used with one ob-

[14] The signature T I does not appear on the Poseidon-head coin. There is, however, one die with the monogram that has below it the letter T and another letter that can be either an I or an O; I cannot distinguish which it is. Even if this is an I, the fact that it is the only die that has these letters makes me feel that this, if it really is T I, is to be differentiated from the T I on the drachm and the Pan-head tetradrachm. Further, the die is linked to another one that has the monogram below the . These two dies are the only ones that have a star in the field to the left of Apollo.

[15] J. Beazely, "Bakchos-Rings," *NC* 1 (1941) 1–7.

[16] The figures for the number of dies is not complete, but it is the result of a survey of the ANS cabinets, the ANS Photo-File, photographs of the coins of the Ashmolean Museum, and of the most easily accessible catalogues and represents most of the obverse dies used by the Macedonian Kings.

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verse seems to indicate that all the dies are not known, and that if they were, there would be more reverses with more than one obverse as well as more reverses per obverse. The heads of Pan are divided into amazingly different stylistic classes, but in addition there are striking similarities between the individual dies in each class. There are perhaps as many as nine monograms or letter combinations found on these coins,  , , , , , K, KT, T I, and . This is obviously too small a number for them to be the signatures of annual mint magistrates for the almost forty years of the reign of Antigonos Gonatas. Perhaps these coins were issued only intermittently, or the mint officials of the Macedonian Kingdom were not the usual annual mint magistrates found in the Greek cities, but were officials appointed for longer periods. One coin has on the left the monogram in place of the Macedonian helmet and nothing to the right where a monogram is usually found. This is the only example of a blank space to the right. We do, moreover, find the monogram to the right on other coins with the Macedonian helmet. Since this reverse die shares the same obverse die with another reverse that does have the Macedonian helmet to the left and a monogram to the right, it would seem that the absence of the Macedonian helmet is a mistake of the die-cutter who put the monogram on the wrong side and then left the usual place for the monogram blank.

Because the vast majority of the Pan-head tetradrachms and all the drachms have the same symbol, the helmet, I feel that the mint represented by this symbol was the main Macedonian mint. There is no conclusive evidence, but in all probability this was Pella the ancient capital of Macedon.[17]

Two of the reverse dies with Athena Alkidemos facing left have instead of the helmet symbol a X. To the right appears the monogram , which is found on these two reverse dies alone. The obverse dies with which these two reverse dies were struck are different in style from the other Pan-head obverses, and these are the only two that have a skin tied around the neck of Pan. I suggest that the X is a *chi* and stands for the city of Chalkis in Euboia, and that the Macedonians who controlled the city from the 260's on struck coins of a type similar to those struck in Macedon.

[17] W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford 1913) 199–200.

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I know of six coins with the Athena facing right, one in the Hague, one in Florence, one in the Ashmolean Museum, one in the collection of the ANS, and two which are in the Berlin Museum. I have seen five of them. Three bear on the reverse ⌘, two bear ⍋, and one has ⍜. The last one is a unique coin with an obverse that has ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ cut between the two concentric circles around the head of Pan.[18] This coin is in Berlin and is illustrated as the frontispiece to Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*.

The tetradrachm from Florence, which is published in Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, Pl. 21, no. 23, bears the ⌘ monogram on the reverse, as does the second Berlin coin.[19] There is another coin with the ⌘ monogram in the collection of the ANS. It was not struck from the same dies as the Florence coin or the Berlin one. The Florence coin was struck by the same obverse die that was also used to strike coins with the Macedonian helmet as the mint mark on the reverse and with the figure of Athena facing left. In fact, the die was used with five different reverses with Athena facing left. From the progressive worsening of the flaws in this obverse die it is obvious that the Athena facing right was struck after the beginning of the issue of the coins with the Athena facing left.

From a glance at both types of reverse it will be obvious that the reverse with Athena facing right and the kalathos is a much finer piece of work than the helmet reverse. It is also obvious that the die-cutter did not conceive this type as the mirror image of the die with Athena facing left. It is as if he had pictured the other side of a statue of the goddess. The presence of the three different symbols on the reverses of the Pan-head coinage, each with a monogram or a series of monograms which are not identically associated with it, seems to indicate that the symbol is the mint symbol, and that the monogram is the signature of the magistrate in charge of the mint. If the Macedonian helmet is the mint symbol of the main Macedonian mint

[18] Ibid., 174.

[19] H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, Abt. II, (Berlin 1935) Pl. XXXIV, no. 2 publishes the reverse. Dr. Arthur Suhle of the Staatlich Münzkabinet, Berlin, kindly furnished me a cast of the coin. A. B. Brett, *ANSMN* IV (1950) Pl. XIII, no. 14 has combined the obverse bearing the inscription together with the reverse from the other Berlin coin into one coin from Gaebler Pl. XXXIV, nos. 1 & 2.

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(probably Pella) then we must find a mint for the kalathos symbol. I would like to suggest again the old attribution of this symbol to Athens.[20] Even if the symbol is not a kalathos but a bakchos-ring as Beazely suggests[21] it would do little to weaken the suggestion of Athens, for the bakchos-ring is even more exclusively used at Athens than the kalathos.

After Antigonos Gonatas seized Athens in the Chremonidean War, he had to pay his troops.[22] Since he could get some silver in Attika, he may have decided to coin at Athens. Therefore, an old obverse die which had worn out a number of reverses was sent down from Macedon to Athens, probably along with a reverse die.[23] Here at Athens coins were struck with the two Macedonian dies until the reverse wore out. Then a local die-cutter was called in and told to copy the reverse die. He was evidently a better craftsman than the die-cutters in the Macedonian mint, and he decided to do the Athena Alkidemos on the reverse from the point of view of a person on the other side of the statue. His reverse die was used in conjunction with the obverse from Macedon, and the Florence coin is an example of this stage. Later, when the obverse was worn out another die was made in Athens, and the second Berlin coin is an example of this stage. The ANS coin with the ⋔ was struck from two dies which were made at Athens. The obverse of the ANS coin, even though it is badly battered seems to show that the die from which it was struck was clearly different from any of the obverse dies with the Macedonian helmet on the reverse. On all the reverses with the helmet the ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΣ inscription is on the right behind the goddess and the ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ is on the left. On the ⋔ coins the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is still on the right, but, because the type has been reversed, it is in front of the goddess. Later on the coins with Ⅳ and ⋔ we find that this has been changed and the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is to the left, but now

[20] J. P. Six, "Tetrachma Antigoneia," *Ann. Soc. Franç. Num. et Arch.*, 6 (1882) 29–30 first attributed these coins to Athens.

[21] *NC* 1 (1941) 1–7.

[22] Until 256/5 Antigonos maintained a garrison on the Mouseion (Paus. III,6, 6; Euseb. ed. Schoene II, 120–121). He kept garrisons in the Peiraeus and the small forts of Attika even longer. See Pouilloux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte* (Paris 1954) 60, 64, 85–88 and inscriptions nos. 7, 9, 15.

[23] For transferred dies see Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints* (New York 1941) 328–331.

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it has been returned to its old position behind the goddess, while the ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ is once again in front of her. For some reason it seemed preferable to have the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ behind the goddess and the ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ before her. The first kalathos coins did not have this, and the later ones were made to conform to this pattern.

For the Poseidon-head coins there are twenty-one obverse dies and sixty-six reverse dies. There is a great difference in the quality of the dies. All the reverses but two bear the monogram  . Fifty-one of them have this monogram alone, but some have an individual monogram in addition,  ,  , M,  or  . The symbol is, I think, a mint-mark of some sort. Imhoof-Blumer thought that it meant ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ to indicate the city of Demetrias where he thought the coin was struck.[24] There is, however, no Α in the monogram. I do not believe that this symbol can be deciphered, for a majority of the letters of the Greek alphabet can be found in it. The two coins without the monogram are different in style from those with this monogram, which in my opinion is the symbol of the main Macedonian mint. One has a trident in the exergue and a monogram. The other has in the exergue an ornamented trident and the letters Ι Ε below the front of the prow. I feel that this coin is different from the one with , but that these two coins are stylistically close and differentiated from the other coins. These two coins probably came from the same mint, but one different from the point of origin of the coins with the monogram. Now a principal symbol of the mint of Corinth was the trident, and many of the Corinthian bronze coins of the third century bear a trident. In fact, the trident is almost as important a symbol of Corinth as the Pegasos. There are, moreover, some Corinthian bronze coins with the head of Poseidon on the obverse. Head (*BMC Corinth* xxxii and Pl. XIV, 10, 11) has identified these with the Poseidon-head tetradrachms. He thought that they were struck before 243, the year in which Aratos seized the city. If the Corinthian coins were struck at the same time as the Poseidon-heads which we have seen were struck by Doson, then the bronze coins were struck after 224. In the spring of 224 Antigonos Doson led an army down into the

[24] Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques* (Amsterdam 1883) 127. He also suggests Demetrias as the place of issue of the Poseidon-head coins in *Die Münzen Akarnaniens* (Wien 1878) 39–40 and n. 47.

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Peloponnesos to aid his former enemy Aratos against the Lacedaemonian King Kleomenes. Part of his reward was the return of Corinth which had been seized in 243 from his uncle Antigonos Gonatas. He spent the winter of 224/3 in Corinth and campaigned against Kleomenes in the summer of 223. The winter of 223/2 was spent mostly in Argos and partly in the rest of the Peloponnesos, and in the spring of 222 he won the battle of Sellasia.[25] It seems logical that, on this expedition during which he was away from Macedon for two years, he struck coins in the Peloponnesos. I would like to identify these coins with the trident symbol as coins struck by him at Corinth on his expedition.

Now we must ask the question, what was the significance of the types used on these coins? The Pan-head tetradrachms seem to be a commemorative of the battle of Lysimacheia in 277. The Galatians or Celts had invaded Thrace and destroyed the Macedonian Kingdom, and until the battle of Lysimacheia they had never been defeated in open battle. Antigonos Gonatas, until 277 a King without a Kingdom, managed to break a Galatian army in a pitched battle near the city of Lysimacheia in Thrace, and it was on the basis of the prestige thus gained that he secured his election as King of the Macedonians. During the battle the god Pan was reported to have made an appearance which struck panic into the hearts of the Celts. Antigonos capitalized on this and identified himself closely with Pan, who, as it were, became his patron deity.[26] The Athena Alkis or Alkidemos on the reverse is fairly common. She first appears on the coins of Ptolemy I Soter who was striking coins in Egypt before he assumed the diadem. She also appeared on the silver coins of Pyrrhos struck during his Italian and Sicilian campaigns, and on the bronze coins of Syracuse which were probably struck between 278 and 275 while Pyrrhos was in Sicily. The coins of Philip V bear Athena Alkidemos also. The advancing Athena probably represents the city goddess of Pella.[27]

The Poseidon-head tetradrachm shows clearly what it commemo-

[25] Polyb. II 52–55; 64–70. Plut. *Arat.* 43–46; *Kleom.* 20–30.
[26] Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* 164–166; the ancient sources for the battle are Diog. Laert. II, 141–142; Trog. *Prol.* 25; Justin XXV, 1–2; *IG* II², 677. Gonatas in addition founded a festival, the Paneia, at Delos in the god's honour, Tarn 380–81.
[27] A. B. Brett, "Athena ΑΛΚΙΔΗΜΟΣ of Pella," *ANSMN* IV (1950) 55–72.

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rates—a great naval victory. On the reverse is Apollo seated on the prow of a ship holding a bow. Since we have shown that this coin belongs to the reign of Antigonos Doson, this naval victory too must belong to Doson. In addition the existence of the Carian expedition of Antigonos Doson has now been proven by the epigraphical evidence from Labranda.[28] The coin and the expedition seem to point to a great naval victory, and I for one think that the naval victory of Andros has to be placed in the year 227, the year of the Carian expedition.

For the past half-century the ideas of Imhoof-Blumer[29] about the Antigonid coinage have been accepted almost universally. Before, Head had suggested that the Poseidon-head tetradrachms had been struck by Doson[30] but even he later adopted Imhoof-Blumer's theory.[31] This theory was that the Pan-head with Athena facing right was struck after Lysimacheia, but this is incorrect as we have seen. Next he assumed that Gonatas struck the Poseidon-head coin, another error. Finally he imagined that Gonatas returned to the Pan-head, but with Athena facing left for the rest of his reign after eight to ten years of striking Poseidon-heads. In addition he connected the drachm with the Poseidon-head. Miss Cox as a result of her study of the Gordion hoard realized that the Poseidon-head came after the Pan-head, and she tried to change Imhoof-Blumer's theory to accommodate the new evidence.

I feel that some mention should be made of the accounts of the Athenian temple of Asklepios, *IG* II², 1534. In the priestship of Theoxenos of Pergase (261/0) Euagion dedicated a τέτραχμον ἀντιγόνειον (l. 231). From the same inscription we learn that during the priestship of Philokrates of Hekale (256/5) Pheidonides dedicated four of them (l. 266), during the term of office of Praxiteles of

[28] For further on the battles of Andros and Kos, the Carian expedition and the bibliography see my unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Studies in Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Century Following the Death of Alexander* (Princeton 1958; Microfilm, Ann Arbor).

[29] *Monnaies Grecques*, 123–129; also J. P. Six, "Monnaies d'Hierapolis en Syrie," *NC* 18 (1878) 117 and n. 63, and "Tetrachma Antigoneia," *Ann. Soc. Franç. Num. et Arch.* 6 (1882) 36–37.

[30] *Synopsis: a Guide to the Select Greek and Roman Coins in the British Museum* (London 1880) 75, no. 6.

[31] *HN*² 231–232.

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Eiresidae (255/4) Kallistrat... dedicated three (l. 272) and Dionysia six in the priestship of Ktesonidos (254/3) (l. 279). What these coins were, I do not know. From the date of their dedication, it would seem that they were the Pan-head coinage of Antigonos Gonatas. Perhaps they were examples of the local issue with the kalathos and Athena right as has been suggested.

I should like to summarize the conclusions reached in this article. The Pan-head issue with the Macedonian helmet was struck by Antigonos Gonatas after the battle of Lysimacheia. The Pan-head tetradrachm with the kalathos and Athena facing right is not to be connected with the battle of Lysimacheia, but seems to be the coinage struck by Gonatas when he had captured Athens, and the kalathos coins were probably struck in Attika. The coins with the X were probably struck at Chalkis. The hoard evidence shows that the Poseidon-head tetradrachm was struck by Antigonos Doson. The clearly naval significance of this coin indicates a naval victory, and I think that this victory was Andros in 227 during the Carian expedition. Finally, it has been suggested that the Poseidon-head coins with the trident are to be connected with Doson's expedition to the Peloponnesos and his reoccupation of Corinth.

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NUMISMATIC NOTES FROM MORGANTINA

I. The ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ Coinage

(See Plate VI)

Free political cooperation between the Greek cities and city-states of Sicily was a rare phenomenon in the ancient history of the island. In 424 B.C. at the congress of Gela, it was brought about by the serious threat of Athenian conquest. In 340 B.C. a short-lived confederation of the minor cities of the interior came into being, when Timoleon gathered all available Greek and Siculan forces against the Carthaginians. But cooperation came to an end in the first case, when the danger was over, and in the latter, when enthusiasm ebbed. Pyrrhus' Sicilian enterprise may have aimed at Sicilian unity under Hellenistic monarchic disguise, but failed in the end not only because of the fortunes and misfortunes of war, but equally because of the lack of Siceliote collaboration. From the beginning of the First Punic War, Sicily was split into a pro-Roman and a pro-Carthaginian faction with Syracuse under Hieron II firmly in support of Rome. Thus, no rally of the Siceliotes against the new conqueror ever materialized.

If unified Siceliote political action was rare, still rarer is any manifestation of united national feelings in the official medium which readily would have lent itself to expressing such ideas: the coinage. One can point to only two occasions when such was the case. Sir Arthur Evans has brilliantly illustrated one of them in his Supplement IV to Freeman's *History of Sicily*.[1] It deals with the 'alliance coins' of the minor cities which gathered under Timoleon around the time of the battle of Crimisus. Some of these coins carry on the obverse a personification of Sikelia and on the reverse a flaming torch between two ears of wheat, the emblems of Demeter and Kore, Sicily's two protecting goddesses. The inscription ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ is added on the reverse and that of ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ on the obverse.[2] The

[1] Numismatic lights on the Sicily of Timoleon, in E. A. Freeman, *The History of Sicily*, Vol. 4, Suppl. 4, pp. 349–355 and plate.

[2] B. V. Head, *On the chronological sequence of the coins of Syracuse*, 1874, 37, nos. 9–10. Cf. W. Giesecke, *Sicilia Numismatica*, 1923, 69.

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personification of Sikelia is particularly remarkable both in form and content. The idealized young female head, not unlike Kore but with a myrtle crown on her curly hair, stands for the national values of Hellenic Sicily, menaced by the Carthaginian barbaric power.

The second case is the object of this study, the ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ coins.[3] We know four series of this very rare group of coins. They were first comprehensively published by Salinas in 1867 (op. cit.), and later by Giesecke (op. cit.) who adds no new information, but inserts a few mistakes in the descriptions. Without having personally examined any specimen of the gold pieces[4] (no. 1), I venture to give the following description of the series.

1. *Obv.* Head of Kore l., wearing wreath of barley; curly hair falling over neck; necklace of pearls; behind, palmleaf; border of dots.
   Rev. Biga l., driven by winged Nike wearing long chiton and holding goad in r. hand, reins in l., below, or in exergue: ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ; between legs of horses, or above goad ⊢Σ; plain border.
   Æ W. 4.20 gr.
   Diam. 16 mm.
   For illustrations see PLATE VI, 1–2 and Salinas, op. cit., Pl. 1:1 and Mirone, op. cit., Pl. 15:13.

[3] This coinage is briefly mentioned or discussed by the following authors: J. Pellerin, *Recueil de médailles de peuples et de villes*, Paris 1753, Tome 3, p. 96 and pl. 108; J. Eckhel, *Doctrina nummorum veterum*, Wien 1792, Vol. 1, 189; G. Haus, "Ricerche intorno l'occasione e l'epoca in cui fu battuta la celebre medaglia sicula coll'epigrafe ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ," *Giornale di scienze per la Sicilia*, Tome 18, no. 7 (seen by me only in a reprint in the same author's *Raccolta di alcuni opuscoli...* Palermo 1827, 1–37); G. Alessi, "De nummo Hieronis secundi," *Bull. dell'Inst. Corrisp. Archeol.* 1833, 8–15; A. Salinas, *Le monete delle antiche città di Sicilia*, Palermo 1867, 5–6 and pl. 1:1–7; B. V. Head, *On the chronological sequence of the coins of Syracuse*, 1874, 37, nos. 9–10; A. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, 1898, Vol. 3, 696; G. F. Hill, *Coins of ancient Sicily*, 1903, 193–194; W. Giesecke, *Sicilia numismatica*, 1923, 147–149; S. Mirone, "Monnaies historiques de la Sicile antique," *Aréthuse*, 1927, pp. 67–91, 101–125, see particularly pp. 124–125; K. Christ, "Probleme der griech.-sizilischen Numismatik," *Historia*, 3 (1954/55), 385–395 (for general bibliography); P. R. Franke, "Historisch-numismatische Probleme der Zeit Hierons II. von Syrakus," *Jahrb. f. Num.* 9 (1958), 57–85. The section pp. 82–85 deals with the Sikeliotan coinage.

[4] When Salinas published his monograph it was considered a unique piece, but in Mirone's time a second example had turned up (op. cit., pl. 15:13) with the monogram on the reverse above the biga, not between the legs of the horses, as the first specimen shows. Both these coins are now in the famous collection of Baron Pennisi di Floristella in Acireale, as can be gathered from Boehringer's note in *NZ* 42 (1935), pl. VIII, 3–4 and p. 255.

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2. *Obv.* Head of Kore l., wearing wreath of barley and veiled; behind, laurel leaf; border of dots.
   Rev. Quadriga r., driven by winged Nike wearing long chiton, and holding goad in r. hand, reins in both; in exergue: ΣIKEΛIΩTAN above ⊢Ξ; plain border.
   Æ W. 6.55–6.95 gr.
   Diam. 22 mm.
   For illustrations see PLATE VI, 3–4; *BMC Sicily*, p. 215; Head, op. cit., pl. 11:11; *SNG* (Lloyd collection), Vol. 2, part 7–8, no. 1578; ibid. (Lockett collection), Vol. 3, part 2, no. 1030; *Collection R. Jameson*, 1, *Monnaies grecques antiques*, p. 191, no. 885 and pl. 44; J. Babelon, *Catalogue de la coll. de Luynes*, 1, p. 260, no. 1375 and pl. 51. One example exists in the collections of the ANS, New York.
3. *Obv.* Head of Kore l., wearing wreath of barley; short curly hair; necklace of pearls; behind, poppy seed; border of dots.
   Rev. Biga l., driven by winged Nike wearing long chiton and holding goad in l. hand, reins in r.; in exergue: ΣIKEΛIΩTAN; above goad ⊢Ξ; plain border.
   Æ W. 3.35–3.42 gr.; Diam. 17–19 mm.
   For illustration see PLATE VI, 5 and Salinas, op. cit., p. 5 and pl. I, 6.
4. *Obv.* Head of Zeus r., laureate; border of dots.
   Rev. Horseman galloping r., wearing conical helmet and fluttering chlamys; holding couched spear in r.; in exergue: ΣIKEΛIΩTAN; above ⊢Ξ; plain border.
   Æ W. 1.65–1.72 gr.; diam. 15 mm.
   For illustration see PLATE VI, 6–7; Babelon, op. cit., p. 260, no. 1376 and pl. 51; Salinas, op. cit., p. 6 and pl. 1:7.

They all have in common the tell-tale inscription, unique in Sicilian numismatics, Σικελιωτᾶν, 'coinage of the Siceliotes,' announcing the hope for Sicilian-Greek political unity over and above the borders of the city-states and the polis sovereignity. Further, three of the reverses carry the emblem of Nike triumphantly driving her chariot, indicating that the common cause had gained some tangible success. Thirdly, we find on all the issues the enigmatic monogram ⊢Ξ, to which we will presently return. In all cases but one (no. 4) the obverse depicts the image of Kore, the special protecting deity of the island. In the fourth, the obverse bears the laureate bearded Zeus in the traditional guise of Ζεῦς'Ελευθέριος, Zeus the Deliverer. It seems clear that this coinage with its consistently and patently patriotic allegoric language must have sprung out of a climate of exalted

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national feelings, in a situation when several city-states rallied around a common program of collaboration and liberation. So much seems agreed upon by most of the learned commentators who have dealt with the problem.

Rochette (op. cit. p. 246) believes that they were struck in the times of Pyrrhus to show the unanimous desire of the Siceliotes to call upon the king of Epirus to liberate the entire island from the Carthaginians. His theory is untenable because both stylistic and metrologic arguments indicate that they cannot be earlier than the latter part of the reign of Hieron II, as has been shown by Head (loc. cit.). These reasons also invalidate the hypothesis of Haus who believed them to be Timoleontic (op. cit.), and Alessi's assumption that they celebrated the treaty between Hieron II and the Romans of 263 B.C. (op. cit.). This latter occasion would have been inappropriate for the striking of these new coins which could have been interpreted only as a deliberate weakening of Hieron's sovereignty over his own kingdom, where the ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ and the ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ inscriptions stood for the king's and the mother city's authority over their dominions. This is equally true for the period immediately following the First Punic War, to which period Head, Holm and Hill (op.cit.) assign them. They were struck, so they argue, in Syracuse for those cities which after the peace continued to belong to Hieron's realm, i. e., Acrae, Leontini, Megara, Helorus, Neaete, and Tauromenium. Franke agrees with this view but leaves the date of issue open, and suggests a date even earlier than 241 B.C. (op. cit., p. 83). But why should these towns be joined in such an unprecedented manner, and what interest could the Roman victor and his faithful ally, the king, have in separating Hieron's domain from Syracuse, giving the said cities a coinage of their own, the inscription of which could not but ring anti-Syracusan and anti-Roman? Giesecke (loc. cit.) has pointed out these difficulties, and I concur with him in considering them decisive.

There are certain obvious stylistic affinities between the veiled Kore head on our Type 2 and the head of Philistis on the Hieron coinage of Syracuse. The cantering quadriga on the same issues is, likewise, very close to ours, both in style and iconography (PLATE VI, 8). This same quadriga is, however, found also on the

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reverse of issues from the Syracusan Democracy in 215–212 B.C. (PLATE VI, 9). On these issues we find the best parallels to the Kore head on the obverses of our Types 1 and 3 (PLATE VI, 2, 5) and to the forceful head of Zeus Eleutherios on Type 4 (PLATE VI, 10). The horseman on the reverse of the same coin recalls the common Hieron issue (PLATE VI, 11).

Another striking parallel to our Type 1 is Hieron's gold issue. Franke believes, probably rightly, that this type was struck right down to the end of Hieron's long reign (op. cit., p. 62 and pl. 1:5).

We can thus, in agreement with Giesecke, ascertain that the Sikeliotan issues are stylistically affiliated to coin types datable partly to the reign of Hieron II, partly to the subsequent years of the short-lived Fifth Syracusan Democracy.

It is important to keep this fact in mind when trying to date the coins. Franke, in his attempt to produce a much wanted chronology of Hieron's coinage, has lately tried to show that the Philistis silver issues and the bronzes with Hieron's portrait/Horseman belong to an earlier part of Hieron's reign than the common bronze issues with Poseidon/Trident (op. cit., pp. 68, 71, 72). This belief induces him to date the Sikeliotan coins to the early reign of Hieron II. But, quite apart from the fact that the Hieron coins in question are of different denominations, and therefore not commensurable in frequency charts, Franke's conclusions remain hypothetical. That Syracuse is represented in the Campana hoard, buried while Hannibal was in Bruttium in 216 B.C., by Hieron/Horseman bronzes (op. cit., p. 66), should warn us against any hasty statements. But even if Franke were right in his early dating of the said Hieron issues, it would not fix the Sikeliotan coins to the same date. A recurrence of the Philistis type and the Horseman type under different circumstances and at a somewhat later date, would not be surprising, and it should be emphasized again that the quoted issues of the Fifth Democracy, struck after 215 B.C., present excellent stylistic parallels to the other Sikeliotan types. Therefore Giesecke's dating of the Sikeliotan issues remains the more probable. I believe it can be strengthened by new arguments.

Their refined style and splendid quality speak decidedly for the assumption that, wherever and whenever the coins were actually

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issued, the die-cutters were either Syracusan artists or trained in the school of the former royal mint.

Three proposals have been made to decipher the monogram ⊢Σ present on the coins. Alessi (op. cit.) believes that it should be dissolved in H Σ, and understands it as the first and last letter in H[ιέρωνο] Σ supposing that the aspiration is marked by H, as sometimes happens in coins from HIMEPA. Head, followed by Holm and Hill (op. cit.), suggests that it stands for I Σ, and interprets it 'I[έρωνος] Σ[υρακοσίου]. The former proposal is orthographically impossible, as the aspiration is never marked in Hieronian inscriptions, and the second is palaeographically unsatisfactory, because it does not account for the horizontal bar which unites the presumed I with the Σ. Further it would present us with a unique and curious instance of Hieron adding his Syracusan origin to his name. If the coins were struck after Hieron's and Hieronymus' death, it is clear that any allusion to his name would be out of place. It is far more probable that the monogram abbreviates the place of issue rather than the name of a person. J. P. Six, when reading the proofs of the third volume of Holm's *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, must have felt the same, because he makes the ingenious suggestion to dissolve the letters as T M and reads them T[αυρο] M[ενίταν].[5] Orthographic, palaeographic and chronological difficulties seem overcome, and Tauromenium should be the place where the coins were struck.

Elegant as the solution is, it fits very badly with what we know of the historical events after the death of Hieronymus in 215 B.C. Before venturing a new proposal, a brief summary of these events is called for.[6]

When Hieron II died in 216 B.C. and was succeeded by his grandson Hieronymus there appeared the first signs of a shift in Syracuse's traditional pro-Roman policy. The young king was actually negotiating with Carthage when he was murdered in Leontini early in 215 B.C. The pro-Roman party was blamed for the murder which, however, seems to have been committed by a conspiracy of private

[5] Holm, op. cit., 696, cf. Preface p. VII.

[6] Livy's book 24 allows us to follow the events with reasonable clarity. E. Pais' lucid account summarizes them in a masterly way, and adds all necessary references. E. Pais, *Storia di Roma durante le guerre puniche*, Vol. 2, 1927, 1–22.

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citizens, outraged by the young king's arbitrary and tyrannical attitudes. With this event the so-called Fifth Democracy (215–212 B.C.) begins in Syracuse. Those who had inspired Hieronymus in his anti-Roman policy were two Carthaginian citizens of Greek descent, Hippokrates and Epikydes, who were Hannibal's personal agents and seem to have followed a master-plan which was probably directed by Hannibal himself. (Polyb. 7.4) The power combinations shifted quickly in Syracuse at this time and when Hieron's two sons-in-law, Adranodoros and Themistios, supported by the Syracusan aristocracy, were elected *strategoi*, the pro-Roman party had again the upper hand. But only for a short while. The new *strategoi* were accused of trying to reconstitute the monarchy and in the name of democratic liberty, Adranodorus, Themistios and all the remaining members of the former royal house were murdered. The leaders of the revolt were Hippokrates and Epikydes, now elected *strategoi* by the excited mob and by mercenary troops, formerly in Roman service. Freedom and democracy were associated with the Carthaginian side, a propagandistic move of great efficiency, while the kingship of Hieron, tyranny and oligarchy were called Roman. Hannibal seemed to have gained his goal of depriving the Romans of their only powerful ally, Syracuse.

The Romans were fully aware of the gravity of the situation, but were equally anxious not to provoke the seemingly inevitable hostilities. Appius Claudius, the praetor, strengthened the Roman garrisons around the borders of the Syracusan territory, and Cl. Marcellus the new consul of 214 B.C. closed in on Syracuse with a considerable fleet. Under these unstable conditions when a strong pro-Carthaginian wind was blowing over Sicily, the Romans could register only one major diplomatic success: the city of Tauromenium voluntarily offered its submission (Appian, V, *Sic. fragm.* 5). This was gladly accepted, and formed the foundation for Tauromenium's privileged position in the future as a *civitas foederata*, free of taxes and naval duty (Cic. *Verr.* II.160, III.13, V.49, 56). This event proves sufficiently that any town but Tauromenium could have been the place where the nationalistic anti-Roman Sikeliotan coinage was produced.

The Roman naval demonstration was followed by a Carthaginian one, and after the Tauromenian submission it seemed for a while still

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possible for the pro-Roman party in Syracuse to induce the citizens to respect the old Roman treaty, or at least to remain neutral. At this juncture Hannibal's agents found a much desired occasion to provoke the Romans through a disturbance created in Leontini. Tumultuous events followed, Roman soldiers were killed, Leontini was taken by Marcellus and 2,000 ex-Roman mercenaries, captured in the town, were executed as deserters. Hippokrates and Epikydes used this punishment as a psychological weapon, and the Syracusans rallied around them in defence of Syracuse and their own lives against the cruel Roman invader. Hannibal had finally—in the spring of 214 B.C.—gained his goal, and Marcellus closed in upon Syracuse to start the long siege.

The first eight months of this siege were a continuous fiasco for the Romans. Dionysius' walls, Hieron's enormous supplies, and Archimedes' genius frustrated all the attempts of Marcellus to take the city or even to cut it off from further supplies.

In the late fall Marcellus decided to abandon the active siege, and leave a sufficient army and naval forces on the spot to starve the city to surrender, while he made an inland raid in force. It was high time for some Roman activity in the interior of the island, because, on Hannibal's direct recommendation, the Carthaginian general Himilco had been sent to Sicily with an expeditionary force, and after landing in Heraclea Minoa, had taken Agrigentum within a few days. Livy asserts that Hannibal said that "time had come for liberating Sicily in the most honorable way," and continues: "And the hopes of the other city-states which were on the side of the Carthaginians were so fired to drive the Romans out of Sicily that finally even those who were besieged at Syracuse took courage."[7] The triumph of Hannibal's policy seemed close: the Romans were ridiculed in Syracuse, the Carthaginian propaganda played cleverly on anti-Roman strings always vibrating in the minds of the Siceliotes, and Himilco's military success accomplished the rest. "His purpose was" says Livy "to bring up his army to any point to which the hope of revolting from the Romans might call him, and by his presence

[7] Liv. 24. 35. 6: Aliarumque civitatium, quae partis Carthaginiensium erant, adeo accensae sunt spes ad pellendos Sicilia Romanos ut postremo etiam qui obsidebantur Syracusis animos sustulerint.

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give encouragement to those who were inclined to support his cause. Murgantia [i. e. Morgantina] was first occupied after the inhabitants had betrayed the Roman garrison. There a great quantity of grain and supplies of every kind had been accumulated by the Romans."[8]

This was the time when the Sikeliotan coinage could have been struck. After considerable success on all fronts, Himilco had rallied the Siceliotes to an enthusiastically united effort to expel the Romans "per summum decus," as Livy says. The chariots of Nike were rolling and the native gods of Sicily were present in the war of liberation. And, not to be forgotten, the chief Roman war supply deposit in Morgantina-Murgantia had been added to Carthaginian wealth. This town became the natural centre for anti-Roman feelings and actions also in the future. It rebelled once more in desperation in 211 B.C. (Livy 26.21.14), and had to undergo its final and severe punishment.[9]

It is in the light of these events and in consideration of the particular part Morgantina played in them, that I would suggest a new solution to the riddle of the Sikeliotan monogram. The order in which one choses to read the two letters in the monogram is, of course, arbitrary. ⊢Ξ should be read not T M for T[αυρο] M[ενίταν], as Six suggested, but M T for M[οργαν] T[ίνων].[10]

If this solution is applied, all the historical and palaeographic difficulties are solved and the coinage acquires new meaningfulness as an adequate expression of an historical situation. It may seem the

[8] Liv. 24. 36. 9–10: Castra inde movit, ut quocumque vocasset defectionis ab Romano spes admoveret exercitum ac praesens suas res foventibus adderet animos. Murgantiam primum prodito ab ipsis praesidio Romano recepit, ubi frumenti magna vis commeatusque omnis generis convecti erant Romanis.

[9] For the history of Morgantina and the excavations there see *AJA* 61 (1957), 151–159; 62 (1958), 81–90 and 155–164; 63 (1959), 167–173; 64 (1960), 125–135.

[10] Our assumption that the die cutters were Syracusan artists or trained in the mint of Syracuse is easily reconciled with the proposal of Morgantina as the minting place. Both Syracuse and Morgantina were, in 214/13 B.C., *de facto* in Carthaginian hands, and communication between the two towns could be kept up either by sea through Agrigentum or directly over the inland route. The besieged Syracusans were able, to make military raids at will, far inland in spite of the Roman blockade (Livy 24, 35. 8). Earlier in her history Morgantina had used Syracusan die cutters in her mint. The rare and splendid tetradrachm in the collection of Baron Pennisi di Floristella in Acireale was struck on a die cut by an artist who in style and time stood very close to Euainetos. See: S. Mirone, "Un rare tétradrachm de Morgantinè," *RN* 21 (1917–1918), 113–121.

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irony of fate that the last time Siceliote patriotism was stirred, it was nourished by Carthaginian gold and whipped up by Hannibal's propaganda. We may judge it a futile and misguided military and political effort, but it should be remembered that in 214, Hannibal was closer to his goal than ever before or after, and the Morgantinians and their compatriots were first hand witnesses to the elated atmosphere in the Carthaginian camp. The mistake they made was great and fatal, but at the time it was made it seemed the only right and reasonable thing to do.

To strengthen the case for Morgantina as the minting place of the Sikeliotan coinage, the following notes may be added. In the summer of 1955 Princeton University planned its future excavation at Serra Orlando close to the village of Aidone. It was then a nameless ancient city, and only later was it identified as the site of Morgantina. One of the landowners of the place, Commendatore Giuseppe Trigona, told me that in early days a very rare gold coin had been found accidentally in his field by a shepherd and that the coin bore the inscription ΣΙΚΕ-ΛΙΩΤΑΝ. He further told me that it had been sold for a considerable sum of money which, however, only represented a fraction of its real value. At the time I paid little attention to his tale, but it should be saved from oblivion in the light of a bibliographical note that I later had the good luck to discover.

The first gold Sikeliotan coin found—and it was long considered unique—is described and discussed by Alessi in his elegant Latin letter to Gerhard in 1833 (op. cit.). The letter ends with the following sentence: "Restat ut moneam, numisma illud aureum, quod dilucidandum assumpsimus, inventum esse in agro qui dicitur Sella di Orlando, duo millia passuum distante ab urbe Aidonis (quondam Erbita) et asservari in domo Clarae Boscarini viduae Antonini Ranfaldi; nec ullo pretio acquiri potuisse." Now, the ancestor of our present landowner was a Boscarini, and through him he came into possession of the land. The oral tradition is thus confirmed and at least one—and the first—gold Sikeliotan coin came from Morgantina, and from its agora or its surroundings.

But this is not enough. In the spring of 1958 a documentary exhibition illustrating the Princeton University Excavations in Morgantina (Serra Orlando) was arranged in the University Library. On

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the occasion, a friend of the Expedition and a native of Aidone, Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone of Brooklyn, N.Y., kindly lent us some objects from his private collection of antiquities since they all have one single and well documented provenance, the Serra Orlando ridge. Some of them he picked up himself as a boy, while others were gifts from a late uncle, one of the landowners of the site. Among this latter group is a handful of coins which were catalogued by Miss Frances F. Jones, Curator of Ancient Art at the Princeton Art Museum to whom I owe this information. None of them is particularly remarkable with one exception: a Sikeliotan coin of our Type 4, in very good condition but for a small dent in the upper edge of the reverse side. Its weight is 1,637 gr., and its diameter 0.015 m. (PLATE VI, 12). All of the Sikeliotan issues are very rare, and of this particular one I know of only three examples, two in Paris and one in Munich.

It should be emphasized again that of the few Sikeliotan coins we possess to-day—and they must from the beginning have been a small and temporary issue—the finding place is known for two of them. In both cases, it is the far-off inland city of Morgantina. This forceful argument of provenance, added to the historical and numismatic evidence here presented, will, I believe, dispell any legitimate doubt regarding the minting place. If the minting place is agreed upon, the date of issue would follow almost automatically. The only period in Morgantina's history, readily suitable for such an extraordinary act, are the years 214–213 B.C.

ERIK SJÖQVIST

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NUMISMATIC NOTES FROM MORGANTINA

2. Half Coins of Hieron II in the monetary System of Roman Sicily*

Among the coins of Hieron II, ruler of Syracuse from 274 to 215 B.C., which have been found during the current excavations conducted by Princeton University at the Sicilian city of Morgantina (the modern Serra Orlando),[1] the majority belong to the well-known series which may be described as follows:

Obv.: Head of Poseidon l., bearded, wearing diadem.
Rev.: Ornamental trident-head, with scroll decoration between prongs; lotiform shaft; at either side a dolphin, downward; below, ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ.[2] (Fig. 1).
Æ, ca. 5.5 gr., 15–22 mm.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

* Thanks are due to Professors R. Stillwell and E. Sjöqvist of Princeton University, co-directors of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily, who have generously extended permission for this preliminary study of the half coins from Morgantina. Professor Sjöqvist kindly read the manuscript in an early stage of preparation and has offered many helpful suggestions. Professor Rudi Thomsen, University of Aarhus, Denmark has given me the benefit of clarifying discussion of metrological and other matters. Throughout the paper I have relied heavily on his researches. However, for the text as it stands and for the conclusions presented I must remain solely responsible.

[1] Preliminary excavation reports: *AJA* 61 (1957) 151–159, 62 (1958) 155–164, 63 (1959) 167–173, 64 (1960), 125–135. For identification of the site cf. K. Erim, *AJA* 62 (1958) 79–90.

[2] E. Gabrici, *La monetazione del bronzo nella Sicilia antica* (Palermo, 1927) 184–185, nos. 431–489, pl. V, no. 21. Unfortunately, field conditions have

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Two hundred of these are half coins. They were made in antiquity by the deliberate division of whole pieces, which were painstakingly cut along the axis of the trident shaft (fig. 2). Such carefully cut half coins are seldom found in the Greek world, and to my knowledge examples of one Greek coin type treated in this manner have never been discovered before in such quantity.[3]

Therefore, it is most improbable that the splitting of coins into half pieces was a popular custom in Greek Sicily. Rather, one is drawn to compare the Morgantina finds with similar occurrences in the Roman world. Bronze half coins circulated in quantity along the Roman frontier on the Rhine in the early first century A.D. Being Janus head issues, they were generally cut with care along the axis of the two heads, and for this reason among others, L. Strack has suggested that they were officially produced by local authorities.[4] Twenty-seven half coins of the same century were discovered during the excavation of Antioch-on-the-Orontes. These pieces also seem to be an official "issue" made at some time during the reign of Nero.[5] Finally, a third

prevented the weighing of the Morgantina examples. The recorded weights of the Poseidon/Trident show a considerable latitude of standard; the maximum is 8.99 gr., the minimum is 3.01 gr. The coin circulated in quantity at the end of the reign of Hieron II and the years following, as may be seen from the hoards discussed by P. R. Franke, "Historisch-numismatische Probleme der Zeit Hierons II von Syrakus," *JfNG* 9 (1958) 66–68.

[3] Mutilated Greek coins have appeared regularly in early Egyptian hoards, e.g. E. S. G. Robinson, *NC* (1930) 93–106 and pls. VIII and IX. The Taranto Hoard contained a half stater of Corinth, S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*[2] (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 78, New York, 1937) no. 1052; E. Babelon, *RN* (1912) pl. III, no. 14. Additional half silver coins have been reported from Olynthos, D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos IV, The Coins Found in 1931* (Baltimore, 1933) 30, nos. 91 and 100, pls. IV and VII.

[4] L. Strack, *BonnJbb* 108/9 (1902) 1–25. The latest treatment of this subject is by K. Kraft, *BonnJbb* 155/56 (1955–1956) 95–111. I am indebted to Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland for knowledge of both these studies.

[5] D. A. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes IV, part 2, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Crusader Coins* (Princeton, 1952) 35–36. The half asses from Italy have been gathered by S. L. Cesano, *RIN* 28 (1915) 11–38. Additional instances in the Roman world may be cited from: Dura-Europus, A. R. Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europus VI, The Coins* (New Haven, 1944) 156, no. 1811c, pl. XXXVII; and Minturnae, E. T. Newell, *Two Hoards from Minturno* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 60, New York, 1933) 22 ff. (14 coins).

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century B.C. hoard from Suessa Aurunca contains twenty-six halves of quadrigati.[6]

In the third century B.C. Sicily was a borderland of the Roman State. The Romans were probably in control of Morgantina by the end of the First Punic War.[7] In the financial crises and currency reductions through which Rome passed in the half century or more after the beginning of that conflict we may reasonably expect to find the cause for the summary chopping up of the Poseidon/Trident bronzes.

The relation of the Poseidon/Trident group to the Roman bronze series is particularly close. They were overstruck by the Romans to produce quadrantes, sextantes, and unciae.[8] Metrologically the unciae belong to the reduction level which has been termed post-semilibral; the sextantes are generally to be associated with the reduced sextantal level (a few reach full sextantal weight); and the quadrantes hover around uncial weight or below.[9] Thus as the weight standard of the Roman bronze declined, the Poseidon/Trident coin was used to produce higher and higher denominations, and we may reasonably assume that at each stage the uncanceled Poseidon/Trident circulated at the same value as the overstruck piece.

At this point, however, we are met by a considerable problem. We have just seen that the Poseidon/Trident coin at one time was valued as an uncia (post-semilibral reduction), at another as a sextans (reduced sextantal reduction), and at still a third as a quadrans (un-

[6] L. Breglia, "Rinvenimento monetale di Sessa Aurunca," *Numismatica* (1946) 1 ff.

[7] Nearby Enna was certainly held after 258 B.C., Diod., 23:9:5; Polyb., 1:24:12, and Morgantina had a garrison and a Roman quartermaster's depot at the beginning of the Sicilian resistance of 214 B.C., Livy, 24:36:10.

[8] P. Bonazzi, "Le prime monete Romane di bronzo coniate in Sicilia," *RIN* (1922) 15–16, 19; C. A. Hersch, "Overstrikes as Evidence for the History of Roman Republican Coinage," *NC* (1953) 41–43; R. Thomsen, *Early Roman Coinage* 1 (Copenhagen, 1957) 135–136.

[9] Thomsen, op. cit., n. 8, 136 and notes 18 and 19. The theoretical weight of the post-semilibral as, as computed from existing specimens of the series, is 87.97 to 73.68 gr., ibid., p. 88. The sextantal as by definition weighed 2 Roman ounces; the theoretical weight is 54.6 gr., but in practice it varied between 51.8 and 38.9 gr., E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952) xxv. The uncial as by definition weighed 1 Roman ounce, but actually it ran about 27.3 gr., ibid., xxvii.

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cial reduction or below). To which level of Roman bronze should we refer the half pieces? Since a half quadrans is an unknown denomination in the Roman monetary system, the possibility that the half Poseidon/Trident coins are to be associated with the whole pieces overstruck as quadrantes may be dismissed. But we still must inquire whether the half Poseidon/Trident is an uncia (reduced sextantal reduction) or a semuncia (post-semilibral reduction). Fortunately, an answer to this question may be suggested on purely numismatic grounds.

Unciae of the post-semilibral standard attributed to Roman mints in Sicily are not uncommon.[10] But unciae of lower weight are rare.[11] Not only do the half coins from Morgantina readily present themselves as a local substitute for a lack of regular unciae at this lower level, but this conclusion is supported by four other coins which have been found during the excavations. These are quarter parts of Poseidon/Trident coins. Since the semuncia was the smallest denomination of the Roman monetary scale, these quarter coins would have had no place in a system in which one half a Poseidon/Trident would have been equal to a Roman semuncia (post-semilibral reduction). They are better explained as semuncia in a reduced sextantal system in which the half coin is a substitute for a deficiency of normal unciae.

The other Roman coins found at Morgantina bear out our analysis. They are overwhelmingly asses and unciae with the asses predomi-

[10] Cf. H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* 2 (London, 1910) 165. That the wheat ear symbol must belong to a mint or mints on the island is proven by the provenance of the pieces with this device, cf. the hoards discussed below, pp. 69 and 70, and S. L. Cesano, *NSc* (1938) 17–20.

[11] Bonazzi, op. cit., n. 8, knew of none. However, Sydenham, op. cit., n. 9, p. 34, no. 310, notes an example of an uncial uncia with symbol, ear of wheat, and monogram, ⋔, in the Haines Collection. He marks it "Very Rare." The interpretation of the monogram, ⋔, as the mint mark of Catania, proposed by Bonazzi and accepted by Sydenham, has been criticized by P. Orsi, "Tesoretto di bronzi Greci, Sicilioti e Romani da Piazza Armerina," *Atti e Memorie dell' Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* VI (Rome, 1930) 114. Orsi's objection was based on the lack of Sicilian provenance among the examples known to him. A number of the ⋔ coins, however, are overstruck on Syracusan flans, R. Thomsen, op. cit., n. 8, p. 136. And the discovery during the 1959 season at Morgantina of an uncial sextans bearing the monogram, type of Sydenham, op. cit., n. 9, p. 34, no. 310d, serves further to weaken Orsi's objection.

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nating in a ratio of 4 : 1.[12] The supply of Roman bronze was largely heavy coins, the asses. Small change appears to have been made mostly by the uncia. But in the shift downward from the post-semilibral standard the weight of the old uncia became equal to that of the new sextans, and the Poseidon/Trident coin, which we have found reason to believe was already circulating at a fixed rate in relation to the Roman weight scale, rose in value from uncia to sextans. The need for unciae was now pressing; the supply was small; the remedy adopted seems to have been the creation of unciae by dividing in two the Poseidon/Trident pieces, thus restoring their former function at the counting table.

A picture of the monetary conditions under which these events took place is provided by three hoards from the neighborhood of Morgantina. Two were discovered in 1908, one on the site of Morgantina itself, the other nearby at Barrafranca.[13] The Aidone (Morgantina) hoard contained:

> Forty-six Prow unciae of post-semilibral standard (the majority with wheat ear symbol); one bronze coin of the Syracusan democracy (215–212 B.C.); and one uncertain Sicilian bronze.

The Barrafranca hoard contained:

> Four Prow unciae of post-semilibral standard, all with wheat ear symbol; one Prow sextans of reduced sextantal standard, with the same symbol; seventy-nine Poseidon/Trident bronzes of Hieron II of Syracuse.

The third hoard was reported by P. Orsi in 1930.[14] It was found at Montagna di Marzo near Piazza Armerina. It consists of:

[12] Based on examination of the coins of the 1958 season.

[13] Aidone, Serra Orlando, Noe, op. cit., n. 3, no. 22; P. Orsi, *NSc* (1909) 66–67; *Bolletino Italiano di Numismatica e di Arte delle Medaglia* (1909) 127. Barrafranca, Noe, op. cit., n. 3, no. 124; P. Orsi, *NSc* (1909) 67–70; *Bolletino Italiano di Numismatica e di Arte delle Medaglia* (1909) 157–159. The weight standards of the Roman coins given in the text for these two hoards and the find of Montagna di Marzo are those reported by R. Thomsen, op. cit., n. 8, p. 122.

[14] Noe, op. cit., n. 3, no. 815; P. Orsi, op. cit., n. 11. Professor Thomsen kindly informs me that coins from this hoard may now be seen in the Museo Nazionale in Syracuse. Slightly different reports of the contents are given by S. L. Cesano, *NSc* (1938) 19 and Noe, loc. cit.

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> Thirty-one Prow bronzes; one sextantal semis with wheat ear symbol, one post-semilibral triens, one sextans of a slightly reduced sextantal standard, twenty-eight post semilibral unciae, more than half of them with wheat ear symbol. Four of these were overstruck on Poseidon/Trident flans, one on an unidentified coin. In addition there were: Syracuse, Hieron II, 271; Hieronymos, 10; Democracy, 10; Egypt, Ptolemy I or II, 2; Carthage, 2; Rhegion, 5 (all of the third century); Mamertini, 1.

These hoards should belong to the same period of disturbance which saw the manufacture of the half coin unciae, for they illustrate the transition from the post-semilibral to the sextantal and reduced sextantal standard at a time when numbers of Hieron II coins remained in circulation.

In summary, two periods may be distinguished. The first is characterized by post-semilibral Roman bronze overstruck on Syracusan Poseidon/Trident flans; the second by the decline of the Roman bronze standard to the reduced sextantal level. In this second period the Poseidon/Trident coins were used to produce sextantes by overstriking, unciae by halving, and semunciae by quartering.

We may now turn to problems of absolute chronology. If we are to accept the low dating of Mattingly and Sydenham we must place the beginning of our second period well after 187 B.C., the date proposed by these authors for the introduction of the sextantal system.[15] This is difficult for three reasons. First, because we must conclude that in the rich province of Sicily old coins of Hieron II and careless overstrikes still accounted for the greater part of the money in circulation twenty-five years after the final Roman victory and after almost a century of Roman occupation. Second, because we must place the beginning of the need for unciae of the reduced sextantal level between 187 and 150 B.C., the limits given by Sydenham to the sextantal sytem. At this time, however, there is no apparent reason for the rapid creation of an emergency supply of unciae in Sicily. Finally,

[15] Embodied in Sydenham, op. cit., n. 9. For a full summary and bibliography of the varying views concerning the chronology of early Republican coinage reference may now be made to R. Thomsen, op. cit., n. 8, pp. 211–247.

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it is extremely difficult to believe that the Barrafranca, Aidone (Morgantina), and Montagna di Marzo hoards were buried at the end of the first or in the second quarter of the second century B.C. Viewed as a whole they are pure deposits of third century coins.

Moreover, the low chronology does not fit with the archaeological evidence from Morgantina. General indications of the need for a higher date for the production of the half Poseidon/Trident coins come from two sources.

During the campaign of 1959 a group of *epitymbion* tombs dating from the fourth into the third century were excavated. The latest burial, which had been laid up against an earlier monument, was the grave of a small child, who had been provided with a half Poseidon/Trident coin as an obol for Charon. The vases found in the tomb are not datable within close limits but are characteristic of the wares of the later third century at Morgantina.

During the current excavations, fifteen half coins of other Greek issues have been found. The insignificance of their numbers serves to emphasize the rigour with which the Poseidon/Trident pieces were selected for halving. But if we assume that these coins were also caught up in the production of emergency unciae, they provide another general indication of the date of the event, for all could have been struck before 200 B.C.[16]

Greater precision is possible if we consider the history of Morgantina during the Second Punic War. In 214 B.C. the town expelled its Roman garrison but was quickly recaptured; in 211 B.C., after the fall of Syracuse, it revolted again, was once more recaptured, and on this occasion was handed over to the Spanish condottiere Moericus and his band.[17]

At some time at the end of the third century B.C. two sanctuaries of Demeter and Core at Morgantina were destroyed, apparently simultaneously. The two shrines are about one half kilometer apart; thus the possibility of a chance fire must be dismissed.

[16] The coins are: Catania, 2; Lilybaeum, 1; Mamertini, 5; Syracuse, Timoleon, 1; Agathocles, 1; Hicetas, 1; Hieron II (Persephone/Bull type), 3; Tauromenium, 1. 35 half Roman asses have also been found; 6 of them are coins of Sextus Pompey.

[17] Livy, 24:36:10; 38:3; 39:10; 26:21:14; 21:17.

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Moreover, both were deliberately sacked. Such sacrilege against the native gods of Sicily could have come from only one source: the Romans or their Spanish mercenaries. In both sanctuaries half Poseidon/Trident coins have been found in or below the destruction layer.[18]

Was the destruction in 214 or 211 B.C.? As we have seen above, the half Poseidon/Trident coins find a place in the Roman monetary system as unciae of the reduced sextantal standard. Thus the reduced sextantal level must already have been reached when the two sanctuaries were sacked and half Poseidon/Trident coins buried in their ruins. Present research in Roman Republican numismatics, moreover, confirms the archaeological evidence in suggesting that the sextantal standard was adopted during the Second Punic War.[19] However, the overstrikes of Capua, Atella, and Calatia made on Roman semilibral bronze apparently during the revolt of 216–211 B.C. are a formidable barrier to any attempt to place the sextantal standard before 216 B.C.[20] 214 B.C. thus appears a bit early to find the Roman bronze already below the sextantal standard, and the balance of probability would suggest 211 B.C. as the date for the destruction of the Morgantina sanctuaries. The production of the half Poseidon/Trident unciae must antedate that event. Thus considered, they emerge as a clever expedient adopted by some Roman quaestor at a date between 214 and 211 B.C. to meet the problems of monetary circulation in the rapidly declining sextantal system.[21]

[18] Sanctuary of Demeter and Core, *AJA* 62 (1958) 158–160: half Poseidon/Trident coin below tile layer (Inv. 57–1718); half Poseidon/Trident coin in the floor of the Great Altar Court (Inv. 58–1239). The South Demeter Sanctuary, *AJA* 63 (1959) 171: half Poseidon/Trident coin below tile layer (Inv. 58–1756). The same room of the sanctuary produced a hoard of Roman silver, 4 victoriati, 1 denarius, 3 quinarii, 1 sestertius, ibid. pl. 42, figs. 19, 20. The date proposed for the sanctuary, ibid., p. 171, n. 7, rests on the Mattingly-Sydenham chronology for these coins. Full presentation of all relevant ceramic and numismatic material must await final publication.

[19] Cf. R. Thomsen, "The Chronology of Early Roman Coinage Reconsidered," *Actes du congrès international de numismatique, 1953*, 2 (Paris, 1957), where 209 B.C. is proposed as the *terminus ante quem* for the denarius, p. 201. But cf. the reply of Mattingly, *NC* 9 (1957) 119.

[20] Thomsen, op. cit., p. 196.

[21] The sextantal system was in drastic decline very soon after its adoption, ibid., p. 201.

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The history of the half coins from Morgantina as reconstructed here has many implications for discussion of problems in Roman Republican numismatics, for it necessitates the appearance of the reduced sextantal standard in or before 211 B.C. The treatment of such questions is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is hoped that the evidence of Sicilian archaeology will aid in their solution.

R. Ross Holloway

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THE DENARII OF CN. POMPEIUS JR. AND M. MINATIUS SABINUS[1]

(See Plate VII)

Nothing can be added to the sum of our knowledge of M. Minatius Sabinus: a proquaestor of the younger Cn. Pompey, he struck silver for him in Spain at some time during the years 46–45.[2] But his issues are sufficiently out of the ordinary to warrant a recapitulation of the varying types, and so of the dies. I give here first a corpus of the examples known to me.

Obv. Head of Pompeius Magnus r.

Around, CN . MAGN IMP (die 1)
CN . MAGNVS IMP (dies 2, 7)
CN . MAGN IMP . F (die 3)
CN . MAGNVS IMP . F (die 4)
CN . MAGNVS IMP B (die 5)[3]
CN . MAGNVS IMP . B (die 6)

Reverse Type A

Corduba standing r. amid a pile of arms,[4] wearing stola and turreted crown, holding sceptre[5] in l. hand, her r. hand extended to greet a Pompeian soldier who debarks, one foot

[1] I am greatly indebted to the curators who gave freely of their time and energy in the compilation of this material: Dr. Jean Babelon (Paris), Mr. Alexandre Ferreira Barros (Oporto), Dr. L. Belova (Leningrad), Dr. Guido Bruck (Vienna), Mr. R. A. G. Carson (London), Dr. Silvana Finocchi (Turin), Miss Frances Jones (Princeton), Mr. Colin Kraay (Oxford), Dr. George Kustas (New York), Dr. Luigi Michelini Tocci (Vatican), Dr. Franco Panvini-Rosati (Rome), Dr. Attilio Stazio (Naples), Dr. A. Suhle (Berlin). Mrs. Emeline Richardson was of great help in the problems of dress and armor.

[2] More likely 46. The reverse types suggest the opening of Cnaeus' campaign in the peninsula, and celebrate his victories. All were probably issued before Caesar reached the south of Spain.

[3] The one coin which we have from this die is not squarely struck, but the tops of ... NVS can just be made out.

[4] What is the object on the ground before her? Perhaps a cuirass?

[5] Not spear, as Sydenham et al. The illustration of die a shows the whole length of the sceptre: there is no point at either end.

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still on the gangway, from a ship whose prow is in the water at right. He wears the leather cuirass and tunic, and holds a parazonium in his l. hand.
Below, M. MINAT / SABIN
At l., PR . Q

	Obv. Die				*Rev. Die*
Syd. 1036	1 .1	3.92	↓	Leningrad 1591	a*[6]
	.2	3.71	←	London (*BMCRR* II. 366. 77, pl. ci. 2)	a
	.3	3.42	←	Berlin	a
	.4			Hess sale (20-V-1912) 1238, "gefüttert"	a
	.5		↙	Hess sale (Horsky, 30–IV–1917) 2548	a
	.6	2.98		Rome, Museo Nazionale (Gnecchi coll.); Sangiorgi sale (Borghesi, 19–I–1893) 872 [plated?]	b
	.7			Münzen und Medaillen list 144 (March, 1955) 33	b
Syd. 1036a	2 .1	3.69	→	Berlin	b
	.2	3.49		Cahn sale (Haeberlin, 17–VII–1933) 2648	b
	.3			Naples, Fiorelli 2064	b
	.4			Dorotheum sale (Zeno, 8–VI–1956) 2811	b
Syd. 1036b	3 .1	3.50	→	London (*BMCRR* II. 366. 78)	a
	.2			Glendining sale (Ryan, 2–IV–1952) 1855; "from a Paris sale 28/6/23;" Sotheby sale (Sandeman, 13–VI–1911) 360	a
	.3	4.09		Cahn sale (Haeberlin, 17–VII–1933) 2649	c
	*.4	3.91	↖	New York; Egger sale (Prowe, 28–XI–1904) 2126	c*
	.5	3.55	↓	Paris 2892	c
	.6			Turin	c
Syd. 1036c	4 .1	3.86	→	New York; Sambon sale (Martinetti, 18–XI–1907) 1367; Sangiorgi sale (Borghesi, 19–I–1893) 872 bis	a

[6] The asterisk in either column indicates those pieces illustrated on the plate as examples for each die.

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.2	3.45	←	Vienna; illustrated *NZ* 28 (1896) pl. x. 226 a
.3	3.25	↗	Vienna a
.4		↘	Naples, Fiorelli 2063 a
.5			Glendining sale (Nordheim, 9–III–1931) 262; Hirsch sale 18 (Imhoof-Blumer, 20–V–1907) 314; Hoffmann sale (de Belfort, 20–II–1888) 40 a
*.6	3.85	↙	Oxford b
.7	3.60	←	London (*BMCRR* II. 366. 79, pl. ci. 3) b
.8	3.60	→	Paris 2891 b*

Reverse Type B

A second Spanish city standing r., turreted, wearing palla which engages the l. hand, raising r. hand in salutation of soldier in cuirass and tunic, who faces her but extends his hands r. to receive shield[7] from a third, kneeling, Spanish city, dressed in stola and turreted crown.

Below, **M . MINAT / SABI**[8]
At l., **PR . Q**

	Obv. Die				*Rev. Die*
Syd. 1037	1 .1	3.79	↓	Berlin	d*
	.2		↙	Naples, Fiorelli 2061	d
	.3	3.75	↓	Vienna; reverse illustrated *NZ* 28 (1896) pl. x. 227	e
	.4	3.60	↑	Paris 2893	e*
	.5	3.45	↑	Vienna	e
	.6		↗	Naples, Fiorelli 2062	e
	.7			Turin	e
	.8			Glendining sale (Ryan, 2–IV–1952) 1856; "from a Paris sale 28/6/23;" Hess sale (20–V–1912) 1239	e

[7] Much too large for "corona," as Borghesi, *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1862) I, 159. The striations within the circle show that the object is covered over.
[8] There seems to be no significance in the alternative abbreviations, **SABIN** and **SABI**, although each occurs consistently on the dies of a given type.

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Syd. 1037a	2	.1	3.84		Cahn sale (Haeberlin, 17–VII–1933) 2651; Sangiorgi sale (Borghesi, 19–I–1893) 873	d
		*.2	3.74	↓	London (*BMCRR* II. 366. 80, pl. ci. 4)	d
		.3			Münzen und Medaillen sale 8 (8–XII–1949) 878, "found in Portugal."	d
Syd. 1037b	3				*unknown*	
Syd. 1037c[9]	4	.1			Vatican	d
Syd. —	5	*.1	3.73	↖	Berlin; Hess sale (Horsky, 30–IV–1917) 2549; Rollin and Feuardent sale (Hoffmann, 2–V–1898) 1075; Sotheby sale (Bunbury, 10–VI–1895) 342; illustrated *NZ* 32 (1900) pl. v. 99 ["199"]; attributed by Bahrfeldt to Haeberlin collection, wrongly (*NZ* vol. cit., p. 72).	f
Syd. —	6	.1			Princeton, University Art Gallery 55–1516; (bought of Bourgey in 1929)	f
		*.2		↙	Private Portuguese collection; Molder sale 62 (28–II–1951) 535	f*

The search for examples of Type B nowhere produced an instance of this reverse with obverse legend CN. MAGN. IMP. F (Syd. 1037b). Sydenham's only citation is Babelon Pompeia 12, where the legend is given in the text although the accompanying illustration does not bear the final F. Since the illustration is evidently of the Paris example, no. 1.4e above, Babelon must have known the coin but erred in his text.

Reverse Type C

A fourth Spanish city standing r., wearing short tunic with parazonium and turreted crown, holding caduceus with fillet in l. hand and extending a laurel-branch to soldier. He stands almost front, dressed in leather cuirass and tunic, leaning on

[9] Sydenham refers here to Bahrfeldt in *NZ* 29 (1897) 48, who remarks on two examples of this variety, one from the Borghesi-Haeberlin collections, the other from Bunbury-Hoffmann. In both cases Bahrfeldt erred: the former piece is the type of Syd. 1037a, our example 2.1d, while the latter is our 5.1f. The only specimen of Syd. 1037c actually known to me is the Vatican coin listed here.

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spear held vertically in r. hand, his left hand holding parazonium. A fifth Spanish city advances l. wearing stola and turreted crown, holding trophy over l. shoulder, with r. hand crowning soldier.
Below, M. MINAT / SABIN
At l., PR . Q

	Obv. Die				*Rev. Die*
Syd. 1038	1 .1	3.89		Cahn sale (Haeberlin, 17–VII–1933) 2650; Hoffmann sale (de Belfort, 20–II–1888) 41	g
	.2	3.85	→	Rome, Museo Nazionale (Gnecchi coll.)	g
	.3	3.77	←	London (*BMCRR* II. 367. 83, pl. ci. 7)	g
	.4	3.55	←	Paris 2894	g
	*.5		↖	Naples, Fiorelli 2060	g*
	.6			Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan	g
Syd. 1038a	2 .1	3.73	←	London (*BMCRR* II. 367. 82, pl. ci. 6)	g
	.2			Hamburger sale 95 (10–V–1932) 310; Ratto sale (23–I–1924) 1268	g
Syd. 1038b	3 .1	3.94		Rome, Museo Nazionale (Gnecchi coll.); Sangiorgi sale (Rusconi, 30–IV–1900) text no. 460, pl. no. 23	g
	.2			Egger sale 43 (14–IV–1913) 4; Hirsch sale 8 (18–V–1903) 2033	g
Syd. 1038c	4			*unknown*	

Again Sydenham erred in listing the varieties of Type C: his 1038c is nowhere to be found. His reference "Cf. Bahrfeldt *NZ.*, 1900, p. 72," is quite misleading, for the German scholar there says, "wir bis jetzt nur vom dritten Typus einem Denar mit der letzten Umschrift [*viz.* CN. MAGNVS. IMP. F] *nicht* kennen" (my emphasis).

Reverse Type D

Precisely as Type C, save that the spear and the laurel-branch are gone, while the fourth city and the soldier clasp hands.

Below, M. MINAT / SABI
At l., PR . Q

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	Obv. Die				*Rev. Die*
Syd. 1039	7	*.1	4.05 ↗	Vienna	h*
		.2	3.94 →	London (*BMCRR* II. 367. 81, pl. ci. 5); illustrated *NZ* 32 (1900) pl. v. 100	h
		.3		Schulman sale (Vierordt, 17–VI–1924) 650	h
		.4		Glendining sale (Hall, 19–VII–1950) 606; Münzhandlung Basel sale 8 (22–III–1937) 515, "Haeberlin 2650" erroneously.	h
		.5		Vinchon catalogue (9–IV–1959) 152	h

The Dies and Die Links

In the first place, there are not really seven obverse dies, only five. I think it has not been noticed that dies 3 and 4 are simply reworkings of 1 and 2, the final abbreviation F having been added in each case after the die had been in use for some time.[10] In the case of die 2/4 the same break, or perhaps engraver's error, can be seen on the die in both states: ⅂MP for IMP. Already then we have one clue to the order of striking; it will help us very little indeed. The dies with abbreviation B, however, appear in only one state and are not reworked.

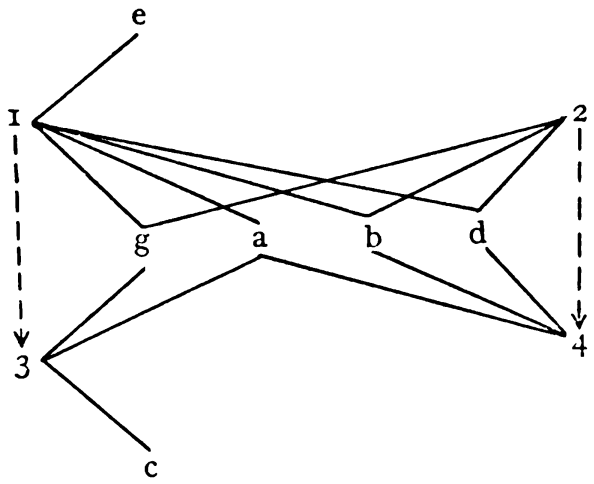
Although there is a reasonable stylistic similarity among the obverse dies (saving die 5), the abbreviation B and the die links suggest a more diffuse production of the issue than the simple list of legends would indicate. The first problem is obverse 7 with its reverse, die h. Nothing indicates that these dies were in use anywhere except at the main mint, except the fact that they are paired only with each other. In style both resemble the other dies. It was pointed out above that IMP. F on obverses 3 and 4 is the result of the reworking of IMP. Since obverse 7 never ends IMP. F we may assume with some confidence that it struck the first of the denarii of M. Minatius Sabinus, and that Type D, a victory type, introduces the series.

[10] Grueber in *BMCRR* II. 367. n., "The legends on the obverse of each type show the same variations... These variations are only the result of an interchange of obverse dies."

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Obverse dies 5 and 6 bear the curious B at the end of the obverse legend, a letter which I take to be a mint mark. Of this more below; at present the letter is enough to distinguish three pieces from those not so marked. The separation is confirmed by the reverse die with which obverses 5 and 6 are paired, die f: even though it is of Type B, reverse f is found only in this combination. And it differs stylistically from the other reverse dies of this type: the figures are both larger and grosser, the drapery much more superficially handled, the lettering awkward and uneven. On this die alone each letter is cut from prominent terminal drill holes, and here alone is found an unbarred A, in SABI. Finally, number 6.2f is struck on an unusually large flan, as number 5.1f is on an unusually small one. All these details indicate a second mint for the production of the B denarii.

The remaining obverse dies are all of a jumble. Even given the chronological clue of IMP and IMP. F, there seems no way to establish the order of striking. Thus for Type A we find used obverses 1, 2, 3, and 4: 1 and 2 must precede 3 and 4, and presumably the two were altered at the same time. But however they are arranged, one die must have been held back, to reappear later. Under Type B we see that both obverses 1 and 2, the early states, occur with one late state, die 4. Nothing upsetting about that, until we see that under Type C dies 1 and 2 were followed by the later 3. Once we add the reappearing reverse dies, no simple chart of die links is possible. I present the following as one way of seeing them:



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Consequently no sensible chronology can be established on the hypothesis of a single pair of dies striking one coin at a time, a new die being introduced only when an older die broke. The mint must have operated from a die box in which at least two obverse and three reverse dies were usually thrown together. For it is clear that all three reverse types were being struck early and late. Nor can we think of the two obverse dies as representing two officinae: both must have been in use at once, but the free interchange of reverse dies makes any formal division in the striking very unlikely. We may also conclude from this messy diagram that the mint was probably not divided into engraving and striking offices, functioning simultaneously. Rather it seems that most of the dies (that is, all except 7 and h) were cut at one time, and then turned over to the workmen who used them in disorder.

The Mints

The coins themselves indicate that two mints produced this issue, one rather vigorous in the cutting of dies and the striking of denarii (52 examples), the other staffed with somewhat inferior workmen and producing a miniscule flow of coin (3 examples). The site of these mints can easily be judged to have been in southern Spain, in that part of the peninsula with which Cnaeus was entirely concerned. But the identification of the mint cities is another matter. Beltrán has argued for Carthago Nova,[11] a rich and important city which Cnaeus won by siege.[12] The mountains behind yielded quantities of silver in antiquity. Strabo (3.2.10–11) eloquizes over the mineral richness of the area. But the whole range of the Sierra Morena and the Sierra Nevada to the west and southwest of Carthago Nova is argentiferous, so that the source of Pompey's silver cannot be so easily specified. The general opinion has been that his primary—or only—mint was at Corduba, for we know that to have been his military headquarters.[13] Corduba was as well the most important city in an area known

[11] "Monedas de Personajes pompeyanos en relación con Cartagena," *Crónica del I Congreso Nacional de Arqueología y del V Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste* (Almería, 1949) 249.
[12] Dio 43. 30.1.
[13] *Bell. Hisp.* 3.

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for its great number of cities.[14] Whether the reverse types of our denarii, the females with turreted crowns, represent provinces or cities, there are at any rate several of them. If the coins had been struck at Carthago Nova, before Cnaeus moved on to the region of the Baetis, the types would hardly be explicable on either count. Corduba seems to me much more likely.

I do not think it has been suggested that the B denarii might have been so marked to indicate that they were the product of a second officina. Nor indeed do I think such a suggestion reasonable. We could hardly expect such a sophistication in Spain, when the great mint at Rome was apparently not so organized. Little enough is known of the operations of the Rome mint under the Republic; but it has been possible to show that as each moneyer usually struck separately, responsible only for his own coins, the moneyers as a college probably struck in turn.[15] So that only one officina would have been necessary.[16] Further the small extent of Minatius' denarii argues against a complicated mint.

If B then is a mint-mark—it cannot be explained otherwise[17]—we must look for another mint city, still in the south of Spain. It will be a city which was later to be under the control of Cnaeus' younger brother, Sextus. For Sextus' rude PIETAS denarii were also struck at B, as well as at two other mints, and in fact our portrait die 6, cut for Cnaeus under Minatius, was recut in 44 with the name of Sextus and used again at B.[18] Now since the letter cannot be an abbreviation of Baetica (since, as we will see below, the very word appears not to have existed at this time), we will have to decide on some B- city of the south of Spain. There are a good many, most of small importance. One likely candidate is Baelon, a port city near Gibraltar and near

[14] Strabo 3. 2. 1.
[15] So the gold coinage of 42 B.C., cf. my *Triumviral Portrait Gold* (New York, 1956) 44.
[16] The large and very complicated issues of the moneyers Piso Frugi earlier in the century may have required the temporary division of the mint into officinae.
[17] Laffranchi's interpretation, *beatus*, as well as *felix* for the F, is an anachronism from the fourth century A.D. ("Alcuni Problemi di Geografia numismatica nella Monetazione neopompeiana d'Hispania," *RIN* 53 [1951] 93).
[18] The single example known is in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome. I hope to publish and illustrate it within the year in a general study of the PIETAS denarii.

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Carteia, a city mentioned in the literary sources as important to both Cnaeus and Sextus.[19] Baelon is also the only B- city of Baetica to have been otherwise a mint city.[20] We might then tentatively look to Baelon as a possible source for this rare variety.

The Titulature

If B is a mintmark, the intrusive F of dies 3 and 4 certainly is not. The position alone of the letter on obverse 3, following directly on the upward-running IMP, proves that it is to be taken with that word. Some questions have been raised in the past on the interpretation of the phrase, whether we are to read *imperator* or *imperatoris filius*.[21] The discovery now that IMP is the original reading on the die confirms *imperator filius* as the only possibility. Grant has already discussed some of the implications of this reading, his own conclusion going wide of the mark, in my opinion. "It is not merely *Cn. Magnus filius, imperator*, that Cnaeus calls himself, but *Cn. Magnus, Imperator filius*. In the same way, since their father was not called Pius, the F. on Sextus' coin also must be limited to IMP: his title is *Magnus Pius, Imperator filius*. Both of them are seen to have viewed the title *Imperator*, not as an ordinary personal distinction, but as the title to a special hereditary *imperium*."[22]

Grant's brief treatment of the coinage of the younger Pompeys is vitiated by a succession of errors and misinterpretations.[23] None-

[19] Strabo 3. 2. 2; Cicero *Att.* 15. 20. 3.
[20] Delgado, *Medallas Autónomas* (Seville, 1871) I, 38–43.
[21] The references can be found in Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge, 1946) 22.
[22] Loc. laud.
[23] Op. laud., 22–3, 408–09. 1) There is a good chance that the asses (if such they be) of Sextus, with type Pompeius Janus-head and legend MAGNVS PIVS IMP, were struck mainly if not exclusively in Sicily. This has already been suggested by Laffranchi, "Gli assi di Sesto Pompeo coniati in Sicilia," *Boll. del Circ. Num. Napolitano* I. 2 (1916). Literally dozens of them are turning up in the Princeton University excavation of Morgantina. 2) As ours dies show, it is an inversion to say, "IMP. F certainly remained in use in the Pompeian titulature after the introduction of plain IMP." 3) "Cn. Magnus, Imperator filius" and its implications I discuss here. 4) The denarius of Sextus does not read IMP. SEX. MAGNVS, but rather SEX. MAGNVS (no stop) IMP. None of the other PIETAS obverses bears such an outlandish legend as that which Grant suggests, and

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theless, if his interpretation of **IMP. F,** were to stand, that alone would justify his new look at the force of the title in the late Republic.

Grant would have us believe that the perversion of *imperator* is already to be seen here, on the coins of the younger Pompeys. He carefully distinguishes their ambitions from those of the father: "No attempt must be made to apply this significance to the lifetime of Pompey himself, since that would risk an anachronism: but tendentious reinterpretations of dead personages are frequent in this period." That is, Pompeius Magnus used *imperator* in the accepted sense; his sons 1) pretended that he had really used it in another, non-Republican sense, and 2) "viewed the title *Imperator*, not as an ordinary personal distinction, but as the title to a special hereditary *imperium*." If this were true it would be startling indeed, and in fact there are many true and startling things in Grant's fascinating and imaginative work. But the reader will first ask himself, just what is the evidence for this extraordinary conclusion. The answer is, that there is no evidence at all, aside from the two words of our denarii and of the Sextus/Eppius bronze. "Imperator filius" alone must bear the weight of this interpretation.

How could one show that the younger Pompeys reinterpreted Pompeius Magnus' use of *imperator*? When his head appears on their coin, as it does regularly, he is never even identified (although Nasi-

it can be shown (what I will publish presently) that the chronological arrangement of the whole issue shows this die to fall directly in the middle—hardly the spot for an astounding innovation. The legend that misleads Grant is simply inverted, because it accompanies a portrait facing left instead of the usual right. 5) The portrait of the same coin is not Sextus, but his father. Again the position of the coin in the stemma, and the one especial characteristic of portraits of Pompeius Magnus, the jutting lock of hair, make the identification quite certain. 6) The piece was not struck at Salacia, but somewhere in Baetica, perhaps at Salpensa. 7) Since there was no "peculiar Pompeian adaptation of the title *Imperator*," it is not at all clear what that title has to do with the name of Urbs Imperatoria Salacia. 8) Wallrafen's suggestion of a Latin foundation of Salacia by Sextus is based solely on the expansion of the **SAL** of the **PIETAS** denarii, so that for these purposes he is arguing in a circle. 9) Ulrich notwithstanding, Sextus' **PIETAS** denarii cannot be dated any closer than 44–early 43 B.C. 10) "Octavian's precedent"—apparently the assumption of *Imperator* as praenomen—first appears on coin in 38 B.C., and so does not precede anything on Sextus' Spanish coinage.

[24] Op. laud., 23.

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dius calls him Neptune, Syd. 1350–1). Consequently there is no tendentious revaluation of his title *imperator* because it does not appear. The obverse legends of all these coins are regularly the names and titles of his sons, so that there is never any direct connection drawn between father and son, except for the appended *filius*, a perfectly ordinary Republican usage (see below). With this compare the denarius of Agrippa, which bears facing heads of Caesar and Octavian, while their relationship is never left in doubt: DIVOS IVLIVS, DIVI F (Syd. 1330). Again, if Pompeius Magnus' title is now somehow to be thought hereditary, why is it not taken up as such? If Sextus had received it as a gift from his father at the age of nine this argument would be considerably stronger. As it is, Types C and D of Minatius show a figure with trophy crowning the soldier, an obvious reference to a victory of Cnaeus'. And Grant himself admits the possibility for Sextus: "Cnaeus the younger appears to have taken the title on his arrival in Spain, but it is not clear whether his brother did likewise or waited until his successes in 44."[24] Grant nowhere observes (as far as I can discover) that the later Sicilian gold and silver of Sextus invariably and without any exception bears his title IMP ITER, the standard Republican designation of the general who has twice been acclaimed for exceptional military ability.

In short, Sextus' title *imperator* was of the same quality as the *imperator* of every other Republican general up to his time. There is no evidence whatever that he thought of the title as hereditary, though of course it would be a matter of pride that one family had produced three *imperatores* in two generations. This innocent cliché, the son claiming to have attained the greatness of the father, has been inflated by Grant to a virtual conspiracy against the state. But this was not so in the case of Sextus, nor consequently in the case of Cnaeus either. However the legends of their coins are to be punctuated the final result, as far as this argument is concerned, will be the same.

It is instructive to look to the earlier silver of Sextus. His PIETAS denarii must have preceded Eppius' bronze, for the title *pius*, consistent in the latter issues, only appears in the course of the production of the PIETAS coins. In one case it even has been shown that *pius* was added to a denarius die which had already been in use for some time. Now the eight obverse dies of these crude denarii, as

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slovenly in legend as in figuration, bear six different forms of Sextus' name and titles. Yet the one word that never appears is *filius*. Why was there no need here for such precision, when later Eppius felt he had to take that much care? That he simply imitated the usage of Minatius is not likely. The answer must be that the legate, for whatever reason, had not included the praenomen Sextus, and he wanted no confusion between the Magnus of this issue and his father. Grant's argument, that the filiation is unnecessary because Pompeius Magnus was never called *pius*, I find no barrier to the notion that father and son ought in any case to be clearly distinguished. The PIETAS denarii never needed the mark of filiation because their legends always include Pompey's praenomen, Sextus.

Similarly, then, in the case of Minatius' issues. F was added to the obverse legends of dies 1 and 3 when it was realized that the portrait of Pompeius Magnus, together (apparently) with his name, was likely to cause confusion. We know many examples of the addition of *filius* to the entire name to distinguish son from father.[25] And though *imperator* was not properly part of the name, there is some evidence that it was coming to be understood as such.[26] Grant's reading, "Cn. Magnus, Imperator filius," is unnecessary. "Cn. Magnus imperator, filius" will do as well—or, if one denies any nominal value to the title in this position, "Cn. Magnus, imperator, filius." I prefer the former; I will not argue against the latter; in either case the sinister significance of the title that Grant has invented is not there.

The Types

The identification of the portrait is not in doubt. It was hardly likely that Cnaeus would have thought of the astonishing innovation of self-portrayal, and the lick of hair jutting above the forehead effectively identifies the head as that of his father.[27]

The reverse types are as imaginative and unusual as anything in the Republican coinage. Three figure types are uncommon enough,

[25] A number of examples is given in *TLL* VI. 753.
[26] Cf. Syme, "Imperator Caesar," *Historia* 7 (1958) 177f.
[27] Plut. *Pomp.* 2. 1. Cf. the fine bust in Copenhagen, illustrated by Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (Weimar, 1948) pls. 117, 124–5.

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and then they are usually stiffly posed, as in a tableau,[28] or engaged in some violent action.[29] Here the combination of motion and restraint is almost Greek.

One identification of the reverse figures has been canonical for the last century and a quarter. In 1821 Borghesi finally broke from the usual description before him—a bland and pointless "warrior with two women" or the like—suggesting an overall historical interpretation.[30] He has been corrected in minor details; for example he thought the figure to the left on Type C to be holding two spears, while we can now see the object to be a caduceus. But in the main his interpretation has been followed by every important cataloguer. Borghesi took the female figures to be representations of the provinces of Baetica and Tarraco, welcoming and doing honor to Cnaeus on his arrival from Africa in 46 and after the victorious siege of Carthago Nova. To be sure the figure to the right on Type C Borghesi thought to be a Victory, "her wings hidden behind the trophy;" this is now rejected as inconsistent, this figure too being read as Tarraco.

We can first object against "Baetica" and "Tarraco" that the names here are anachronistic. There was no Hispania Tarraconensis or Hispania Baetica until Augustus' new division of the Iberian provinces in 27 B.C.[31] At that time Hispania Citerior and Ulterior, historically the two parts of Spain under the Republic, were rearranged into the three provinces of Tarraco, Baetica, and Lusitania.[32] It is not impossible that the city Tarraco, the most important city of Hispania Citerior toward the end of the Republic (it was to be the capital of Hispania Tarraconensis) gave its name to the region about it, and that "Tarraconensis" was in use before 27. But "Baetica" appears to have been invented in 27 for the purpose of distinguishing the new province. The *Thesaurus* gives no instance of its occurrence before Augustan times.[33] So we might first emend the traditional ex-

[28] E.g. Syd. 879, 906, 926, 1315.
[29] E.g., Syd. 699, 900, 1087, 1112.
[30] Op. laud., I, 157–61.
[31] Or later. The ancient sources are very vague. Cf. Syme in *CAH* X. 345, and Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (London, 1909) 64–5.
[32] Although the older names continued to be used, e.g. Pliny, *N.H.* 3. 6.
[33] Cf. Thouvenot, *Essai sur la Province Romaine de Bétique* (Paris, 1940) 3. I owe this reference to Miss Renée Roberts.

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planation of the coin types by this much: the women are the two Spains of Republican times.

There is however a more weighty objection against Borghesi's interpretation. In proffering his explanation the great Sammarinese appealed to the analogy of the coins of Galba (i. e., including the Civil Wars) and of Vespasian. There a good many provinces are shown as female figures and identified by legend, so that a comparison with our types is warranted. But if the details of dress which Borghesi used in his analogy are interesting enough, he omitted to discuss one iconographic theme that, on reconsideration, invalidates the interpretation of the female figures altogether: they all without exception wear turreted crowns. This detail is delicately cut and not always visible on particular specimens, but it is true for every die and Grueber and Sydenham are quite right in repeating this point in their descriptions.

Now, when provinces are represented anthropomorphically, do they wear turreted crowns? In brief, they do not. On the Republican coinage we find clearly named personifications of Italy (Syd. 797), Sicily (Syd. 798), and Spain (Syd. 746)—never turreted. In addition there are likely, or certain but untitled, representations of Africa (Syd. 1028, 1051, 1153, 1154, 1355), Asia (Syd. 1315), Crete (Syd., p. 214), Gallia (Syd. 953, 1014, 1015), and Libya (Syd., p. 214)—never turreted. There seem to be no contemporary counterparts in sculpture. We would like very much indeed to recapture the details of the great set of statues which stood in or about the theatre of Pompey, figures of the fourteen nations which he conquered.[34] But these were figures of nations, not provinces (if that makes any difference), and Spain was not among them in any case.[35] The coinage of the Empire exactly confirms the impression gained above. During the years 68–69 and directly thereafter—but not earlier[36]—provinces again appear on the coin, represented as female figures. There is in fact quite a rash of Gallia and Hispania types.[37] And again, in not

[34] Pliny, *N.H.* 36.41.

[35] The list is given in Plut. *Pomp.* 45. 2.

[36] The one exception, the denarius of L. Aquillius Florus struck under Augustus (*BMCRE* I. 9. 49) simply revives the Republican type of Manius Aquilius (Syd. 798).

[37] One example of each from the numbers in *BMCRE*: Africa (I. 286. n.), Gallia (I. 345. 206), Tres Galliae (I. 346. 211), Hispania (I. 346. 207). Also Hispania under Vespasian (II. 68. *).

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a single instance is any one of them shown wearing the mural crown.

It had already been a cliché of Greek iconography that such a crown represented the walls of a city. Sometimes cities in general: the goddess who founds and protects cities may wear it,[38] and the soldier who first scales the wall of a city under siege may be granted it.[39] But usually the context indicates some particular city, and we most often find it crowning the city Tyche. The Tyche of Antioch is only the best known of a number of municipal Tyches, each of whom wears the crown of towers as an emblem of the city whose destiny she guides.[40] The evidence for this iconographic detail is much more plentiful in the Hellenistic and Roman East than in Rome itself. The conception differs too, for where the Greek Tyche wears the crown and somehow represents the city, the Roman Fortuna does neither.[41] The Romans were able to distinguish in their own minds between the abstraction of the City's Fortune, and the abstraction of the City.

And here, where the Romans figure the city itself, sure enough we find the turreted crown. The evidence is not especially plentiful, but it is sure. There is only one definite instance of the personalized city on Republican coin, the famous Alexandria of the denarius of M. Lepidus (Syd. 831–2). She is named, and she wears the crown. A second city, Utica, has been seen on a denarius of Q. Metellus Scipio (Syd. 1051); she is accompanied by no name but she wears the crown. Roma, whose representation is found *passim* through the Republican coinage, is the great exception. We are likely dealing with the goddess herself, rather than a figure of the city; while in any case the helmet which is almost invariably her attribute makes difficult the use of the crown.

Under the Empire the evidence is similar. A denarius of Clodius Macer bears a bust of Carthago, so identified in the legend, wearing the mural crown (*BMCRE* I.287.5). There is even an anonymous denarius of the Civil Wars, when anything could happen, which shows

[38] For example, Cybele. See Roscher's *Lexikon s.v.* Kybele, 1642–3; for the Republican coins, Syd. 589, 808, 932.
[39] Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire s.v. corona*, 1536.
[40] *BMC Greek Coins of Galatia, etc.*, lists the Tyches of twenty-five cities; *Greek Coins of Lycaonia, etc.*, another twenty; and so on.
[41] For example, the Fortunae of Anzio (*BMCRE* I. 1.2).

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Roma, named, wearing the helmet on which the battlements of the city are superimposed (*BMCRE* I.294.17). The more common turreted female head on denarii of Vespasian is unfortunately never named. We know that she never appears on issues of the mint at Rome, only on provincial issues of the East. There seems no reason why we cannot assume her to be the Tyche of the mint city, whatever that may have been.

To return then to the denarii of Minatius, the female figures are cities. The ancient historians seem quite unaware of the details of Cnaeus' campaigns in Spain. Only when Caesar enters the picture, beginning with the unsuccessful siege of Corduba, do we get any particulars.[42] So that it is almost hopeless to inquire, which cities especially welcomed Cnaeus. Dio (43.30.1) remarks tantalizingly "[after reaching Spain] he straightway won over certain willing cities, but Carthago Nova, which did not wish to make an agreement with him, he besieged." We can however surmise that one of the figures is Corduba. The most important city of Baetica, it was to be Cnaeus' headquarters. It had been bothersome to the Caesarians already. When Dio (43.29.3) tells us that before Cnaeus reached Spain the legions there, friendly to him, "drove out Trebonius and moved the whole nation of Baetica to revolt," we may believe that Trebonius too had taken Corduba as his base and was driven thence.[43] The three letters later addressed by Asinius Pollio to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* 10.31–3), written in 43 B.C. after Sextus had withdrawn to Gaul, were all composed in that city. Consequently I take the figure of our Type A to represent Corduba: the city which has already turned to arms greets the soldier arriving from Africa. She carries a sceptre to indicate her primacy, among the cities of Baetica, or in the revolt.[44]

The other two reverses are still problematical (Types C and D are clearly only variations of one scene). Whatever the explanation of the female figures in the past, they have usually been taken to be the same figures, repeated from type to type. Yet the manner of their

[42] E.g., the whole of the *De Bello Hispaniensi*.
[43] Trouble had been brewing in Corduba since the end of 49, owing to the rapacity and oppression of the Caesarian, Cassius Longinus (*Bell. Alex.* 49ff.).
[44] Corduba is not on the sea, but the type was hardly meant to be photographic in its realism. The point is that she has already fought by herself, and that the army which arrives to help her has had a long and dangerous journey.

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dress denies this assumption.[45] On Type A, Corduba wears the stola, in form a kind of shift or long tunic, girded and nearly reaching the ground. On Type B, the left-hand figure is dressed in the palla, a female garment on the order of a thin blanket which, like the toga, was not donned but wrapped about the body. One end of the palla as properly worn hangs from the left forearm, the other is thrown over the left shoulder to fall down the back. Both details are clearly to be seen on all three dies, as is the typical oblique hang of the garment next to the right leg. The kneeling figure of this type appears to wear the stola. On Types C and D, the figure to the left wears a short tunic, girded at the waist. An anomalous strip of material appears to hang down at her left side, but I prefer to believe it a fillet attached to the caduceus which she holds. She seems to wear a parazonium at her waist right. The other figure, carrying a victory, wears the stola.

The several consistent dies of Types A, B, and C-D prove that this variety in dress is no simple quixoticism of the engraver, but that three scenes, deliberate in their differences, are here presented. I conclude that the series represents not two cities, but three at least (if Corduba is the figure to the right on Types B–D) and probably five. Given the political situation Carthago Nova is not one of them. Beyond that they cannot be named. These are the cities of which Dio speaks, as shadowy for us as they doubtless were for him.

The reverse types then depict several cities welcoming and honoring someone. This new figure is always in military dress, a soldier of some sort. From Borghesi to Sydenham the only problem has been whether we see here Cnaeus or his father, Pompeius Magnus. Laffranchi most recently has opted for the father,[46] against the historical fact that Pompeius arrived with his army for the Sertorian war by land. Nor is there any instance of several great cities opening their hearts to him; his whole campaign was an endless and sometimes frustrating round of marches and sieges.[47] I believe Laffranchi surely to be wrong, but is the alternative any better? Cnaeus did come to Spain by sea, from Africa via the Balearics, and he did find some Spaniards already in

[45] Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore, 1938) 146ff.
[46] "Alcuni Problemi," 92.
[47] Pliny, *N.H.* 3. 18 recounts that Pompey's trophies boasted of his having subdued 876 cities in southern Gaul and Spain on this campaign.

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arms, eager to join him.[48] Yet that this figure should represent Cnaeus himself I find unsettling. It is well known that no living Roman before Caesar was portrayed on the obverse of a coin. It may have been that the coin's reverse was a little less forbidding; one issue of Sulla's, and another of Pompeius', are thought to show each of them, riding victoriously in a quadriga.[49] Perhaps so, there are certainly no other examples. I wonder whether Cnaeus, who was something of a thug,[50] would have been so unconventional as to revive the curiosity of picturing himself.

The iconography too is against this interpretation. Borghesi describes "Cnaeus" on Types B and C as *paludatus*.[51] The paludamentum was distinctively the garment of the leader, the general, as later of the Emperor, and so would effectively identify this figure as Cnaeus. It was a voluminous, flowing piece of material, much too large to hide under one arm or behind the back.[52] Most commonly it was worn clasped at the neck right with a fibula, the greater part fluttering down the left side and behind; or thrown in a bunch over the left shoulder from behind, the rest passing by the side of the waist left and hanging over the left forearm.[53] However worn it hung in great folds from some part of the body. Now there is no trace of draperies hanging around the male figure, whether behind, or at his side, or from his arm. The published photographs of our coins are often indistinct and misleading, but I have examined under a strong glass sharp casts of pieces from every reverse die and the results are consistent. Whoever cut the reverses knew how to represent falling drapery, if only simply, as can be seen in the case of the left-hand figure of Type B. Yet this detail is entirely missing in the case of "Cnaeus."

It must be said that dies a, b, c, g, and h all show the suggestion of a bundle of material on the figure's left shoulder, as of a folded

[48] Dio 43. 29–30.
[49] Bahrfeldt, *Römische Goldmünzenprägung* (Halle, 1923) 26–7, is not even convinced of the appearance of Sulla.
[50] Cicero *Ad Fam.* 15. 19. 4.
[51] A detail not given by Grueber or Sydenham.
[52] On these particulars, see Wilson, 100ff.
[53] For some examples in sculpture, see Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits* (London, 1912) 153, 156a, 170a, 184a, etc.

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paludamentum. In the first three cases, however, the left forearm is clearly in view and supports no garment. In the case of the latter two dies I suspect that part of this detail is the edge of the cuirass. Actually there is something of a lump on and just below *each* shoulder of the figure on Types A, C, and D. The cuirass is of leather, as its form shows,[54] a type of cuirass regularly strapped over each shoulder with a wide leather strap (as against the metal shoulder bands of the Imperial metal cuirasses which are quite modest in size). These straps are rather rudely represented here, but I think there can be little doubt that that is what they are.

In sum, the figure does not wear the paludamentum, so that there is no possibility of the precise definition, "Cnaeus." Rather, the soldier is an abstraction, even as are the cities, representing that part of the Pompeian armies that came to Spain from Africa to save the peninsula from the wicked Caesarians. However terrible the final defeat at Munda, that army had run free in Baetica, supported by sympathetic Spaniards. All this the coins of Minatius commemorate.

The denarii of Minatius are the more to be wondered at for the high quality of the die work. The relatively common issue of Poblicius (Syd. 1035) never achieved comparable competence, either in imagination or rendering. The reverse of the Poblicius denarius is the same as that of our Type A;[55] the difference in execution is enormous. Minatius somehow was able to hire the best die engravers ever seen in Baetica. And yet why are the remains so small? Perhaps the repeated use of the same dies indicates that they were mostly cut at once, and that there was never enough activity in the mint to wear them out. But the survival of an average of only three pieces per die pair is suspicious. I know of nothing comparable in the late Republic. Perhaps the Roman coinages of late 45 and 44, following Caesar's sanguinary victory at Munda, preserve for us some of the metal that once bore a first-class head of Pompeius Magnus.

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[54] Hekler, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der antiken Panzerstatuen", *JOAI* 19/20 (1919) 212–3.

[55] The female figure appears not to wear the mural crown—is this really Hispania at last?

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THE DENARIUS OF P. VENTIDIUS[1]

(See Plate VIII)

During the years between Caesar's murder and the battle of Actium, the fourteen years largely dominated by the so-called "Second Triumvirate" (whose bimillenary we celebrated in 1958), a great variety of gold, silver, and even bronze coinage was struck by Romans, for Roman use, but not at the mint of Rome. Any survey of these provincial, military issues continually runs up against the problem of attribution by mint and date. Grueber, following de Salis, challenged the nineteenth century attribution of one issue after another; and many of his innovations have been preserved by Sydenham, without, I think, sufficient scepticism. In this note I propose to consider only one coin, a very rare one, the denarius of Marc Antony struck for him by Publius Ventidius.[2] The coins are very uncommon—a dozen are known—and apparently they were struck only in exiguous amount, for only two pairs of dies were used.

M.ANT.IMP.[or IM.]III.V.R.P.C. Bare head of Antony r., lituus behind. Dotted edge.

P. VENTIDI PONT. IMP Male figure[3] naked, standing facing, head r., r. hand leaning on sceptre topped by a knob, l. holding olive branch. Dotted edge.

[1] My thanks are owing to the officials and friends who gladly provided casts and information for this study: Dr. Jean Babelon (Paris), Dr. Guido Bruck (Vienna), Mr. R. A. G. Carson (London), Dr. Franco Panvini-Rosati (Rome), Dr. Attilio Stazio (Naples), and Dr. A. Suhle (Berlin).

[2] On the life of Ventidius, see Seaver, "Publius Ventidius," *CJ* 47 (1951–2) 275–80; and now Gundel in *RE* s. v.

[3] The identification of the standing figure has given much trouble. Babelon describes it as "personnage entièrement nu;" Cohen and Vercoutre call it a soldier (cf. the denarii of Poblicius Malleolus *BMCRR* II. 307–8. 697–707); Borghesi, in *Œuvres Numismatiques* II, p. 64, "M. Antonio con costume eroico;" Grueber and Sydenham, Jupiter Victor. Now nude figures on the coins of the Republic are usually gods, only rarely humans; and they never represent

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Cohen, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, Antonia 48; Ventidia
Cohen, *Monnaies de l'Empire Romain*, Antony 75
Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, Antonia 63; Ventidia
Grueber, *BMCRR* II. 403. 73, pl. 104. 9
Sydenham, *Roman Republican Coinage* 1175, pl. 29

1. A 1 – P 1 .1	3.99		A. Cahn sale (Haeberlin) Frankfurt 17-VII-1933, 3058 = Sotheby sale (Bunbury) London 10-VI-1895, 461, pl. 2.15.
.2	3.95		Glendining sale (Ryan) London 2-IV-1952, 1920 = Naville sale X Lucerne 15-VI-1925, 1746.
.3	3.92	↗	Berlin, Staatliche Museen
.4	3.67	↗	London, British Museum, ex George III collection, 1820.
.5	3.50	→	Vienna, Bundessammlung (obverse counterstamp K)
.6	3.33	↗	New York, ANS (holed and badly worn)
.7		↗	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 3066 (obverse counterstamps ɔ and C).

The earliest of these pieces is no. 1.4 which shows no break from the hair above the forehead to the edge (cf. nos. 1.5 and 1.1). The latest is no. 1.2, on the reverse of which is seen a substantial die break between the feet of the figure and the sceptre.

specific individuals. Consequently the figure is not Antony. The suggestion that the figure is a soldier is on the face of it more nearly possible. There is perhaps an analogy in the denarii of Malleolus which exhibit a largely nude figure, holding a spear or a sceptre (the dies vary), his foot resting on a cuirass, placed near a trophy. The drapery is as exiguous as on the denarius of Ventidius. But on our coin there is no association at all with armor; the figure wears none and none is to be seen nearby. Unfortunately a soldier without clothes looks like all the rest of us, and once we admit that the object upon which he leans is not a lance (*pace* Vercoutre—but it has no point at either end) the identification "undressed soldier" is but an hypothesis.

Grueber's suggestion, Jupiter Victor, is certainly not impossible. The posture and attributes are exampled elsewhere, save for the olive branch. But I cannot confirm his assertion that the figure is laureate (p. 404 n.). There are many tiny breaks in the field of the first reverse die and around the figure, one of which may have seemed to be the extension of a laurel wreath. The head is well struck up only on Nos. 1. 1 and 2. 1; neither show a trace of wreath. As to the second reverse die, all numbers show the head clearly enough and there too there is no wreath.

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2. A 2 – P 1 .1 3.99 ↑ Berlin, Staatliche Museen
.2 Rollin & Feuardent sale (Hoffmann) Paris 2-V-1898, 1167.

A new portrait die is paired with the first punch in its latest state. The obverse legend includes IM rather than IMP.

3. A 2 – P 2 .1 Ratto sale Lucerne 23-I-1924, 1399 = Hess sale Frankfurt 20-V-1912, 335 = Sangiorgi sale (Borghesi) Rome 19-I-1893, 1283.
.2 Hamburger sale 95 Frankfurt 10-V-1932, 357 = Bourgey sale Paris 4-XI-1913, 753.
.3 ↙ Naples, Museo Nazionale (Fiorelli 3193)

Portrait die A 2 has been slightly reworked—IM has been altered to IMP—and the field before the face and about the letters R.P.C. has become corrupted. A second reverse die is in use.

Three counterfeits of the type have been attributed to Cigoi by Lodovico Brunetti.[4] An example of the first of these (PLATE VIII, A) has appeared recently in sales in Germany: G. Hirsch sale Munich 26–VI–1956, 367 = B. Peus sale Frankfurt 8–XI–1954, 321.

The scarcity of the coin, the wear that most of our examples show, and the poor striking originally have combined to foster a misapprehension, albeit a small one, concerning the reading of the obverse legend. Both Grueber, in *BMCRR*, and Sydenham, in his *RRC*, omit the abbreviation of *imperator*. We can now restore it—the matter is perhaps of little consequence so long as the false reading is not seized on as evidence in the difficult question of Antony's use of the title.[5] In fact, Antony always uses IMP on his coins from the siege of Mutina, 44–3 B.C., to the Alexandrian triumph in 34, save only occasionally when associated with Octavian or Lepidus on the same coin, or in the same series.

The omission of the title in the British catalogues is perhaps of historical origin. Cohen had described the coin correctly in *MRR* (1857), although his illustration shows IMP instead of IMP; but in

[4] "Ultimata la monografia sul falsario Luigi Cigoi," in *RIN* 59 (1957) 105–119, nos. 41–43, illustrated.
[5] E.g., Mattingly, "Some New Studies of the Roman Republican Coinage," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39 (1953) 267, 268 No. 9c.

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both editions of *MER* (1859–, and 1880–) the abbreviation is entirely omitted, even though, in the second edition, the same cut is used in illustration that had appeared in *MRR*. Whether the omission was intentional, indicating that the illustration was thought to be in error, or just a lapse, one cannot say; Babelon continued to use the same drawing in his *MRR* (1885–6) and gave the legend correctly (but again IMP for IMP.). If the error does not derive from Cohen, it could easily spring from the coins themselves. The abbreviation is terribly elusive, and virtually invisible on the example which Grueber and Sydenham knew in the British Museum. That example is otherwise the best preserved I know; almost all the details of types and legends are sharp. It is apparent that IMP simply was not struck up. The legends were obviously quite shallow in the die and perhaps these letters filled. With much squinting and a great deal of good will, traces of it can be found on the cast which I illustrate of the British Museum specimen. Fortunately, one (and only one) of the pieces struck from A 1–P 1 shows the abbreviation clearly (1.2 above),[6] and that this is no accident is confirmed by the clear reading of all pieces struck from A 2. There can be no doubt in future that IMP, or IM, is really there.[7]

The first purpose of this note is simply to point out the true reading of the obverse legend of the denarius, and to protect the coin from future classification as an anomaly. But it is hardly possible to conclude here without a glance at what are the real problems connected with the coin, the question of its date and mint. The two are inseparable, for if the piece was struck in Gaul or northern Italy, the date must be 44–3 B.C. (Mutina) or 41–40 (Perusia). If it was struck in the East, it will be as late as 39 or 38. (The converse is true: if the date can be established, the area of the mint is determined.) Traditionally the issue has been assigned to some locus in Asia Minor or Syria—their rough style admits no well-established mint—the occasion, the triumph voted Ventidius on his victories over the Parthians in 39 and 38. We have both literary and epigraphic evidence of the acclama-

[6] Although the coin is incorrectly described in both sales in which it appears.
[7] Cf. also J. C. Rasche, *Lexicon Universae Rei Numariae* (Leipzig, 1793) V. 2, 834–835, who lists six differing readings of the one reverse legend, owing to the poor striking and preservation of the examples that he knew. Only the London and Vienna specimens carry the complete reverse legend.

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tion and the triumphal procession in Rome, and, until the end of the last century, no one seems to have doubted the obvious attribution to the East. The objections were stated first, I believe, by Vercoutre,[8] and Grueber, on the basis of de Salis' stylistic studies as well, gave the coin to Gaul, "circ. B.C. 41." This view is now canonical, at least among English-speaking numismatists. Sydenham has accepted de Salis' association of the denarius and the ruder series of the PIETAS.COS coinages, assigning them as a lot to "uncertain mints" in Gaul or northern Italy. Mattingly has seen additional stylistic connections between this group and the coins which he has attributed to Anagnia, or to Pisa.[9]

It must be said at once that there is not likely to be any certain solution on the basis of the material now available. Each attribution is more easily deplored than defended, for we do not have enough details in the authors, or enough numismatic evidence such as hoard evidence, to enable us to establish the fact of the matter. But it is worthwhile reviewing the arguments, to examine more closely those which by now are generally accepted but seldom scrutinized, and to determine whether the older attribution might not still carry some weight. At the same time we can puncture one error in Dio which has caused much confusion.

On what bases can the two attributions be judged? We can at once put aside the hoard evidence. The Ventidius denarius was found in the Chantenay hoard and only there (*BMCRR* III.47); and while its appearance in France may be suggestive, we need only notice that the same hoard contained several examples of the well-known denarius of Antony standing, dressed as augur / head of Sol (*BMCRR* II.506.141; Syd. 1199). This denarius was certainly struck in the East, and on it Antony is *imperator tertio*, so that no matter what its date the coin must be later than the Ventidius piece, on which Antony is *imperator* solely. Consequently the Ventidius denarius could have come from the East too, in time to be buried in Gaul, and the evidence of the hoard is inconclusive.

[8] *Le denier de Publius Ventidius Bassus* (Verdun, 1896).
[9] "Dives Anagnia," *NC*[6] 6 (1946) 92; "Some New Studies," pp. 256 and 260. The existence of both mints is only supposed and, I think, very much to be doubted.

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As to the arguments of Grueber and Vercoutre, it is worth while examining them point by point, for they present a considerable structure. First Grueber, who suggests that the style of the denarius and the ligature in the legend show some connection with the PIETAS . COS issues of Lucius Antony, issues certainly struck in Italy in 41–40 (*BMCRR* II.400–2.65–72; Syd. 1171–74).[10] Now the uncouth manner of the denarius would not be surprising in either East or West, where enormous differences between one triumviral issue and another are at once apparent. That it much resembles the cruder of the PIETAS . COS issues is, however, a subjective judgment which I for one cannot share. The hair of the bust of Antony on the latter pieces consistently sweeps around from above his eye to before his ear; on the Ventidius denarius it pushes forward in short clumps toward forehead and cheek. On the PIETAS . COS coins the beard is scarcely to be seen; on the denarius it is heavy and coarse. The bust line of the PIETAS . COS coins tends to ⁓; on the Ventidius denarius it is ~ (A 1), or ⁓ (A 2). And the modelling is altogether better on the PIETAS . COS obverses, even those of the cruder series.

Similarly, the alleged parallels in the legends—both series read ANT and III.V, in lieu of ANT and III.VIR—may be fortuitous. The first is also found on Antony's "fleet praefect" bronze, certainly struck in the East (*BMCRR* II.510ff.);[11] the second on one of the two aurei struck by Antony in the East (Syria?) in 34, portraying himself and his son Antyllus (*BMCRR* II.521.174), and again on the denarii of Silanus (*BMCRR* II.522–3.175–8). It would be fatuous to argue any connection between these issues and that of Ventidius (or those of Lucius Antony); the point is simply that ligature and abbreviation were common on the coins of Antony, wherever they were struck.

If neither the epigraphy, nor (as I believe) the style of the Ventidius denarius betrays its origin, we are left with the types and legends of the coin, and the historical sources, which have been our only hope from the beginning. Here we can turn to Vercoutre's arguments. In

[10] Liegle, "Pietas," *ZfN* 42 (1932) 83, has shown one of the mints to have been Praeneste.

[11] Bahrfeldt, "Die Münzen der Flottenpräfekten des Marcus Antonius," *NZ* 37 (1905) 36–40, pleads ignorance in the matter of the mint; as against Grant, *FITA*, pp. 43–5, who attributes them to Tarentum. But finds of these series are not attested west of Sparta.

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objecting to the traditional attribution, which he says is only "un tissu d'hypothèses dénuées de tout fondement," he puts the following points:

1. "The only person saluted *imperator* on the occasion of Ventidius' victories over the Parthians was Antony. Antony, reserving for himself all the glory of Ventidius' accomplishments in the East, did not permit his subordinate to commemorate those deeds on a coin. He allowed Ventidius only a triumph in Rome, reserving for himself alone the title *imperator*. And he struck coins himself in commemoration of his Parthian campaigns, the well-known denarii with a Parthian trophy as reverse type, struck in 36. *Tel est le témoignage de l'histoire.*"[12]

Now this is *not* the evidence of history. (What Vercoutre has in mind I cannot say: he cites a single ancient author, Appian *B. C.*, and then only in connection with the Perusine War.) No ancient authority anywhere says that Antony was acclaimed *imperator* in 38. That he was is deduced from Dio (49.21) who expressly states that *both* Antony and Ventidius were granted the right of a triumph in Rome. Consequently there must have been a double acclamation (that is, according to Dio—of this, see infra). That a military commander could celebrate a triumph without having been acclaimed by his men or by the senate is not possible; and that he could celebrate a triumph *for which someone else had been acclaimed* is beyond belief. If Ventidius had his triumph, and we know that he did, he must have been acclaimed *imperator*. There is then no weakening of the Eastern attribution of the denarius in the fact that Ventidius is entitled IMP thereon —quite the contrary.

2. "It is inadmissible to suppose that the reverse type refers to any military success. We would expect a trophy, or one of the defeated peoples (as on the Augustan denarii of Florus, Gallus, and the rest). It is impossible to discover any allusion in the type to Eastern victories; consequently to claim that the coin commemorates a victory over the Parthians is a gratuitous and unlikely hypothesis."

We have already seen how difficult it will be to interpret the reverse figure as a soldier in any guise, as Vercoutre imagines it to be. I think

[12] I enclose in quotation marks a précis, rather than a direct translation, of Vercoutre's arguments.

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he has a point, in criticizing the description of Cohen, for example. But if we admit (as does Grueber) that the type is not military, it will not follow that the coin cannot be Eastern. To that extent Vercoutre's stricture is irrelevant.

3. "Everyone admits that Antony was saluted *imperator iterum* on the occasion of Ventidius' victory over the Parthians. Why then does that title not figure on the coin? To this embarrassing question, the supposed answer is that Ventidius probably struck the coin *before* Antony was saluted *imperator* for the second time. But this is pure hypothesis."

What is one to answer to this, when Vercoutre already rejects as hypothesis what reason itself urges? Here too, as in Number 2 above Vercoutre justly criticizes the line of argument which dated the coin to 38 (so Cohen, Babelon, and Borghesi), at the moment when Antony was hailed *imperator iterum*. Obviously the denarius is earlier. But it does not follow that it cannot be Eastern—Ventidius was already in the East in 39—and there is in this argument no support for the Gallic attribution.

4. "The olive branch which is held by the reverse figure was always symbolic of peace, never of victory. How then can the coin celebrate Ventidius' military successes?"

If we are to consider the victory the initiation of peace, or the reestablishment of peace—Ventidius drove the Parthians from an area previously under Roman domination—then the olive branch is no problem. Or, if we deny that the figure has anything to do with victory, Vercoutre's objection falls by the way. Here too there is nothing to weaken the Eastern attribution.

5. "It is alleged that the style of the Ventidius denarius is 'barbarous.' 1) The coins struck in Asia (for example, Antony's cistophori) are far from barbarous in style. 2) A comparison of the denarius and the cistophori shows that they bear no stylistic resemblance to each other at all."

This is all simply beside the point. The cistophori were struck at Ephesus (or Ephesus and Pergamum),[13] the denarius was not. But that does not mean that the denarius is not Asiatic.

[13] Cf. *BMCRR* II. 503 n.

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In sum, these are Vercoutre's arguments against the Eastern attribution. They are not convincing. Number 1 is based on a misunderstanding of the evidence, Number 5 is irrelevant; and Numbers 2, 3, and 4 erroneously imply that to attack the *interpretation* of the coin is equivalent to attacking its *attribution*.

But we cannot yet leave Vercoutre, for he now proffers three positive reasons for attributing the denarius to Cisalpine Gaul. Or rather, he tries to restrict the date of the coin (and consequently to place it geographically, as we noted above) by reference to the types and legends.

1. "On the denarius Antony is bearded. It is easy to show that all the surely datable coins of Antony which show him bearded were struck between 44 and 41 B.C. Consequently the denarius cannot be as late as 38."

It is reasonable to believe that the beard, or the lack of it, held some significance for Antony;[14] but this is not the same as the assertion that he was consistently either bearded or not on the coinage. The Eastern denarii with reverse type head of Sol (*BMCRR* II. 486–7.87–92), probably struck circa. 42 B.C., are found in two series (differentiated in style and surely struck at two mints) on which Antony is bearded in the one case, beardless in the other. (Because Antony's types are so varied over the years it is not likely that the two varieties were struck far apart in time.) The portraits of Antony vary so considerably on his Eastern issues that it is unlikely that his mint engravers copied their master sketch from life, or even from an official *eikon*—probably one series of coin depended from an earlier one. So it is unlikely that consistency is to be expected in the representation of the triumvir.

2. "In 39 Antony was designated consul for 34 and 31 B.C., and his coins thereafter bear the title *consul designatus iterum et tertio*. On the Ventidius denarius he is not called consul at all; consequently the coin must have been struck before 39."

This objection is less difficult than may appear. At the meeting at Puteoli the consulships for the next ten years were determined, and it is probable that Antony used his new title consistently on his coin, at least until 34; but it does not follow that Ventidius would have

[14] Cf. Plutarch *Antony* 18. 1. On Octavian's beard, Dio 48. 34.

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known of the title at the time the denarius was struck. This argument will not hold if we date the issue in 38, after Gindarus, when Antony had arrived in Syria and when cistophoric tetradrachms had already been struck reading COS. DESIG. ITER. ET. TERT; but it will be true for an earlier striking. The solution turns on two points: 1) When did Ventidius travel to the East to meet the Parthian menace? 2) Was Ventidius hailed *imperator* in 39? (Dio says that he was not). For the latter problem, *v.* infra; for the former, consider first the ancient sources. Where they are at all detailed they are completely contradictory.

Appian (*B.C.* 5.65): Antony sent out Ventidius after the reconciliation with Octavian at Brundisium, and before proceeding to Rome (which they reached in late September or early October of 40 B.C. [*I.I.* 13. 1, p. 568]).

Plutarch (*Antony* 33): Antony sent out Ventidius while still at Puteoli (early 39; Gundel; summer 39, Syme, *Rom. Rev.*, p. 221).

Dio (48. 39. 2): Antony sent out Ventidius after having returned to Athens after Puteoli (i. e., late 39).

To these versions, Josephus (*B.J.*I.XV.2) adds a new *datum*, that Ventidius reached Asia Minor *via* Syria.

Bürcklein showed long ago that the accounts of Dio and Plutarch cannot be right, that the events of 39 cannot be squeezed into the time available if we must add to them Ventidius' journey to the East.[15] Bürcklein is surely right in arguing that Ventidius left Italy at the latest after the ovation of Octavian and Antony in Rome in 40; that he likely accompanied Herod, who had at that time been appointed king of the Jews by the Senate; that he spent the winter in Syria preparing for war, and descended on Asia Minor in 39 (whence the error in Dio and Plutarch). But if this is accepted, as it ought to be, Ventidius was already in the East at the time of the council at Puteoli, and he could not have known of the new disposition of the consulships, or of Antony's new title.

3. "The lituus marks Antony's position as augur. That symbol disappears in 40 B.C. at the latest, to be replaced by AVG in the legend. Since the lituus is to be seen on Ventidius' denarius, that coin is earlier than 39."

[15] *Quellen und Chronologie der römisch-parthischen Feldzüge in den Jahren 713–718 d. St.* (Berlin, 1879) 51–53.

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This is wrong. The lituus is found on one of the two issues of cistophori, struck in Asia Minor and dated by the legend *consul designatus iterum et tertio* to 39 at the earliest.

Vercoutre's counter-suggestion, then, that the denarius was struck in Cisalpine Gaul, is not supported by the evidence which he adduces. And these three arguments obscure a more important point, that the coin tells us that Ventidius was acclaimed *imperator*—but there is no Western victory which the piece can commemorate. We know from both the historians and the Fasti Triumphales that Ventidius was so honored for having defeated the Parthians, and that he did celebrate his triumph in Rome. This would be the obvious source of the coin's legend. If we were to attribute the denarius to Gaul we would want to associate Ventidius with some Western victory. Now a surprisingly large number of the *imperator* coinages of the late Republic can be shown from the historical sources to reflect victories achieved by their subjects; there is no reason to doubt that, whatever the circumstances, Ventidius had won the title, not just assumed it.

What were the circumstances in Gaul? Ventidius was one of Antony's generals at the time of the battles about Mutina. But he was in Picenum, or perhaps a bit to the north in Rimini. After Antony's defeat at Forum Gallorum, Ventidius led his army across the Apennines, to meet his commander near Genoa, whence they continued westward eventually to meet Lepidus. In all this there is no evidence that Ventidius engaged in any military encounter, and no possible source for his title *imperator*. The rest of the year he spent in the north, finally becoming consul for a few weeks on the legal establishment of the Triumvirate. Ventidius' whereabouts during 42 are obscure. In 41 he marched prominently about the north of Italy at the time of the Perusine War, leading his legions to Perusia from Gaul, failing to relieve the Antonians besieged within, and withdrawing to the Adriatic. Here too there is no evidence that he engaged in any battle at all. Our sources may be deficient, but inasmuch as the hypothesis of a Western victory would be the *result*, not the origin, of the attribution of the denarius to Gaul, we must not argue in a circle and postulate a victory, commemorated by the coin, to justify the attribution.

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Vercoutre, admitting the difficulty, refers to an obscure incident mentioned in Appian (*B.C.* 5.50). Following the capitulation of Perugia in 40, Plancus abandoned his troops to follow Fulvia into exile. Ventidius took over Plancus' ungoverned troops—or, as Vercoutre puts it, Ventidius was acclaimed *imperator* by his new soldiers when he succeeded Plancus *imperator* (and we know that Plancus had the title because his coins say so). This suggestion simply cannot stand in view of what we know to have been the circumstances of an acclamation: it was normally preceded by a victory. Again, why do we believe Plancus to have been hailed *imperator* at Perugia? His first triumph was celebrated in 43 (*I.I.*13.1, p. 87) and he is not found as IMP.ITER until his Asian coinage (*BMCRR* II.496–7). And if Ventidius was proclaimed, why did he never celebrate his Italian triumph? He apparently did not return to Rome before 38, not even during his brief term as consul, but he could have had his triumph then. (Caesar had saved his triumphs, to celebrate four in a row in 46.) No, the Fasti, preserved for all the period 44–31 B.C., credit Ventidius only with the Eastern victories.

Neither the historical sources, nor the flavor of the denarius itself, allow us to substantiate the Gallic attribution. It is time to return to the traditional opinion that the coin is Eastern. Ventidius' successes in Asia and Syria were the great achievement of his life; *prima facie* his denarius should celebrate these, unless we can adduce solid evidence to the contrary, as I believe we cannot.

There remains one difficulty: for which victory was Ventidius hailed *imperator*. We have assumed above that 38 is too late a date for the coin, although 39 is satisfactory. But Dio tells us that no one received any credit for the victories of 39, while *both* Antony and Ventidius were voted triumphs for the victory at Gindarus in 38. This is very odd, and extremely suspicious, although it has been believed.[16] As to the first, Dio is simply wrong. The entry in the Fasti Triumphales (*I.I.*13.1, p. 87) clearly reads:

P . VENTIDIVS . P . F . PROCOS . EX . TAVRO . AN . DCC//
MONTE . ET . PARTHEIS . V . K . DECEM

[16] E.g., Bürcklein, op. laud. p. 59, n. 2; Gardthausen, *Augustus und seiner Zeit* I. i, p. 233.

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The stone is broken at the date, but it is likely that Ventidius had his triumph in November of 38, having been removed from his command by Antony in about July. At any rate the source of the triumph is there to read: the victories at Mount Taurus and over the Parthians. Two different victories are clearly indicated, for were we to translate "...the victory (which was) at Mount Taurus (and) over the Parthians...," the text must read DE . PARTHEIS rather than ET . PARTHEIS.[17]

Now Ventidius accomplished only three military victories of importance: Mount Taurus, and the Cilician Gates in 39, and Gindarus in 38. The expedition against Antiochus was not completed at the time he was replaced by Antony. Furthermore, the sources say explicitly that beyond these victories there was virtually no fighting at all. After the defeat of Phranapates, Ventidius was able to take over Syria ἀμαχεί, except for the Aradii; and Dio expressly says (48.41.6) that it was only later, and to others of the Roman army, that these capitulated. Again, after the defeat of Pacorus, those cities of Syria and Commagene which were uneasy under the imposition, or reimposition, of Roman rule were pacified, not by military means, but simply by circulating among them Pacorus' head. Thus we cannot arrogate to some superficially insignificant battle the honor of having been the source of the second victory of the inscription; in fact the Parthians fled eastward after the disaster at Gindarus and left Syria to itself. Consequently the ET . PARTHEIS of the inscription must refer to the victory at the Cilician Gates in 39, or at Gindarus in 38. Further Ventidius took his triumph not as a legate of Antony but in his own right: the stone expressly reads PROCOS.

The solution is simple. In denying credit to Ventidius for 39 but granting it for 38 Dio has the true state of affairs exactly reversed. The EX . MONTE . TAVRO of the inscription proves him wrong, as does the odd assertion that two triumphs were granted for the one victory of 38. Gindarus was a great achievement, and it was just following on it that Antony rushed to Syria to take personal command of his army there. (That Dio and Plutarch refer to the ineffective siege of Samosata as the reason [or part of it] for Antony's acclama-

[17] Cf. the triumph of A. Atilius, EX SICILIA DE POENEIS (*I. I.* 13. 1,p. 77).

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tion must be attributed either to a misunderstanding of the situation, or to the fact that he did include the siege in his "victories" of the year, being hailed for the whole Eastern campaign of 38.) Ventidius returned home to celebrate a triumph for the two victories of 39, EX . TAVRO . MONTE . ET . PARTHEIS.

As our earlier evidence makes it impossible, so this conclusion makes it unnecessary to date the denarius of Ventidius quite as late as was the custom. It was struck already in 39, before Antony ever intended to set out from Athens.

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TWO NEW SESTERTII OF DOMITIAN

I



FIG. 1

Obv. Head left, laureate, bust draped. ↻ IMPCAESDIVIVESPF
↺ DOMITAVGGERMCOSX

Rev. Horseman with flying cloak and right arm raised rides right against an enemy armed with a long hexagonal shield, who falls back on his left knee and raises his right arm in defence; below the horse, a decapitated corpse seen in perspective and a discarded shield(?). PM TRIBP III IMPVIIPP Large S C in exergue
American Numismatic Society (purchased 1958)

The legends fix the date of issue as before 13 September in the year A.D. 84. At this time Domitian's *aes* coinage was in a state of transition between the issues of 81–2 (dominated by Minerva types) and the more varied range of types which prevailed largely unchanged from 84 until the end of the reign. Between these two phases of the bronze coinage there is, in fact, a total break, for no issues are dated 83 (COS IX). When coinage was resumed in 84, the transition was not at first complete. Although the old reverse types featuring Minerva were completely abandoned, the titulature of 81–2 (IMP CAES DIVI VESP F DOMITIAN) was at first retained with the addition of the now current GER(M); in the course of the year it was simplified to the henceforth standard IMP CAES DOMITIAN. Of this second issue a number of dupondii and asses are known employing some eight

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reverse types;[1] the first issue (to which both sestertii here published belong) is much rarer and till now only asses have been recorded.[2]

The portrait of Domitian is unusual both in facing left and in being draped. On his bronze coinage drapery occurs again only at the very end of the reign on a few rare and almost medallic sestertii celebrating a group of architectural and sculptural monuments;[3] otherwise it is concentrated among a few gold and silver coins (most with left facing bust), dated to the earlier part of this same year 84, and to the end of the preceding year.[4] It may be suspected that, at a time when the normal continuity of the *aes* coinage had been interrupted, the model for the obverse of this unusual sestertius was borrowed from the slightly earlier gold and silver. Another detail which points in the same direction is the continuation of the titulature from obverse to reverse; this is common practice on the gold and silver throughout the reign, but after 82 occurs only once again on the *aes*.[5] A striking parallel to the exceptional use of numbered tribunician power and imperial salutation on the *aes* is to be found on the coinage issued in the name of Titus in 72 and 73; on this occasion too one unusually elaborate bust wearing a cuirass was employed.[6]

The reverse type showing the emperor riding down an enemy who falls back protecting himself with a long shield had been used by Vespasian and Titus in 72–73[7] and was to be used by Domitian annually from 85–88/9.[8] It is a perfectly normal military type and would

[1] *BMC* (*Emp*)II, pp. 360 f.
[2] Op. cit., 359.
[3] Op. cit., pp. 406†, 407†.
[4] Op. cit., p. 307, no. 44 note, no. 45; p, 308, no. 49 note, no. 50 note. In sale catalogues I have observed the following additional aurei, all with draped bust to left: 1. Münzhandlung Basel 6, 1639: rev. trophy, **DE GERMANIS**; undated but obv. legend has **DIVI VESP F.** 2. Santamaria, 25 May 1926, 281 = Glend. 20 Feb. 1951 (Ryan), 1704: same obv. die as (1) rev. captive on shield, **GERMANICVS COS X.** 3. *Ars Classica* XVIII, 159: same obv. die as (1) and (2), rev. as (2) but different die. 4. Glend. 16 Nov. 1950 (Hall), 1247: obv. cf. *BMC* pl. 60, 12, rev. Minerva stg., **P M TR POT III IMP V COS X P P.** 5. *Ars Classica* XVIII, 163: obv. die of *BMC* pl. 60, 12, rev. die of *BMC* 60, 15 (eagle, **P M TR POT III IMP V COS X P P**).
[5] *BMC* (*Emp*) II, no. 398 (A.D. 87).
[6] Op. cit., pp. 145–8; for the cuirassed bust see nos. 649–650.
[7] Op. cit. Vesp. nos. 622, 634–5, p. 146*, p. 147†, no. 653.
[8] Op. cit. Dom. p. 364*, no. 380, p. 386≠, no. 409.

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require no comment but for the object beneath the horse, which is not to be seen in the other numismatic versions. To judge from the analogies provided by the frequent use of this scene on military tomb-stones, it can be only the body of an already slaughtered enemy seen in perspective with feet lying away from the spectator; the arms are outspread along the exergue line, and the head (seen in profile above the top right hand corner of S) appears to be detached from the body. This gruesome detail finds its parallel in the left hand panel of the Second Legion's distance-slab from Bridgeness in Scotland.[9] The nearest parallel to the whole scene, allowing for compression into the narrow vertical shape of the stone, seems to be the tomb-stone of Q. Carminius Ingenuus at Worms.[10] Beneath the horse from right to left are seen the enemy cowering beneath the shield, the prostrate enemy seen in perspective with head towards the spectator and finally a discarded shield; on the coin the boss and upper edge of a second shield seem to be faintly visible in front of the horse's hind legs.

There remains to be discussed the seventh imperial salutation which is recorded nowhere else upon the coinage. Certain chronological limits can be fixed as follows:

(1) According to the coinage Domitian was already IMP V in the early part of 84 (COS X), but the salutation may date back to the last months of 83, a period for which there is no dated coinage.

(2) A diploma from Carnuntum records IMP VII as being current on 3 September, 84.[11]

(3) IMP VI (not recorded on the coinage) therefore falls between (1) and (2).

(4) IMP VIII is current on the coinage of 85 (COS XI), but since there is no dated coinage for 84 after 13 September, the salutation may have been received during this period.

The most important date in this connexion is that of Domitian's triumph over the Chatti, because upon it depends the date of the military operations on which we are most fully informed, namely, those of Agricola in Britain and in particular his final victory at

[9] Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, pl. III.
[10] *Germania Romana*[2] III, pl. VI, 4; Esperandieu VIII, 6014. Prof. I. A. Richmond has kindly given me much help with the sculptural parallels.
[11] Dessau, *ILS* 1997.

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Mons Graupius. The campaign against the Chatti, for which the fifth salutation was presumably received, was certainly in 83, but the resulting triumph may have been delayed some months.[12] It is surely significant that in 83 there is no coinage at all after 13 September, whereas in 84 not only does the title *Germanicus* make its first appearance, but also a German victory is celebrated by several new types.[13] These facts require restating because in the past coins have been quoted in support of the use of the title *Germanicus* already in 83. A denarius is said to combine the title *Germanicus* with the date COS VIIII DES X,[14] but of this coin no specimen can now be traced; it probably belonged to that fairly numerous class of ancient plated forgeries, which often combine obverses and reverses of different dates. A single anomalous coin of this kind is insufficient evidence for the use of the title *Germanicus* in 83. Similarly the Alexandrian coinage has also been quoted to the same end, but this is due to a combination of mistaken reconstruction and inaccurate quotation.[15] It in fact omits the title from all coins of year 2 (82/3) and from some of those of year 3 (83/4), and thus tallies closely with the Roman issues.[16]

Domitian's triumph, then, was celebrated early in 84, and, after a lapse of time which Tacitus can describe by the word *nuper*, there arrived the news of Agricola's victory at Mons Graupius.[17] Since this victory earned Agricola the *ornamenta triumphalia*, we are justified in supposing that it brought Domitian an imperial salutation. Is it possible to make out a case for identifying this salutation as IMP VI, VII or even VIII, if the latter be thought to date from the end of 84?

[12] Though Jerusalem fell on 8 Sept. 70, Vespasian did not hold his triumph until the end of June 71.
[13] See coins quoted in n. 4 above.
[14] *RIC* 39 = Coh. 602, quoted by McElderry, *JRS* 1920, 73, n. 5.
[15] *JRS* ibid. Dattari, *Nummi Alexandrini*, nos. 435, 438, 440 and 445 completes all his obverse legends on coins dated year 2 with ΓΕΡΜ, which he places in square brackets. The legend of *BMC Alexandria*, no. 299 is also supplemented in the same way, although the reading is clear and does not end in ΓΕΡΜ. Stein in *PW* VII, 1252 quoted Dattari for ΓΕΡΜ in year 2, but in addition by mis-reading Dattari's list he attributed the ΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΩΝ type to year 2 instead of year 6, where Dattari correctly placed it. Stein was then quoted by McElderry in support of his contention that Domitian was already *Germanicus* in 83.
[16] Cf. Milne, *A Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*, 14.
[17] Tac. *Agr.* 39, 2.

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So far as our information goes, Britain would seem to have been the principal theatre of operations in 84, though the possibility that a minor victory elsewhere might have produced a salutation cannot be excluded.[18] In Britain, according to Tacitus' account (*Agr.* 29), the battle of Mons Graupius itself was the first significant engagement of the year,[19] which suggests that it may have taken place no later than the middle of the season; time has to be allowed for the preliminary action of the fleet and for the advance of the army (29, 2). On the other hand, a date very early in the season is excluded by the fact that after the battle it was too late to penetrate further into unknown territory (38, 3); yet there was sufficient of the season left for a slow return march of consolidation (38, 4), and for the fleet, after exploring at the same time as far as the Orkneys (10, 5), to return to its base before the onset of bad weather (38, 5). From these rather vague indications no very precise date emerges; the most that can be said is that the battle of Mons Graupius was fought neither very early nor very late in the season, so that a date near the middle, say in June, may not be far from the truth.

How does this date fit in with the three possible salutations? IMP VIII is first recorded at the beginning of 85, but there is no dated coinage to show whether or not it in fact dates from the end of 84; all that can be said is that it was not yet current at Carnuntum by 3 September, 84. Yet a period of over two months would seem to be sufficient for the news of a salutation to pass from Scotland to Rome and thence to Carnuntum. We may conclude that IMP VIII is probably not the salutation of Mons Graupius.

The event celebrated by IMP VII must have taken place some time before 3 September, when it is recorded at Carnuntum. A battle fought about June seems to fit the requirement, so that IMP VII may be tentatively associated with Mons Graupius. This battle, so far as we know, was the most important victory of 84, and the seventh salutation is the only one to be recorded on a special coinage; our sestertius is obviously an unusual coin and its reverse type is appropriate

[18] E.g. in Africa, cf. *CAH* XI, 149f.

[19] Prof. Richmond has pointed out to me that Ptolemy (II, 3, 9) records a place-name Victoria between Forth and Tay. Perhaps this may be associated with one of the unallotted salutations of 83 (cf. *Agr.* 25, 1).

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to a victory issue. IMP VI, on the other hand, is never recorded on the coinage at all, and IMP VIII appears only as the current titulature in conjunction with routine types.

There is no decisive reason why IMP VI should not be associated with Mons Graupius; but just as IMP VIII seemed to fall rather too late in the year, so IMP VI, unless it were current for only a very short time, is uncomfortably early.

If IMP VII was received for Mons Graupius, a possible occasion for IMP VIII suggests itself—namely Agricola's expedition to the Orkneys, which are said to have been subdued (10, 5). This operation made a certain impression in literature,[20] and this distant penetration over an unfamiliar sea may have won for it more prominence than its strictly military significance deserved. Caesar's reconnaissance to Britain in 55 B.C. had a similar character, which largely accounts for the *supplicatio* of no less than twenty days decreed on his return.[21]

II



FIG. 2

Obv. Head right, laureate, with aegis. ⸢IMPCAESDIVIVESPFDOMIT ⸣AVGGERMCOSX In left field, Este countermark.

Rev. To right Domitian in military dress stands left on dais extending right arm; behind him to right stands another figure; at foot of dais a lictor stands left. To left three soldiers stand right, the two soldiers on left apparently holding standards, the third raising both arms to meet Domitian's outstretched hand.

STIP IMP AVG DOMITIAN SC (in ex.)

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 1496.

[20] Cf. Stat. *Silv.*, V, 1, 91 and Juvenal II, 161.

[21] *B.G.* IV, 38, 5.

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There appears to be no reason for doubting the authenticity of the coin or its details; in fact its poor condition does much to confirm its genuineness. The reverse legend is faint but certain, and though there are marks of scraping, it does not seem to have been deliberately altered. No similar reverse type is recorded for Domitian, so that both type and legend may be accepted as they stand as new additions to Domitian's coinage.

The obverse legend shows that the coin was minted in 84, and that it belongs to the same issue as the sestertius published in the first part of this note; there is thus no need to repeat the comments already made above. The portrait is strikingly similar and differs only in its direction and in the replacement of the drapery by an aegis; this latter feature makes its first appearance under Domitian on the earliest issues of 84.[22]

Of more interest are the reverse type and legend, both of which are hitherto unrecorded on the Roman coinage. The type is closely related to the familiar *adlocutio* type, seen in its most elaborate form under Galba.[23] It differs from it, however, in the reciprocal action of the emperor and the foremost soldier, in which it is more akin to a *liberalitas* or *congiarium* type. The significance of this action is explained by the legend STIP IMP AVG DOMITIAN.[24]

Until Domitian the Roman soldier was paid in three annual *stipendia* of 75 denarii each; Suetonius reports that Domitian *addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos*.[25] Over the interpretation of this change there has been some disagreement. Brunt argued that Domitian raised the amount of the three existing *stipendia* to 100 denarii each,[26] whereas Watson, taking Suetonius more literally, preferred the addition of a fourth *stipendium* of 75 denarii;[27] in either case, of course, the total annual pay was raised from 225 to 300 denarii. Between these two views the coin perhaps cannot finally decide, for STIP may be expanded as singular or plural. If, however,

[22] *BMC* (*Emp*) II, nos. 48f. and p. 359.
[23] *NNM* 133, pl. XXXVII.
[24] Although *Imp. Caes. Aug.* does occasionally precede Vespasian's name on coins minted early in his reign, the present displacement of *Aug.* is presumably intended to secure a symmetrical division of the legend.
[25] *Domitian* 7, 3.
[26] *PBSR* XVIII, 54. Brunt bases himself on Dio lxvii, 3, 5 who simply says that Domitian ordered the payment of 100 drachmae instead of 75.
[27] *Historia* 5, 332ff.

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it be singular, both type, legend and the measure itself gain immensely in significance, for we then see Domitian taking part in what is surely a historical ceremony, the first payment of something called 'the emperor's *stipendium*.' We can go further and argue that since the obverse bears the titulature used in the first part of 84, 'the emperor's *stipendium*' was the first *stipendium* in the year to be paid and that the coin was minted for the occasion of its first payment, presumably on 1 April, 84.[28] If, on the other hand, STIP is plural, little of this will apply. There will be no special *stipendium* in Domitian's name, for the increase would be dispersed over the existing *stipendia*, thus losing much of its publicity value; the coin type will not be a historical scene, as it appears to be, but simply a recognition of imperial generosity, which might equally well have been represented by some such personification as *liberalitas*. On balance it seems preferable to follow Suetonius closely in Watson's company and to expand STIP into *stipendium*.

The increase has usually been dated to the year 83,[29] but our coin points rather to the following year, at least for the first payment, if not for the original announcement. As already argued, the title *Germanicus* was not used by Domitian before 84 and his triumph over the Chatti belongs to the early part of the same year. These victory celebrations are a likely setting for an increase in military pay.

Finally, the coin may be employed to dispel Passerini's doubts (not shared by other scholars) that the increase applied to the praetorians as well as to the legionaries.[30] Though the soldiers on the coin cannot be demonstrated by internal evidence to be praetorians, it is highly unlikely that a special issue of this kind would have been produced at Rome to celebrate an increase in which the praetorians did not share. Moreover, if the reverse type is rightly interpreted as showing a historical ceremony, datable to the early months of 84, when Domitian was in Rome, then the praetorians must certainly have been at least represented in the body of troops which took part.[31]

COLIN M. KRAAY

[28] Since there were now four *stipendia*, payment would be three monthly, presumably in arrears.
[29] Gsell, *Essai sur Domitian*, 156; *RE* XXII, 1628.
[30] Passerini, *Le Coorti Pretorie*, 108.
[31] In the last paragraphs I have been much indebted to Dr. K. Kraft of Munich for a number of references and comments.

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THE CONSTANTINIAN MINTS, 306–313

LONDON

The issue of unmarked coins beginning in the Second Tetrarchy, as coins of Constantius as Augustus and Severus as Caesar indicate, continued into the Third, when Severus was promoted Augustus and Constantine appeared as Caesar. Galerius and Daia as well as the Seniors were present throughout the mark.

Since the unmarked series has no mint-mark there has been some difficulty in determining their place of issue, and Sutherland has ascribed the coins to the London mint on the following grounds: 1) stylistic similarities to coins of the following **PLN** mark, 2) the British-type lettering, 3) the die axis.[1] Hoard analysis was not particularly helpful. The weight of the coins seem to be between a peak of 10.60 and 9.00 grams while the reverse types are limited to **GENIO POPVLI ROMANI** for the active rulers and **PROVIDENTIA DEORVM OVIES AVGG** for the Seniors.[2] Constantine's accession apparently did not immediately affect the pattern of the coinage.

In the course of the unmarked series the weight of the coins began to slide, a development paralleled by the reduction of the reverse legend **GENIO POPVLI ROMANI** to **GENIO POP ROM** and of **PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG** to **QVIES AVGG**.[3] At the same time Daia inexplicably ceases to be represented on the coins and Severus has disappeared, while Maximian is re-recognized as an active ruler on the **GENIO POP ROM** type although retaining his **DN — PF AVG** abdication titulature. Diocletian alone appears on the

[1] Sutherland, *Cent. Pub. of the ANS*, 1958, 634–637.

[2] Kent, *NC* 1957, 35. Sutherland notes a peak between 10. 60 and 9 grams. (*Cent. Pub. of the ANS*, 1958, 634.) I was able to weigh 17 unmarked folles which ranged between 13.00 and 8.25 grams. Eleven fall between 10.60 and 9.00 grams.

[3] Carson and Kent, (*NC* 1956, 90) note an 8 gram stage but Kent, (*NC* 1957, 35) lists only a single drop to a 6.5 gram peak. I was only able to weigh 9 coins ranging from 8.50 to 5.50 grams. Three of the coins lie between 8.50 and 7.75 grams, the rest between 6.75 and 5.50. Thus, while there could have been an 8 gram stage, the scantiness of the evidence available to me makes it impossible to establish clearly.

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abdication type **QVIES AVGG.** During the course of the immediately preceding heavy-weight unmarked series, Galerius' obverse went through a progressive shortening, and the final form, **IMP MAXIMIANVS PF AVG,** is the only one to survive into the light-weight unmarked series. Constantine and the Seniors have new legends; for Constantine, **FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C**; for Maximian and Diocletian, **PFS AVG**—a considerable shortening from the preceding **BAEATISSIMO** and **FELICISSIMO SEN AVG**. The date of the weight reduction should roughly coincide, according to the evidence, with the date on which Constantine recognized Maximian as an active ruler on the coins. Clearly the series of light-weight coins must fall after 28 October 306, and probably follows the defeat of Severus, after which Maximian went to Gaul and secured his alliance with Constantine.[4] Thus it seems quite possible that the unmarked folles of heavy weight continued into 307.[5]

Succeeding the unmarked series is **PLN**, the placement of which can be justified as follows: 1) the weight range of the early **PLN** coins roughly approximates that of the late unmarked folles.[6] 2) the reverse types **GENIO POP ROM** and **QVIES AVGG** continue from the preceding group. 3) the titulature of the Seniors and of Galerius is the same as that in the light-weight unmarked series. **FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C** likewise continues from the unmarked series, and a new obverse legend is introduced, **FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOBILI C.** 4) Galerius and Daia are limited to representation on **GENIO POP ROM** while Maximian appears with Constantine on

[4] Lact. *de Mort. Pers.*, XXVII, 1.

[5] Carson and Kent, (*NC* 1956, 91) think that the weight reduction took place late in 306. For the date of Severus' defeat see the section on Trier where the problem is discussed more fully.

[6] Carson and Kent, who note a drop to 8 grams before the start of **PLN**, do not indicate the date when the weight dropped again to a 6.5 gram peak. It can be said in defense of Kent's more recent belief that the weight dropped in a single stage at London that the abdication reverse which shortens in two stages at Trier and Lyons from **PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG** to **QVIES AVGVSTORVM**, and finally to **QVIES AVGG**, is found at London only in the later **QVIES AVGG** phase. The 53 coins of **PLN** with Constantine Caesar that I was able to weigh ranged between 9.00 and 5.00 grams. Eighteen fell between 8.00 and 7.00 grams, and 28 between 7.00 and 6.00 grams. The evidence seems to indicate a period of continuous dropping of the standard which finally settled to a peak between 6 and 7 grams.

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GENIO POP ROM and on the new types MARS VICTOR and ROMAE AETER, and alone on HERCVLI CONSERVATORI and MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI. Constantine alone is found on the new types ADVENTVS AVGG, MARTI PACIF, MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI and PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS.[7] The emphasis on Constantine and Maximian to the virtual exclusion of Galerius and Daia argues a date for this series which must fall later than the alliance between Constantine and Maximian and after the unmarked series, where the effects of the alliance are just visible.

It is in the course of the PLN mark that Constantine's elevation as Augustus occurs. At this point the weight of the coins is definitely between a 6.50 and 6.00 gram peak.[8] Constantine is found with five obverse legends and at least one obverse of Daia as Augustus is known on GENIO POP ROM. Because the mint-mark did not change when Constantine became Augustus, it is impossible to distinguish those coins of Maximian which were issued in the earlier phase of PLN from those in the later phase, since at London the old man did not undergo a change of titulature to IMP—PF AVG at the time of Constantine's elevation, as he did at Lyons and Trier. The fact that the Seltz Hoard contains two obverse types for Maximian and only one coin with Constantine as Augustus from Trier seems to be an indication that Maximian's title changed before Constantine's elevation. A similar problem exists in determining whether Galerius continued to be represented on the coins after Constantine became Augustus, and, if so, for how long a time. Diocletian has disappeared by this time, and at some point during PLN the deified Constantius was honored with the reverse MEMORIA FELIX. Constantine's elevation as Augustus took place sometime after 25 July 307, but the PLN mark would seem to have continued until after the Conference at Carnuntum on 11 November 308, since Daia would not have been recognized as Augustus before this time, and perhaps not for some time after.[9] Precisely when Divus

[7] Kent, (*NC* 1957, 35) does not list MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI as a type for Constantine Caesar in the early PLN phase, but it is possible that the coin exists in Vienna.

[8] Carson and Kent, *NC* 1956, 91.

[9] The coin of Daia was not noted by Kent in his recent article, but it exists at the British Museum, and possibly also at Uppsala, although the latter needs confirmation.

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Constantius was honored during the mark is uncertain, but, since the commemoration issue at Lyons appeared quite soon after Constantine became Augustus, its issue at London was probably contemporaneous.[10] Kent believes that SOLI INVICTO COMITI occurs very late in PLN, when the weight of the coins undergoes another reduction to 4.5 grams.[11] The coins of Daia Augustus and the COMITI AVGG NN type are also of light-weight and undoubtedly occurred late in the mark.

The following mark was probably $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$, although the sequence is rather difficult to establish clearly. The weight of the TF coins approximates the 4.5 gram peak.[12] The reverse type COMITI AAVVGG repeats with a slight variation the COMITI AVGG NN of the PLN mark, while MARTI CONSERVATORI and SOLI INVICTO COMITI continue unchanged. Five of Constantine's obverse legends, IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG, IMP CONSTANTINVS P AVG, CONSTANTINVS PF AVG, CONSTANTINVS P AVG, and CONSTANTINVS AVG are identical with those of the previous mark; only IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG is not found in PLN. Constantine's co-rulers are not recognized on the plain TF coins but they appear on what seem to be transitional marks at the end of the period. Licinius and Daia are found with a GENIO POP ROM reverse on $\frac{*T|*F}{PLN}$ and Daia only on the rare $\frac{*\exists|*T}{PLN}$ with a MARTI CONSERVATORI reverse.

[10] Actually there were two issues of a consecration coin at Lyons, but MEMORIA FELIX belongs in the later period to judge on the basis of weight alone. Kent suggests by his arrangement of the coins (*NC* 1957, 36) that MEMORIA FELIX was issued in the period after Constantine became Augustus.

[11] Carson and Kent in their earlier article believe the MEMORIA FELIX coin to have been issued in conjunction with Constantine's marriage. *NC* 1956, 91.

[12] Kent, *NC* 1957, 36. COMITI AVGG NN, which is not noted by Kent, occurs for the first time in this mark. A specimen with the obverse of Constantine exists at Oxford. Kent is quite right in his arrangement of the coins, placing SOLI INVICTO COMITI very late in PLN on the basis of its reduced weight (*NC* 1957, 36), and the *Comiti* type belongs late in the mark as well since there is a specimen weighing 4.55 grams and a Sol coin at 4.68. Although two coins may seem insufficient evidence, it seems reasonable to postulate that further specimens will support Kent's view. The 39 coins I weighed in $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$ ranged from 5.75 to 3.75 with a peak between 4 and 5 grams.

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It seems rather puzzling that Constantine mints coins only for himself in the TF mark since Daia had appeared as Augustus in PLN and is present in $\frac{*}{TF}^{*}$ and the succeeding issues. The fact that TF coins are quite rare could mean that the mark was of extremely short duration or that specimens for Daia have not yet been discovered, although both of these explanations are weak. Licinius appears for the first time on the transitional mark, which is a clear indication that his recognition by Constantine took place after that of Daia. Unfortunately, there seems to be no way to establish precisely the date when Constantine did finally decide to recognize Licinius.

$\frac{|*}{PLN}$ follows the TF series. The weight of the $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ issue is roughly the same as that of the TF series, and the arguments for placing $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ after $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$ can be summarized as follows:[13] 1) The obverse legends in the TF series and $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ seem to have some links. Constantine is represented by eight obverse legends, five of which are also found in the TF series. Of his new legends, two, CONSTANTINVS P AG, and CONSTANTINVS AG, are abbreviations of longer forms, while the third, CONSTANTINVS PF IN AVG, is found only in this mark. Licinius is found as PF AVG in both marks, as is Daia. However, Daia has a second obverse, P AVG, in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$—not found in the TF series although it does occur in the late PLN mark. The fact that Daia as P AVG does not occur in TF probably marks a break in the consistent pattern of development, but, because of the rarity of the TF series, it does not seem a serious one. 2) In both $\frac{*}{TF}^{*}$ and $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ Daia and Licinius are found on the GENIO POP ROM reverse and in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ on COMITI AAVVGG. There seems to be a slight increase in representation in the later mark. 3) The reverse types in the TF series and the transitional marks consisted of COMITI AAVVGG and GENIO POP ROM, which are found in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$, and MARTI CONSERVATORI and SOLI INVICTO COMITI which are found in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ and in late PLN (which preceded $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$) and in $\frac{*|}{PLN}$ (which follows $\frac{|*}{PLN}$). Thus the

[13] Kent, *NC* 1957, 36. I was able to weigh 88 coins of PLN ranging between 5.25 and 3.25. Seventy-two fell between 4.75 and 4.00 grams.

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reverse types of the marks PLN, $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$, the transitional marks, $\frac{|*}{PLN}$, and $\frac{*|}{PLN}$ all show some linkage, though no clear-cut sequence of marks can be derived from an analysis of the occurrence of reverse types. A series of special types, ADVENTVS AVG, ADVENTVS AVGG NN, CONCORDIA MILITVM, CONCORD MILIT, SPES REIPVBLICAE, and SPES REIPVBL are issued in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$, probably in reference to Constantine's victory over Maxentius. 4) There is a sudden and extensive proliferation in the $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ mark in the number of bust styles. There were five in PLN, two in the TF and transitional marks, and thirty in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$, a number which contracted to ten in the $\frac{*|}{PLN}$ issue. The increase in the number of bust types corresponds with the increase in the number of reverse types issued, and both probably represent a proliferation resulting from the conflict with Maxentius. Because of the vast number of busts and reverses, individual coins tend to be scarce or rare, but the $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ issue as a whole was far larger than the TF.[14]

Dating the $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$ and $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ marks is difficult since the duration of the issues is well-nigh impossible to determine. Carson and Kent have stated their belief that TF and its variants ended sometime after May 311.[15] Their view that $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ occurred after Galerius' death rather than in 309 is supported by the existence of the reverse types in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$

[14] Carson and Kent, who also believe that $\frac{*|}{PLN}$ followed $\frac{|*}{PLN}$, cite as evidence the fact that the sole legend break for SOLI INVICTO COMITI in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ is C-T, which is found commonly in the TF mark, while in the $\frac{*|}{PLN}$ series the Soli coin has reverse legends with double breaks, V-IC, V-IC-T, and I-C-T, which appear only in marks immediately subsequent to $\frac{*|}{PLN}$. *NC*, 1956, 93. Sutherland has reported four legend breaks for the Soli type in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$, V-IC-T, -C-, I-C, and C-T; two in the TF series, C-T and I-C and three in $\frac{*|}{PLN}$, V-IC-T, V-I-C, and C-T. He does not note I-CT in $\frac{*|}{PLN}$. The presence of double breaks in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ seems to nullify the argument of Carson and Kent since there seems no clear developmental pattern of legend breaks that can be ascertained.

[15] Carson and Kent, *NC* 1956, 93.

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referring to Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312. It seems unlikely that $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ lasted for four years.

$\frac{*|}{PLN}$ is the last mark in our period. Its placement after $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ seems justified since: 1) it is slightly lower in weight than $\frac{|*}{PLN}$;[16] 2) The reverse types FELICITAS AVGG NN, ROMAE AETER AVGG, ROMAE RESTITVTAE, and SECVRITAS AVGG seem to allude to the victory over Maxentius; 3) the representation of Constantine's colleagues remains limited to GENIO POP ROM and SECVRITAS AVGG for Licinius and COMITI AAVVGG for Daia, which is similar to the degree of recognition which both men received in the $\frac{|*}{PLN}$ mark; 4) The patterning of the obverse legends shows Licinius to have two legends in this mark: Daia has contracted to one, while Constantine has six obverse legends, all of which are also found in $\frac{|*}{PLN}$; 5) The special types tend to be scarce to rare; only SOLI INVICTO COMITI is common. $\frac{*|}{PLN}$ probably ended with Daia's defeat and death in mid 313.

TRIER

The arrangement of the mint-marks at Trier between 306 and 313 offers few problems in relation to the bulk of the coinage, and, while it may be possible to argue the dates within which a given mark operates, the sequence itself seems to be in no doubt.

The mark $\frac{S|F}{PTR}$ began in the Second Tetrarchy and lasted into the Third as coins designating Severus as Augustus and Constantine as Caesar clearly show. Coins of this mark are of unreduced weight, and the advent of the Third Tetrarchy resulted in no immediate change or proliferation of reverse types, as GENIO POPVLI ROMANI for the active rulers and PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG for the Seniors continued. The tendency to shorten the obverse legends

[16] I was able to weigh 38 $\frac{*|}{PLN}$ coins which ranged from 5.50 to 2.75 grams. Twenty-six of the coins fell between 4.00 and 3.00 grams and the evidence again seems to point to a period in which the weight was sliding, settling finally on a peak between 3 and 4 grams.

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evident during the Second Tetrarchy is still apparent in the Third, as the titulature of Constantine as Caesar, who is found as **NOB CAES NOBIL C NOB C**, and **NC**, and Severus' titles, **PIVS F AVG** and the shorter forms **PF AVG**, **PIVS AVG**, and **AVG**, clearly show. The fact that these abbreviations are somewhat numerous may be an indication that the **SF** mark ran for some time during the Third Tetrarchy.

Establishing the terminal date of this mark presents a number of problems the solution of which would seem to hinge on determining 1) the date at which Constantine ceased to recognize Severus on the coins, 2) the date of the immediately subsequent first weight reduction to roughly 9–7 grams, and 3) the date when Maximian was recognized as an active ruler again by Constantine. All these characteristics are found on coins of the following mark $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$. The terminal date of $\frac{S|F}{PTR}$ should be before Severus' campaign against Maxentius, or more logically, if the sources are to be trusted, in the period between Severus' defeat and the invasion by Galerius.[17] It was at this time that Maximian went to Gaul to secure the alliance or neutrality of Constantine in the coming struggle with Galerius. The date of Severus' invasion, defeat, flight to Ravenna, and subsequent surrender is usually placed in the early months of 307, with Galerius' campaign following shortly thereafter.[18] Under this scheme, Maximian would, in all probability,

[17] Lact., *De Mort. Pers.*, XXVII, 1; Zos., II, 10.

[18] The precise date of these events is well-nigh impossible to establish since the confused and varied accounts of the final days of Severus after his surrender at Ravenna, on which much of the chronology is constructed, lead one to the conclusion that the actual circumstances were probably shrouded in secrecy. Lact., *de Mort. Pers.*, XXVI; *Anon. Val.*, IV, 10; Zos., II, 10, 2; Aur. Vict., *de Caes.*, 40, 7; Euseb., *V.C.*, I, 26–27. A papyrus from Egypt *Pap. Erherz Rainer Führer* 1894, p. 90, recognizing Severus as Augustus as late as July 307, has been used by Seston *REA* 1937, 200, n. 1, to prove that the capitulation of Severus must have been after this date. In a recent article (La Conference de Carnuntum et le 'Dies Imperii' de Licinius, *Carnuntina* 1956, 178), he postulated that Severus' death may have been as late as 16 September 307, and he is tentatively followed in this view by Kent (*NC* 1957, 23). Seston's chronology seems to rest on the fact that, as Severus was still mentioned as Augustus in July 307, he was of necessity alive at that time. In reality, it is possible he was already dead since news of the decease of an emperor often was not immediately conveyed to more remote parts of the empire, and, until official notice was received, the formulation of the papyri remained unchanged. The date of Galer-

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have gone to Gaul sometime in February or March 307 to arrange the alliance with Constantine, and thus it would seem likely that the SF mark ended shortly thereafter.[19]

The $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$ mark clearly follows the SF mark since the coins show a weight drop to 9–7 grams as well as the disappearance of Severus and the return of Maximian to active rule as was mentioned above.[20] Constantine's recognition initially involved no change in the latter's abdication titulature, for he appears with the GENIO POPVLI ROMANI reverse as DN MAXIMIANO PFS AVG. A new abdication type, QVIES AVGVSTORVM, was minted for Diocletian alone. All the rulers appear with a single obverse legend except Constantine, still Caesar, who shortens from NOB C to NC.

$\frac{S|C}{PTR}$ immediately follows the SA marks, as is evidenced by the drop in two stages of the weight, module and reverse legend. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI shortens to GENIO POPVLI ROM and finally to GENIO POP ROM, while QVIES AVGVSTORVM shortens to QVIES

ius' invasion is usually placed in April 307 because, after the first of that month, Maxentius no longer recognized the Eastern Consuls. While this is hardly the most positive evidence on which to build a chronology, it seems to be the only evidence in this case. The most obvious consequence of the acceptance of 1 April 307 as the date of Galerius' invasion is to move the date of Severus' defeat and abdication to the early months of 307; his death could have followed at any time in the next month or two.

[19] The range of the 27 coins available to me for weighing is roughly 9 to 7 grams. Strauss noted a peak of 9 to 8 grams for this series (*RN* 1954, 32, tabl. 1) but the coins I weighed seem fairly evenly distributed between 9 and 7 grams.

[20] Strauss (*RN* 1954, 30–31) maintains that the Second and Third Tetrarchies lasted very nearly the same length of time and bases his view on an analysis of the SF mark from Trier in the Seltz Hoard (*RN* 1952, 35). A comparison of the number of coins struck individually for Galerius, Daia and the Senior Emperors during the Second and Third Tetrarchies with those of Constantius and Constantine combined, and those of Severus as Augustus added to his coins as Caesar, yield numerical totals falling within quite a close range. The figures are distributed as follows: 389 for Constantius and Constantine, 370 for Galerius, 342 for Severus, 374 for Daia, 355 for Maximian, and 317 for Diocletian. Strauss feels the totals are sufficiently close to postulate that the Third Tetrarchy, like the Second, lasted fourteen months, and that Constantine must have continued striking coins for Severus as late as March 307. Tempting though this view is, it fails to consider the intensity of striking at the mint: this could have increased sharply enough during the Third Tetrarchy to destroy the validity of Strauss' comparison.

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AVGG.[21] The weight is lowered to a 7 to 6 gram peak, where it remains for some time.[22] Severus is not found in this mark, Constantine is still Caesar, Maximian as Senior Augustus is found on GENIO POPVLI ROMANI and GENIO POP ROM, and Galerius and Daia are still recognized. There is no introduction of any new reverse types. On the evidence from the Seltz Hoard, it seems reasonable to assume that the MEMORIA FELIX coins in PTR were issued initially while Constantine was still Caesar as there are a large number of the commemorative coins for Constantius in the hoard but only one of Constantine as Augustus.

The date when the SC mark ended is closely linked to the date when Constantine became Augustus. While this is usually ascribed to 31 March 307, the same day as his marriage to Fausta, a date so early creates a number of problems. If Constantine were created Augustus by 31 March 307, it seems reasonable that he would have used his new title immediately thereafter on the coins. This in turn means that the three mintmarks, $\frac{S|F}{PTR}$, $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$, and $\frac{S|C}{PTR}$ in which he appeared as Caesar, and the fourth, the later $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$ in which he is found as Caesar and Augustus must have been issued between the months of August 306 and 31 March 307. This seems a rather high rate of frequency in the change of marks, and thus perhaps of coin production, for such a short period. Further, in the light-weight SA series following $\frac{S|C}{PTR}$, five obverse legends designating Constantine as Caesar are known, three of which are abbreviated forms.[23] This may indicate that

[21] Carson and Kent, *NC* 1956, 98. They also note that only two British Museum coins, one of Constantine Caesar and one of Galerius Augustus, are known thus far to exist of the GENIO POPVLI ROM type.

[22] Kent, (*NC* 1957, 23), and Strauss (*RN* 1954, 32, tabl. 1), who notes a 8–7 gram peak for the SC series. Twelve of the 14 SC coins I weighed fell between 6 and 7 grams.

[23] Strauss, (*RN* 1954, 34, tabl. 2) notes a 8–7 gram standard for the light weight SA coins with Constantine Caesar, and notes a drop to 7–6 grams (p. 37, tabl. 3) when Constantine became Augustus. The range of the 31 light weight SA coins with Constantine Caesar that I weighed was 8.50 to 4.75 grams. Fifteen lay between 7.50 and 6.50 grams and only 7 between 8 and 7 grams. Of the SA coins I weighed issued after Constantine had become Augustus, the range again is 8.50 to 4.75 grams but 19 of the coins are concentrated between 7 and 6 grams.

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the mark lasted for some time. Lastly, it should be mentioned that it is in the course of this mark that Maximian receives full recognition as an active ruler, since his titulature changes from DN—PFS AVG to IMP (C) — PF AVG. It seems likely, though not certain, that the change occurred at the same time as Constantine's marriage and elevation.[24]

In view of the numismatic considerations noted above and of the evidence cited by Strauss, it seems logical to me that Constantine did not become Augustus until fairly late in 307. Thus the SA and SC marks fall sometime in the period between March and early Summer 307, and the light-weight SA coins probably began in mid-summer and continued for some time into 308. The terminal date of the light weight SA coins can probably be determined from the issue of a QVIES AVG type for Maximian late in the mark. Carson and Kent believe that this coin, which bears Maximian's shortest obverse, was probably issued after Maximian retired from active rule in conformity with the decision at Carnuntum in November 308.[25] Thus the mark should have continued until late 308 and possibly into 309.

[24] The date 31 March has been derived from a Fifth Century Calendar, that of Polemius Silvius (*C.I.L.*, I¹, 259) as that of the "natalis Constantini," but ascription of the day to Constantine conflicts with a Fourth Century Calendar of Philocalus which reads "Constant[i]" (*CIL* I¹, 260). Henri Stern has interpreted the date given by the Calendar of Philocalus as a reference to the birth date of Constantius I (Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354*, 1953, 378) and energetically denies Seston's view of the date as a third natalis of Constantine celebrated on his elevation as Augustus (*REA* 1937, 197) on the grounds that it has no basis in precedent. Thus it would seem that the date itself is open to a variety of interpretations. Strauss puts forth his belief that Constantine must still have been Caesar in July 307 since a series of fractions were issued at Trier with reverse legends, PLVR NATAL FEL and MVLT NATAL FEL in the names of Maximian Augustus and Constantine Caesar, which can only refer to the imperial anniversary of Constantine, i.e. 25 July 307 (*RN* 1954, 33ff.). This series is die-linked to another issue with vota legends which must also have appeared at about the same time. If Strauss' theory is correct, then Constantine must have been created Augustus after 25 July 307. However, Kent has suggested that the anniversary coins could well refer to the "natalis genuinus" of Constantine, which fell on 27 February, and cites as a precedent the birthday celebrations of Daia of November 20, whose "natalis imperii" was 1 May (*NC* 1957, 76 and n. 4). If one follows Kent, there is no real barrier in accepting an early date for Constantine's elevation, although 31 March itself is dubious. While I am inclined to follow Strauss, I can find no clear-cut proof that the "natalis" of the vota coins were issued on or about 25 July 307.

[25] Carson and Kent, *NC* 1956, 99.

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Galerius is represented on the light-weight SA issue, presumably by continuation from the previous issue, and there is even a coin of Maxentius as Augustus, although Constantine's reluctance to recognize him may be reflected in its rarity. During this mark, there is an introduction of new reverse types, essentially personal in emphasis. GENIO POP ROM continues, as does QVIES AVG, while MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI, MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI, and possibly MARTI PROPVGNATORI appear for the first time with MEMORIA FELIX, the commemorative coin for Constantius I which possibly continued for a brief time and two varieties of PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. As a concurrent issue, there is emission of half-folles which will be discussed more fully below. A further proof that $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$ lasted beyond Carnuntum might be provided if the appearance of Daia as Augustus on a PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS coin could be confirmed, though one would very much like to know why he received such apparently early recognition from Constantine.[26]

$\frac{T|F}{PTR}$ probably began in approximately mid–309 and lasted to Daia's death which marks the end of our period. The weight shows a tendency to slide, dropping finally to a 4.5 gram peak, while the reverse types are substantially those of the preceding issue.[27] The commemorative type has disappeared, while the three Mars types are reduced to MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI and MARTI CONSERVATORI, and GENIO POP ROM and the two PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS types are continued. SOLI INVICTO COMITI appears for the first time in this mark. Both Licinius and Daia are represented on the coins as Augusti: Galerius is not found at all. The coins in this mark fall into two stages, a heavier, in which Constantine is predominantly represented together with a single coin of Daia as Augustus, and a lighter phase with the three Augusti.[28] Licinius and Daia pass through two abbreviations of their obverse title, while Constantine undergoes four, a possible indication that the mark was of some length.

[26] The representation of Daia as Augustus in this series is known only from Voetter. *Katalog Voetter-Gerin*, p. 386, no. 18.

[27] Kent, *NC* 1957, 39. The 41 TF coins I weighed ranged between 7.00 and 3.00 grams and are quite evenly distributed, although 11 coins fall between 4.50 and 4.25 grams.

[28] Noted by Carson and Kent, (*NC* 1956, 100), but not by Kent in 1957.

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There seems to be no evidence clearly indicating the date of the weight drop in the course of this mark although the heavy-weight coins for Constantine may belong to the period after Carnuntum in which he had broken relations with Maxentius and Maximian, and was on bad terms with Galerius because Licinius had been elevated directly as Augustus. At the same time he refused to recognize Licinius and rather grudgingly recognized Daia. Precisely when this phase ended remains a puzzle.

In addition to the emission of folles during the years 306 to 313, there appeared at various intervals at Trier fractional bronze coins of one-half or one-quarter the weight of the folles. In some cases the fractional coins seem to have been issued to commemorate a specific occasion, while at others they seem simply to parallel an existing issue of full-weight coins. Since they are fairly numerous and quite important, a brief discussion of their chronology seems to be in order here.

It is difficult to date the various issues because of the ambiguities due to a repeating mint-mark or no mint-mark at all, and Strauss' recent effort to catalogue, group, and date the coins is of invaluable assistance to anyone investigating the field.[29] The earliest issue of halves would seem to be those bearing the mint-mark $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$ for Constantine Caesar and Maximian as PF AVG, which consisted of the following reverses: GENIO POP ROM, MARTI PATRI CONSERV, MARTI PATRI PROPVG, MARTI PROPVGNATORI, and PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS.[30] The weight of the coins ranges between 5.00 and 3.50 grams and the peak lies between 4.50 and 4.25 grams.[31] Doubling the weight of the peak indicates that, if the coins are really halves, then the standard should be 9.00 grams to 8.50 grams, which coincides with the upper end of the standard for the folles at this time. Strauss dates the coins to the time subsequent to 25 July 307 and links them to the lightweight $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$ folles on the following grounds: 1) the titulature of old Maximian, identical with that employed on a

[29] Strauss, *RN* 1954, 19–69.

[30] MARTI PROPVGNATORI is listed by Cohen and Voetter only, and as Strauss found no coins to confirm them I think the existence of the type is dubious. See *RN* 1954, 57.

[31] I weighed 11 coins of which 7 were 4.50 or 4.25 grams.

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series of fractional coins datable to the period after 25 July 307 which also recognize Maximian as IMP—PF AVG in place of his abdication title of DN—PFS AVG. 2) The fact that the new series of reverse types appearing on the folles is paralleled by the types noted above on the halves. The coins of this group, however, must belong in the period before Constantine became Augustus, as he is designated as Caesar. Strauss believes Constantine's elevation to have taken place very late in A.D. 307, a view which does not seem tenable to me for reasons discussed above. I am inclined to think that the halves appeared just before Constantine's elevation, since Maximian is recognized as an active ruler and his change in title seems to be closely linked to Constantine's assumption of the title of Augustus.

Issued just before or perhaps concurrently with the $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$ half-folles are two groups of quarters, with no mint-mark, which are die-linked.[32] The reverses of the first group include VOT XXX AVGG and VOT XXX AVGG NN for Maximian and VOT X CAESS and VOT X CAESS NN for Constantine. In the second series the reverse MVLT NATAL FEL was issued for Constantine, as well as PLVR NATAL FEL for both Constantine and Maximian. The weight of the two groups of coins ranges between 2.00 and 1.00 grams, with the peak falling between 1.50 and 1.00 grams.[33] The second series is dated by Strauss to the period of Constantine's first imperial anniversary on 25 July 307, because the "many happy returns" on the reverse types must refer to some imperial anniversary and the most logical one is that of Constantine's natalis imperii.[34] The importance of this series in the dating of Constantine's accession has been discussed above.

Another issue of quarters also appears to have been issued at approximately the same time as the $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$ halves. The series was issued, again bearing no mint-mark, with the type VOTIS X for Constantine, and VOTIS XXX for Maximian. The weight of the coins is slightly higher than that of the two groups of quarters discussed above.[35] Strauss believes these coins belong to the period before Constantine

[32] Strauss, *RN* p. 54, no. 36b is linked to nos. 44a and c on p. 56.
[33] I was able to weigh 13 coins; 11 fell between 1.50 and 1.00 grams.
[34] See n. 24.
[35] I was able to obtain weights for 13 coins, 11 of which fell between 2.25 and 1.75 grams.

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became Augustus but that they follow the two issues of quarters discussed above because they parallel the minting of the halves and seem to be on the same weight standard.[36] Strauss postulates a further link between the SA halves and this group of quarters since he believes that the special commemorative type MEMORIA FELIX with the mint-mark PTR for the deified Constantius, issued in half and quarter denominations, appeared at the same time as the SA halves.[37]

[36] Both the halves and the quarters were newly created at this time perhaps being a result of the sharp reduction of the follis which was concurrently taking place. See Strauss, *RN* 1954, 33.

[37] Strauss, *RN* 1954, 57–58. The PTR *Memoria Felix* coins are rather more difficult to arrange, however, than might appear from Strauss' account. If the coins were issued in three denominations, folles, halves, and quarters, as Strauss assumes, then one could logically expect that when one weighed the coins three weight groups would emerge. Such is not the case, however, for only two groups can be clearly distinguished, a heavier in which the weights range from 7.00–4.00 gm. and a lighter in which they fall between 2.50 and 1.75 gm. To divide the heavier group into folles and halves is dificult, since while 4 gm. is not too much higher than half of 7 gm., 4.50 or 5.00 gm. is far more than half of 7.00 gm. A similar difficulty arises in treating the light-weight PTR Memoria coins as quarters, for multiplying 1.75–2.50 gm. by 4 gives a standard between 10 and 7 gm. (I have been able to weigh 11 of the heavier PTR coins, 4 of which range from 7–6 gm., 3 between 6 and 5 gm., and 4 between 4.75–4.25 gm., and 6 of the light-weight PTR coins, 3 of which weigh 1.75 gm.). The result of a comparison of the weight standard of the Trier *Memoria* folles with those of London and Lyons can be summarized as follows: 1) The 10 London *Memoria* folles I was able to weigh ranged from 7.25–5.25 gm. with a peak (6 coins) between 6.50 and 6.00 gm. 2) The 5 Lyons *Memoria* coins I weighed showed a range from 7.25–6.25 gm. Thus, a range for *Memoria* folles at Trier from 7.25–5.25 gm. agrees very well with the evidence from the other Constantinian mints. One is left, however, with the problem of determining the denomination of the *Memoria* coins of Trier weighing between 5–4 gm. and that of the light-weight series. There seem to be two explanations: 1) that the 5–4 gm. MEMORIA FELIX coins were meant to be halves and the light-weight series meant to be quarters, even though they are not actually halves and quarters of the prevailing standard, or 2) that Trier continued to emit MEMORIA FELIX folles with the PTR mark at a time when the weight of the follis was dropping to a 5–4 gm. standard and that the so-called "quarters" are actually halves of the reduced weight MEMORIA FELIX coins. The evidence from Lyons and London indicates that Constantine ceased to mint Constantius' commemoration coin before dropping the weight standard, so to accept a theory that the MEMORIA FELIX 5–4 gm. coins at Trier are folles, implies that Trier continued to emit coins for the deified Constantius at a time when London and Lyons had ceased to do so. The precise date of the commemoration coins at any of Constantine's mints is well-nigh impossible to establish; the fact that they seem to have been issued on a 7–6 gm. standard

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The fact that the MEMORIA FELIX type has a different mint-mark, PTR, makes it difficult to prove that the commemoration type was issued at this time, but the weight peak is similar to that of the SA halves and unmarked quarters and there seems to be no strong reason to place the issue of these coins substantially earlier or later than the PTR series.

Constantine's elevation was the signal for a new series of fractions. The reverse on the quarters changed to VOT X AVG N for Constantine and to VOT XXX AVG N for Maximian. The weight of this series ranges from 1.75 to 0.75 grams with a concentrated peak at 0.75 grams.[38] The halves fail to show the transition of Constantine from Caesar to Augustus as they ceased to be minted before his elevation.

The next emission of fractional coins does not seem to have taken place until sometime between 309 and 310, according to Strauss.[39] At that time a series of halves with the mint-mark PTR bearing the reverses SOLI INVICTO and MARTI CONSERV were issued for Constantine as Augustus and there is one vota type with the legend VOT X MVL XX. Concurrently there appeared a series of unmarked quarters with the legends VOTIS X for Constantine and VOT X MVL XX for Constantine, Licinius, and Daia. The weight of the halves ranges from 2.50 to 2.00 while the quarters range between 1.25 and 0.75 grams with a peak at 1.00.[40] The coins are possibly datable to 310 but more probably were issued in 311 since: 1) the vota coins seem to refer to the quinquennalia of Constantine; specifically the VOT X MVL XX should refer only to the decennalia suscepta of Constantine which took place in 310/11. 2) This emission of fractions

initially implies to me that they appeared about the time Constantine became Augustus. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the Seltz Hoard contains quite a large number of *Memoria Felix* coins but only one coin of Constantine Augustus a strong indication that a large proportion of MEMORIA FELIX coins were issued while Constantine was still Caesar. How many were issued after he became Augustus is open to question. However, to postulate an issue of long duration after that time does not seem to be feasible in view of the hoard evidence.

[38] I was able to locate 9 weights, of which 5 were concentrated at 0.75 grams.

[39] Strauss, *RN* 1954, 41.

[40] I was only able to find weights for 4 halves and 5 quarters, which makes these estimates inconclusive.

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is probably related to the $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$ issue of folles of the reduced standard of 5 to 4 grams in which Licinius was recognized for the first time and SOLI INVICTO COMITI appeared.[41]

LYONS

The beginning of the Third Tetrarchy at Lyons saw no change in mint-mark for the active rulers as $\frac{\theta|*}{PLG}$ continued, adding obverses of Severus as Augustus and Constantine Caesar to the single reverse legend, GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. The weight of the coins ranges between 10.50 and 8.50 grams.[42] Galerius has two obverses, IMP MAXIMIANVS PF AVG and IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG; Severus is rather scantily represented with IMP SEVERVS AVG only; while Daia has two verifiable obverses, GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOBIL C and MAXIMINVS NOB CS, and two which have been noted by Voetter only.[43] Constantine is found with three obverses; FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOBIL C parallels the issue for Daia, while the other obverses are shorter forms, FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C and CONSTANTINVS NOB C. Whether or not $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$ for the Seniors continued to be issued during the Third Tetrarchy with the PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG type is not certain, and, although there is evidence of Constantine honoring Diocletian in the Third Tetrarchy, it is at a slightly later date and with a different mark, as will be discussed below.

On a completely different mark, PLG, Lyons seems to have commemorated the deified Constantius with the reverse CONSECRATIO and the obverse DIVO CONSTANTIO AVG. This coin can be distinguished from the issue of commemoration coins in the later PLG mark for Constantius on the basis of its different obverse and high weight.[44] Thus, on the basis of weight alone, Lyons would seem

[41] See Strauss, *RN* 1954, 40–41.
[42] I was able to weigh only 7 coins, with no clear peak visible.
[43] See Voetter, *Katalog Voetter-Gerin*, p. 174, nos. 2–3. They are GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C and MAXIMINVS NOB C. MAXIMINVS NOB CS is found at Oxford.
[44] The two specimens I have found weighed 9.48 and 9.00 grams respectively.

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to have been the first mint to have honored Constantius after his death, and if the coin parallels the $\frac{\hat{\Theta}|*}{PLG}$ mark, it was probably issued sometime in the latter part of 306.

The first change of mint-mark at Lyons was accompanied by a drop in the weight standard. According to Carson and Kent, $\frac{\hat{\Theta}|N}{PLG}$ $\frac{N|}{PLG}$ falls into two groups, "with long and short reverse legends divided by a rare mark in the course of which reduction of legend and weight were effected together."[45] In the early $\frac{\hat{\Theta}|N}{PLG}$ mark the reverse type for the active rulers, GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, is the same as it was in $\frac{\hat{\Theta}|*}{PLG}$. The active rulers are Maximian, Galerius, Constantine, and Daia.[46] Diocletian is given a separate mark, $\frac{|N}{PLG}$, and a new abdication reverse, QVIES AVGVSTORVM—a modified form of the original legend. If the theory of Carson and Kent is correct, ideally the weight of the coins of early $\frac{|N}{PLG}$ should have remained at roughly a 10 gram peak until the following mark, $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$, when the weight drop should have accompanied the shortening of the GENIO POPVLI ROMANI reverse to GENIO POP ROM. In actuality, however, the situation is rather more complicated. In the early phase of $\frac{\hat{\Theta}|N}{PLG}$ and $\frac{N|}{PLG}$ the weight is already slipping, since the range of the 17 coins I was able to weigh is 9.25 to 7.50 grams with a peak between 8.50 and 7.50. Hence it seems that the reduction of legend in $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$ followed the reduction of weight in $\frac{\hat{\Theta}|N}{PLG}$ rather than that both reductions occurred simultaneously in $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$.

The $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$ mark clearly follows $\frac{\hat{\Theta}|N}{PLG}$ since it probably contains the GENIO POPVLI ROMANI reverse for Constantine and certainly the short form GENIO POP ROM for Galerius, Daia and Con-

[45] Carson and Kent, *NC* 1956, 104.

[46] An obverse of Maximian DN MAXIMIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG with the reverse GENIO POPVLI ROMANI is noted by Carson and Kent (*NC* 1956, 147, no. 573) as existing in the Preshaw Hoard which they have since noted as a printing error.

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stantine.[47] The weight of the coins is roughly the same as the succeeding $\frac{|N}{PLG}$.[48] Coins of the $\frac{|N}{PLG}$ mark when it reappeared, however, seem to have a wider weight range than those of $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$ though the peaks seem to be essentially the same. This $\frac{|N}{PLG}$ light-weight series, issued while Constantine was still Caesar, ranged between 9.75 and 5.75 grams and falls into two distinct weight groups, the first ranging between 9.50 and 8.50 grams and the second between 7.50 and 7.00 grams.[49] After Constantine was elevated as Augustus, although the coins still show a fairly wide range, 8.50 to 6.25 grams, the peak seems to settle clearly between 7.00 and 6.00 grams.[50] Thus the evidence of weight standards is not as clear cut as one might wish and seems to show more of a tendency to slide and maintain rather broad peaks than to drop in clearly defined stages. It is possible that during the period when $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$ was being issued that the reverse QVIES AVGG for Diocletian was being minted on a separate mark $\frac{S|C}{PLG}$.[51]

$\frac{\hat{\Pi}|*}{PLG}$ clearly falls in the period between Severus' elevation and his defeat in his campaign against Maxentius, since it is the only mark in which Severus is found. Hence coins of this mark and probably the CONSECRATIO coins in PLG were issued between 25 July 306 and February or early March 307. $\frac{|N}{PLG}$ $\frac{N|}{PLG}$ rerecognizes Maximian as an active ruler on GENIO POPVLI ROMANI with the DN MAXIMIANO PFS AVG obverse, as do $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$ and later $\frac{|N}{PLG}$ on GENIO POP ROM. These coins were in all likelihood issued after Severus'

[47] Only Carson and Kent note an obverse for Constantine in the Llangarren Hoard *NC* 1956, 147, no. 581.

[48] I have not been able to obtain weights for any of the long-legend GENIO POPVLI ROMANI coins, and the GENIO POP ROM weights I have located consist of 5 coins of which 4 lie between 6.75 and 7.00 grams, the remaining coin weighing 8.50 grams.

[49] This evidence is somewhat tenuous since only 13 weights have been available to me thus far; 8 range between 7.50 and 6.50 grams, 2 are of 5.75 grams and the remaining 3 are between 9.50 and 8.50.

[50] Again I was able only to weigh 8 coins, 6 of which fell between 7 and 6 grams.

[51] The three specimens I was able to locate for Diocletian weighed 9.25, 7.88, and 6.50 grams respectively and seem to span quite a wide range: thus it is difficult to determine the standard. Voetter, (*Katalog Voetter-Gerin*, p. 169, no. 98) is the only one to list Maximian on the QVIES reverse in this mark.

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defeat and the alliance with Constantine and Maximian was consolidated in late February or March 307. It is in the course of the later phase of $\frac{|N}{PLG}$ that Constantine became Augustus and that the weight dropped definitely to a 7 to 6 gram standard. The date of this isssue hinges on the length of time that elapsed after Severus' defeat before Constantine became Augustus. It is after Constantine's elevation that the reverse types show a proliferation, as MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI, MARTI PROPVGNATORI, and PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS appear for the first time. The mark probably changed to PLG shortly thereafter. Despite the problem raised by the confusing and sometimes overlapping weight standards at Lyons during this period, I do not think there is any really strong evidence to indicate that Constantine became Augustus before 25 July 307. The fluidity of weight standard at Lyons seems to show anything but an automatic or immediate acceptance of the Maxentian weight drop.

In PLG, GENIO POP ROM, MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI, MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI, and PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS continue from $\frac{|N}{PLG}$, and CONCORDIA FELIX DDNN, CONCORDIA PERPET DDNN, SECVRIT PERPET DDNN, TEMPORVM FELICITAS, and VIRT PERP CONSTANTINI AVG appear for the first time.[52] Constantine seems to have reissued the CONSECRATIO reverse for the deified Constantius, and a new legend, MEMORIA FELIX, also appeared at this time, both types bearing the obverse DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO, a change from the DIVO CONSTANTIO AVG on the CONSECRATIO reverse in PLG. PLG is the last mark in which Constantine recognized the Eastern Tetrarchs, Daia being found on MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI.[53] Galerius is known on SECVRIT PERPET DDNN and probably also on CONCORDIA PERPET DDNN, PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS and TEMPORVM FELICITAS. Maximian is represented on CONCORDIA PERPET DDNN and

[52] CONSTANTINO P AVG BRP NAT is noted in Voetter (*Katalog Voetter-Gerin*, p. 176, no. 18); and MARTI PATR SEMP VICTORI, with an interesting obverse of Dicletian, DN DIOCLETIANO AETER AVG, has been published by Sutherland (*ANSMN* VII, 67–70). Diocletian is also found with the same obverse on GENIO POP ROM.

[53] Kent also lists him on SECVRIT PERPET DDNN and PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS *NC* 1957, 43.

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SECVRIT PERPET DDNN. Constantine is represented on PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS, CONCORDIA FELIX DDNN, CONCORDIA PERPET DDNN, SECVRIT PERPET DDNN, TEMPORVM FELICITAS, and VIRT PERP CONSTANTINI AVG. The date when PLG ended is problematical but it is directly linked to the date when Constantine ceased to recognize his Eastern colleagues. Both this mark and the following $\frac{CI|^{H}_{S}}{PLG}$ possibly belong in the period between August 307 and November 308, when Constantine ceased to recognize old Maximian as an active ruler.

The reverses of $\frac{CI|^{H}_{S}}{PLG}$ repeat those of PLG, and the weight peaks are the same. In $\frac{CI|^{H}_{S}}{PLG}$, GENIO POP ROM, MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI, PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS, VIRT PERP CONSTANTINI AVG with the Mars type are repeated, as well as MEMORIA FELIX for Constantius. MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI, CONSTANTINO P AVG BRP NAT, MARTI PATRI SEMP VICTORI, and PRINCIPI IVVENT BRP NAT are definitely verifiable in this mark, as is a new VIRT PERP CONSTANTINI AVG with Virtus. Constantine appears on all the reverses, Maximian on GENIO POP ROM and MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI and possibly also on MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI and MARTI PATR SEMP VICTORI.[55] The mark clearly follows PLG not only because the Eastern Tetrarchs are no longer represented but because CONSECRATIO has permanently disappeared and there is a new VIRT PERP CONSTANTINI AVG type.

The $\frac{F|T}{PLG}$ mark falls into two groups, of heavier and lighter weight. The heavier group has a peak between 5.25 and 4.50 grams and the lighter between 3.50 and 3.00 grams.[56] The types, with the single exception, MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI, are new, although

[54] I was able to weigh 24 PLG coins, 19 of which ranged between 7.25 and 6.25 grams. Of the 20 $CI\,^{H}_{S}$ coins I weighed 17 fell between 6.25 and 7.25 and 7 weighed 6.50 grams.

[55] Maurice has illustrated a coin of Maxentius which appears in $CI\,^{H}_{S}$ (*Num. Const.*, II, pl. 3, no. 15).

[56] The 13 coins I was able to weigh of the heavier group had a peak between 4.75 and 4.50 grams while the 16 light-weight coins I weighed had a peak between 3.50 and 3.25 grams since 13 of the 16 coins fell between these two numbers.

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VIRT CONSTANTINI AVG and MARTI CONSERVATORI may be short forms of MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI and VIRT PERP CONSTANTINI AVG as Kent has suggested by his arrangement.[57] A new variety of PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS appears, and two variants of SOLI INVICTO COMITI; the god standing left is found in both the light and heavy weight groups and the god advancing left in the light weight group only. With this mark the coinage of the period 306–313 ceases, although since neither Licinius nor Daia is found again on the coins between 309 and 313, the only real basis for ending the period in 313 with this mark is weight.

CATHY E. KING

[57] Kent, *NC* 1957, 43.

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A BRONZE HOARD OF THE PERIOD OF LEO I

(See Plate IX)

Numismatic evidence for the fourth and fifth centuries of the Roman Empire can hardly be considered lacking. In fact, the student of the period has often, upon being confronted with the masses of hoard material available, thrown up his hands in despair, as it were, and quickly turned to more circumspect areas of endeavor. Both quantity and quality have conspired to limit severely research into an important area of ancient history. One suspects that the term *minimi* evokes in the mind of many more connotations than mere size. Yet bodies of material in more workable compass, from the point of view of style and monetary standard, do exist, particularly from the eastern regions of the Empire, where a variety of factors helped arrest the precipitous decline in the coinage that confronts us in the West.

One such body of evidence is a bronze hoard from the period of Leo I (457–474), which forms part of the Yale University Collection. It is described here in a fullness commonly reserved for the more noble specimens of antiquity—and perhaps beyond the intrinsic value of its individual coins—so that scholars may, if they wish, verify for themselves the metrological conclusions we have drawn, or, indeed, draw some of their own. It is our firm belief that only by the application, where feasible, of a methodology as strict as that applied to other areas of the coinage of antiquity—such as has not hitherto been the case—can one hope to cope successfully with the many riddles of fifth century numismatics.

No information about the Yale hoard exists other than that on the tag attached to the bag in which the coins have been kept. This records the donor, a certain Major Theodore H. Low, and the date, January 22, 1932. A search of the Yale files kindly performed by Dr. T. V. Buttrey, Jr., of Yale has yielded no further information, and we are left to deduce provenience and dating from the internal evidence of the hoard itself.

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In addition to 8 slivers, which can be disregarded, the hoard consists of a total of 928 pieces. Of these, 173 are of Æ 3 size, and the remaining 755 Æ 4. Of the Æ 3 pieces 108 are completely illegible, and 305 of the Æ 4 are in like condition. The fact that about two-thirds of the Æ 3 coins, while less than half of the Æ 4 are illegible is due to the longer period of circulation and consequent greater degree of wear to which the older Æ 3 specimens were subject.

The hoard contains no Æ 3 specimens which can be called barbarous. Of the Æ 4, 84 coins, or about 16½ per cent of the hoard, are barbarous issues. The earliest Æ 4 specimens showing barbarization are the "camp-gate" type (nos. 92 and 93 in the catalogue) and the SALVS REIPVBLICAE "victory dragging captive" (nos. 336ff.). Since neither of these occurs before the reign of Valentinian II, we may assume that barbarization was initiated during his period. It proceeded apace throughout the fifth century.

The phenomenon of barbarization, however, embraces a multitude of sins, and it may be useful to describe some of the major categories of numismatic perversion that appear in the hoard. On the assumption that the appearance of the regular issues is generally known, it has been thought advisable to illustrate more of the barbarous specimens in the Plate than their official counterparts.

Among the legible barbarous coins there are very few which are not attempts to reproduce official issues.[1] By far the greatest number are copies of the standard Roman emissions. As might be excepted, Theodosius II's "cross in wreath" is a heavy favorite; also, the "victory dragging captive" and "victory l. with wreath and palm." There are practically no coins, among those which can be read at all, that do not offer a clear picture of the intent of the die-cutter. The criteria for branding a coin as barbarous will always depend in part on subjective considerations, although legend and obverse portraiture are good standards to employ.[2] Yet the general impression left by

[1] Such are nos. 503, 504, 507, 509, and 511.

[2] Die position is of little help. Of the 55 Æ 3 coins on which the die position can be determined, 18 show twelve o'clock dies, 25 six o'clock dies, and the remaining 12 are erratic. Of 306 regular Æ 4 coins, 107 have twelve o'clock, 125 six o'clock, and the remaining 74 are erratic. Among the barbarous specimens the distribution is as follows: of 46 pieces, 14 have twelve o'clock dies, 13 six o'clock dies, and the remaining 19 are erratic.

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these specimens as a whole is that they are of quite reasonable quality, so that, except for the strange specimens listed as nos. 504 through 515 in the catalogue, the line between barbarous and regular issues has often been hard to draw. Certainly, even the specimens we have called barbarous hardly ever descend into the numismatic gibberish that students of late Roman coinage, particularly in the West, usually encounter.

This fact should help us place the hoard. The high stylistic merit of it as a whole would suggest that we are dealing here with pieces struck within the borders of the Empire and deposited in the earth not by a barbarian but by a Roman provincial. We may surmise a province close enough to the frontier to have seen some measure of social and economic upheaval or political disintegration such as might give rise to attempts to provide the area with common currency for its daily transactions. At the same time, a considerable range of style even among the regular specimens arises from the possibility that the official mints could no longer always command the services of expert die-cutters. It may be that some of the same craftsmen who were responsible for the production of what we call barbarous specimens eventually, as their craft improved and the need for their services increased, found their way into the Roman mint itself, while the ever-increasing pressures in the provinces spawned new die-cutters whose products would increase in amount and in crudity as time went on. Yet not all the barbarous or semi-barbarous issues in the hoard can be explained in this manner. At the end of the catalogue we have listed 12 coins which are much cruder than the rest and some of which display no definitely recognizable reverse type. These may have been made by tribes operating beyond the borders of the Empire and may be considered rather as intrusions into what is basically a Roman hoard.[3]

[3] We have deliberately avoided the designation "Vandalic" as a heading for any of the pieces in the hoard, preferring to list such examples as are illustrated in the *BMC* generally as barbarous. Wroth's assignment of the issues in question to the Vandals (e.g., "cross potent in wreath," "cross pattée in wreath," "8-pointed star in wreath," nos. 238–242, 236, 237, and 245 in the catalogue) was based on the then available evidence that the hoards of these coins were North African. More recent scholarship has greatly modified this thesis. A general discussion of the state of the problem is to be found in

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In the matter of the manufacture of the flans, the most remarkable characteristic is the high incidence of clipping. All the Æ 3 coins have been cut down, some drastically and all irregularly. The only detectable care taken in the clipping process appears to have been the preservation of the imperial head on the obverse, though even this rule is violated. All the Æ 3 specimens are very much worn in comparison with the rest of the hoard: clear evidence that they were minted at the time of the emperors represented thereon and not later. However, their sharp clipped edges suggests that the clipping belongs to a later period and not to the time of manufacture.

One may speculate on the reasons for the abuse of the coins. It is certainly true that one saves metal by the process, which can then be used for the manufacture of additional coinage. This is not, however, in our opinion, the primary reason for clipping. Although Æ 3 types exist for Theodosius II—there is also one recorded for Leo,—the bronze coin *par excellence* was the Æ 4, for Theodosius II predominantly the "cross in wreath," for Marcian his monogram reverses, and for Leo a larger variety. The Byzantine emperors of the fifth century, for all practical purposes, had only one bronze coin, the Æ 4. When they found considerable amounts of Æ 3 still in circulation, they arranged that this too be made to conform to their monetary system. Thus, they put to good use the coinage of their predecessors, by, in effect, "retariffing" it to their own standards. The metal thus saved could, to be sure, go for the manufacture of additional currency, although we have no evidence for this. The fifth century had not lost so much control over its affairs as the worshippers of the more golden ages of antiquity would have us believe.

We have, however, to cope with the fact that not only the Æ 3 but also a very high percentage of the Æ 4 have been clipped. Fully 75 per cent, or 338 of the 450 legible Æ 4 pieces show signs of clipping. Two of these, in fact, nos. 447 and 486, both of Leo, have actually been cut in half with a chisel. Possibly in these cases one now had

M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, Vol. II, Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period* (Princeton, 1954) 101–2. See also the doubts raised by L. Cesano, "Della Moneta Enea Corrente in Italia nell' ultima Età Imperiale Romana e sotto i Re Ostrogoti," *RIN* XXVI (1913) 525ff., and by J. G Milne, "The Currency of Egypt in the Fifth Century," *NC*, 5th Ser., VI (1926) 53ff.

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two coins, each with full value, instead of one. Another explanation may be that the full coin in each case was thought too heavy. Hence one resorted to a technique for making the coins conform more to the general standard. The present weights, 0.65 and 0.89 grams respectively, are not unusual. As for the rest, the technique varies. In some there is evident an attempt to maintain roughly the circular shape that the coin should ordinarily present; others have been badly hacked; in a few it seems as if a large triangular sliver has been indiscriminately extracted.

Both Hill and Milne[4] have speculated on the sundry techniques used in the manufacture of the coinage of this period, although their material required the ascription of unusual manufactures to the irregular moneyer rather than to the official mint. Such an assignment in the case of our hoard would leave very little production for the official mint. Hence it is preferable to posit a corruption in the official process of manufacture rather than the abandonment of the minting right, which all Roman governments cherished so cordially, to irresponsible provincials operating almost independently in the more outlying areas of the Empire.

A number of possibilities offer themselves to explain the unusual appearance of the specimens which we have arbitrarily grouped together as clipped. One class of coinage consists of pieces struck on thick flans which would be clipped from sheets of metal, even though the thickness of some coins implies the exercise of a good deal of torous power on the part of the worker. Such coins, as in the case of the Egyptian specimens with which Milne worked, are often oval in shape, with rather sharp edges, and the impressions weak and flat—the result of blanks imperfectly heated before striking. A fair number of specimens, those which have a small "tail" on opposite ends, reveal the use of flans not struck, but cast in clay or sand moulds and then stamped. The evidence for this process appears only in the reign of Leo (nos. 391, 404, 418, 464, 473, and 479) and in the one coin of Libius Severus (no. 502). Other specimens were produced by flattening out hot globules of metal. The varying thickness which might ensue from such a process may account for the coins with very thin

[4] P. V. Hill, "Imitations of Fourth-Century Roman Coins," *NC*, 6th Ser., X (1950) 234; and Milne, op. cit., 48ff.

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planchets but of clearly good Roman workmanship (nos. 212, 310, and 311; see also the barbarous specimens, nos. 235, 330, and 512). Yet whatever the method of manufacture, few coins, except possibly those with cast flans, where the irregular shapes may rather be due to imperfect casting, escaped the shears. It is also likely that some imperfections arose from the poor quality or brittleness of the metal. Excessive handling or maltreatment of any sort could subtract a section of the coin at random as time went on. In very many cases, regardless of the mode of manufacture, the die was larger than the flan, so that often the obverse legend and the reverse, when it circles the flan, are not in evidence.

Clipping, then, would seem an integral part of a new and poor system of production rather than a device for the conservation of the metal supply. The masses of regular Roman coinage in the eastern parts of the Empire, in contrast to the extensive contemporary barbarous imitations in the West, offer little support for the latter thesis. Clipping of silver coinage, such as took place in the late Empire, can be understood, for the monetary saving involved is considerable. In the case of puny bronze pieces, however, which in the monetary system of the day could have been little more than counters, the same argument can not obtain. A further consideration is the fact that our hoard has not a single specimen which has been over-struck. There are, of course, several reasons for over-striking, but one of the most cogent is metal scarcity. The absence of this phenomenon, which, again, is fairly common in the West, lends credence to the supposition that the formal irregularities in such a hoard as ours issue not from purely financial considerations but from the general decay in minting standards brought about by the economic and social disorders of the time.

As regards the chronological order of the various issues listed in the catalogue, for the reign of Leo the first issue is probably the monogram reverse (*Sab.* 17, 18 and variants), which continues the same type, first introduced by Marcian. After this come the lion reverses (*Sab.* 19, 20 and variants), the pictorial symbol of the emperor's name. There follow the two types depicting the standing imperial figure (*Sab.* 14, 15 and variants). Possibly *Sab.* 14 precedes *Sab.* 15, which, if Ulrich-Bansa is correct in supposing the figure on the re-

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verse to be Eudocia and the coin commemorative of her release from Vandal captivity,[5] would have a terminus of A.D. 462. Possibly, however, it is Verina who is represented.[6] The solution to the problem must await further evidence. The existence of *Sab.* 16, "emperor with cloak," is not verified in this nor yet in any other find. If it does in fact exist, its absence in the hoard would suggest either that it was a limited early issue or that it was Leo's last issue, struck after the deposition of the hoard. The general order of the issues of Leo is confirmed by the condition of the specimens in the hoard, the figure reverses being somewhat fresher than the monogram and lion types. If, then, we are to allow an equitable distribution of Leo's issues throughout his reign, a burial date for the hoard in the late 60's would be most nearly correct.

For determining provenience we have to study the composition of the hoard in conjunction with such information as is available from other finds. Unfortunately, very little late fifth century material has been published so far, at least in complete enough form to contribute to later researches. The huge Kostolac find extends down to Valentinian III.[7] Newell's Italian hoard from Minturno reaches to the same period.[8] Milne's researches on Egyptian material are a necessary *vade mecum* for students of fifth century numismatics, thanks to his definition of the general phenomena of the period and the principles under which they may be investigated.[9] The finds analyzed by L. Cesano range from Leo through the sixth century, and her obser-

[5] O. Ulrich-Bansa, "Note sulle Monete dell' Augusta Aelia Licinia Eudoxia," *Numismatica* I (1935) 28–9.

[6] P. Grierson, "Three Unpublished Coins of Zeno (474–491)," *NC*, 6th Ser., VIII (1948) 226 with n. 13.

[7] E. Gren, *Der Münzfund von Viminacium. Vorläufiger Bericht* (Uppsala, 1934).

[8] E. T. Newell, *Two Hoards from Minturno, NNM* 60 (New York, 1933). Other material of Valentinian is listed in L. Huszár, "Das Münzmaterial in den Funden der Völkerwanderungszeit im Mittleren Donaubecken," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Hungaricae* V (1955) 75, No. LIII. Further Hungarian material down through Zeno is given by A. Kerényi in *Num. Közlöny* XLIV–XLV (1945–46) 16–20. For the Belgian evidence see P. van Gansbeke, "Les Trésors monétaires d'époque romaine en Belgique," *RBN* CI (1955) 5–44.

[9] J. G. Milne, "The Currency of Egypt in the Fifth Century," *NC*, 5th Ser., VI (1926) 43–92; see also his "Two Roman Hoards from Egypt," *JRS* X (1920) 169–184.

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vations, particularly on the barbarous issues, are acute.[10] Elmer lists some unpublished fifth century material which has come to his attention.[11] Recent publications of the finds at excavation sites, in addition to the new material that they provide, serve also as general handbooks and are a necessary supplement to the older catalogues.[12]

Of strictly Leonine hoards there are to date three publications. In 1931 Mattingly described a Corinthian find of 478 coins ranging from Claudius II to Leo, which he dated c. A.D. 465–470.[13] A much larger find of 2197 coins from Dalmatia bearing a close resemblance to Mattingly's hoard is described in fuller detail by Pearce, who settled on the same date of deposition.[14] A somewhat earlier hoard of 83 Æ 3 and Æ 4 coins from southwest Asia Minor has also been described by Pearce, although much more summarily.[15] The fact that in this last case there are more specimens of Marcian than of Leo suggests a date earlier in the reign, perhaps c. A.D. 460.

The lack of detailed description of the material from Asia Minor

[10] "Della Moneta Enea Corrente in Italia nell' ultima Età Imperiale Romana e sotto i Re Ostrogoti," *RIN* XXVI (1913) 511–551. Among other interesting hoards of the same period listed by Cesano (p. 525) note P. Orsi, "Ripostiglio monetale del basso impero," *RIN* XXIII (1910) 353–359; and F. Gnecchi, "Un Ripostiglio miserabile," *RIN* X (1897) 19–22. See also the finds listed *passim* in W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards (and the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond) in the BM* (London, 1911).

[11] G. Elmer, *NZ* LXVIII (1935) 109.

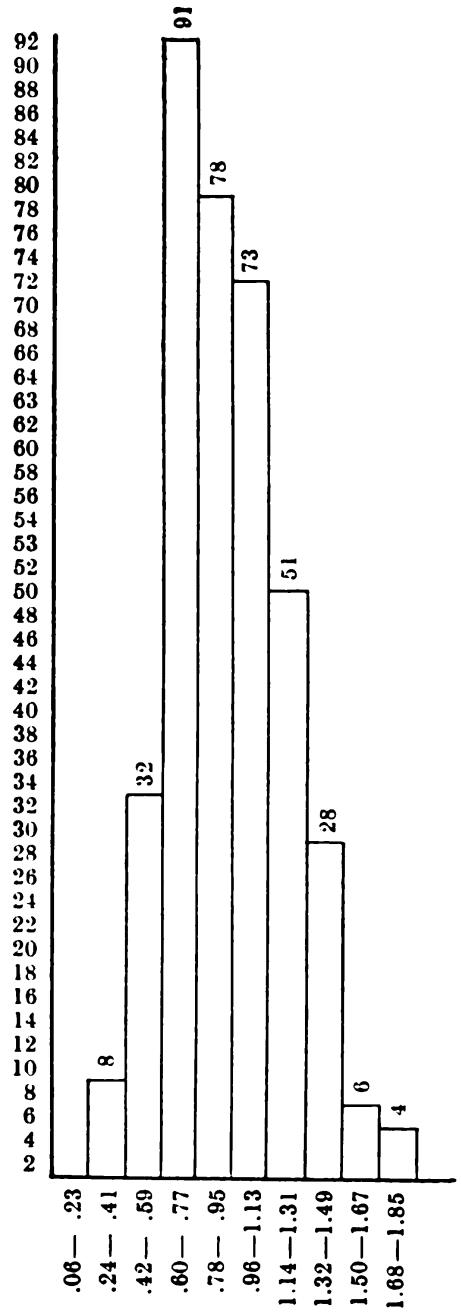
[12] Of particular help in the preparation of this monograph have been M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, Vol. II, Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period* and D. B. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, Part II. Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins* (Princeton, 1952). See also A. R. Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash, NNM* 81 (New York, 1938). The series of articles by R. A. G. Carson and J. P. C. Kent "Bronze Imperial Coinage of the Late Empire" *Numismatic Circular* LXV (1957), 351–354, 411–415, 467–473, 529–531; LXVI (1958), 1–4, 28–32, 55–58, 82–84, 109–112, 134–138, 180–182, 203–206, 226–228, 248–251; LXVII (1959), 24–25, 47–49, 70–73, 93–96; plus others to follow will be indispensable to future research. The Leo material in this hoard would suggest a different chronology from theirs, although the matter must await further evidence.

[13] H. Mattingly, "A Late Roman Hoard from Corinth," *NC*, 5th Ser., XI (1931) 229–233.

[14] J. W. E. Pearce, "A Late Roman Hoard from Dalmatia," *NC*, 5th Ser., XIV (1934) 269–283.

[15] "A Late Roman Hoard from Southwest Asia Minor," *NC*, 5th Ser., XV (1935) 21–24.

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N = 371 w = 0.18 grams M = 0.92 grams

Mo = 0.75 grams Mdn = 0.905 grams

MD = 0.24 grams σ = 0.292 grams V = 31.73

FREQUENCY TABLE OF YALE HOARD

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forces us to disregard it. The other two hoards both have a few stray specimens with radiate heads. The condition of the coins in our own hoard does not allow so close an identification. We have, accordingly, not referred to the headdress in any instance. Where it is at all visible, it is always diademed. Interesting, however, is the absence of any radiate imitations—a fact which tends to confirm the Roman character of the hoard as a whole.

Further, our material shows no specimen which can be definitely ascribed to Gratian. This tends to push the site of deposition eastward. On the other hand, the relatively heavy sampling of Valentinian III from the Roman mint acts as a counterforce. Pearce has two specimens of Gratian, Mattingly none. Mattingly has one coin each from the Western emperors, John and Majorian. Pearce has none, nor do we. Now, if we explain away the purely western issues of John and Majorian by saying that they may have come to Corinth via sea-trade with the West, the three hoards, except for the existence of Gratian in Pearce and the radiates in both Pearce and Mattingly, are of quite similar composition. We should therefore not be far wrong if we place the site for our hoard somewhere on a line running from Corinth through Dalmatia, or perhaps a little to the east. Closer than this general Balkan designation we should hesitate to come.

* * *

Numismatists have generally described the Æ 4 coins which form the bulk of our deposit as *minimi*, or even *minimissimi*, but these are terms which do not occur in the contemporary literature. They are merely descriptive of the physical appearance of the pieces. What are the words which the Romans of the period used as names for their small copper currency? A survey of the ancient literature requires great caution, for there is a difference between the popular term and its legal equivalent, which may never be completely absorbed into the vocabulary of the masses. In the United States, for example, the average citizen continually refers to the cent as a penny without realizing the anachronism. Into this category must fall the occasional

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references of Latin authors of the period to the denarius.[16] Similarly, the use of the words denarius and drachma as units of account in terms of myriads or talents in the Egyptian papyri must be excluded. In 314 the price of wheat is given as 10,000 denarii per artaba. Even if the smallest coin, weighing under a gram, be taken as the denarius, this would mean that 23 Roman pounds of bronze purchased one artaba of wheat![17] It is even impossible to calculate with any reasonable certainty how many denarii were accounted as the smallest unit of coin. One papyrus of 349 speaks of a tax of 3,515 denarii per aroura, so that a coin of 5 denarii must have been known, even though such a coin would have been practically valueless in terms of gold.[18] Still other papyri indicate larger or smaller units.

In the East the term "obol" continued in general use. St. Jerome in one of his letters speaks of "the gain of a nummus or the loss of an obol."[19] In the fifth-century Palladius, Synesius, and Theodoret use

[16] Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 7, 22, is simply a single example of this practice. Cf. H. Mattingly, "The Monetary Systems of the Roman Empire from Diocletian to Theodosius I," *NC*, 6th Ser., VI (1946) 117. In the Germanic realms the term *denarius* appears to have retained its meaning as a silver coin. The denarius of the Merovingian Franks was demonstrably a silver piece. See Arnold Luschin von Ebengreuth, "Der Denar der Lex Salica," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Classe*, CLXIII (1910), *Abh.* IV, 5–6. Gildas knew of another silver coin current in Britain which he called a denarius and which has been identified as the siliqua: H. Mattingly and J. W. E. Pearce, "The Tuddenham Hoard of Siliquae," *NC*, 6th Ser., VI (1946) 172. The mark **DN** on Vandalic coins is now generally expanded as D[e]n[arius]. See W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, etc.*, p. xxiii, and the works there cited. As late as A.D. 419 a price of 1,000 denarii for twenty pounds of pork was established by an imperial edict given at Ravenna and addressed to the Praetorian Prefect (*C. Theod.* XIV, 4, 10).

[17] L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton, 1954) 112. The papyrus cited is PER. E. 2000. P. Princeton 183v., which must be dated after 344, gives the unusual price of 334 talents per artaba for wheat. If the smallest bronze coin of the Alexandrian mint was the denarius, then sixteen tons of bronze purchased fifty pounds of wheat (see A. C. Johnson, *Egypt and the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor, 1951) 59). P.O. 1057 of A.D. 362 records the price of one leather hide as 750 myriads of denarii, i.e., 7,500,000 denarii. If the worst Egyptian tetradrachm of the reign of Diocletian is considered the coin in question, this hide would cost 130,000 pounds of copper (West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, 169–170).

[18] P. Amh. 140. In SB. 7621 of A.D. 324 units of one denarius occur. Cf. P. Leipz 64 of A.D. 368/9, which also contains mention of single denarii.

[19] St. Jerome, *Epist.*, 43 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* XXII, col. 479).

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the same term.[20] Even in the sixth century the word is used by Procopius and in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.[21] These references are sufficiently vague when taken in context to make it evident that we are not dealing with a specific coin referred to by its proper name. Obol is simply the popular designation for the smallest coin.

One other term has not been mentioned, the "nummus." This word is used by Jerome in the passage just cited and also by Claudian and in the legal texts.[22] Apparently, it is the simple designation for any coin, and it could be used in combination with more descriptive terms, as in the case of the *nummus decargyrus* of the Theodosian Code.[23] At the same time, however, it is also the designation of a specific coin. This is indicated by its use in quoting fines and prices.[24] In 398 the price of *panis Ostiensis adque fiscalis* was fixed at one nummus. Even as late as the sixth century, nummus is used to quote prices in Pap. Marini 80 and by Joshua the Stylite as well as St. John the Almoner.[25] In 445 the value of the solidus in terms of nummi was

[20] Palladius, *The Lausiac History*, 6, 1, transl. E. C. Butler (Cambridge, 1898–1904); Synesius, *Epist.*, 127 (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* LXVI, col. 1507). In this case the obols are specifically called copper. Also see Theodoretus, *Epist.*, 113 (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* LXVI, col. 1507).

[21] Procopius, *Wars*, I, xxv, 42 ff. In 541 the Prefect John of Cappadocia was deprived of his rank and forced to beg "obols" from the crew of the ship which was carrying him into exile in Egypt. The cloak he wore is described as costing only a few obols. In another instance Justinian is described as seizing an inheritance and not giving the heirs a triobol: Procopius, *Anecdota* XXIX, 14. In a third instance the hire of harlots is quoted as a triobol, "just enough to live on:" ibid., XVII, 6. Also see *C. Just.* X, 30, 4,5, and 7 (A.D. 530); and ibid., I, 4, 26, 5, of the same date. Cf. ibid., VIII, 53, 37, which is also of the same period and contains the expression: *id est sestertii nummi unius assium quattuor.*

[22] Claudian, *Carm. Min.*, 43 (ed. M. Platnauer in *Loeb Classical Library* (London and New York, 1922) 270).

[23] *C. Theod.* IX, 23, 2 (A.D. 395). It certainly signifies "coin" in *C. Just.* V, 37, 22 (A.D. 326) and ibid., XII, 22, 2, 3 (A.D. 357).

[24] *C. Theod.* XIII, 3, 1 (A.D. 321/4) and ibid., XIV, 19, 1 (A.D. 398). T. Mommsen, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine*, transl. Duc de Blacas (Paris, 1873) III, 108 infra, says this is a fictitious price. PER E. 1014 (IVth cent.) gives the price of a pint of relish as 3 talents 150 nummi. West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, 131 and 134, suggest that the nummus is to be identified with the denarius at this time.

[25] Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, 39, 41, 43, transl. W. Wright (Cambridge 1882); Leontius of Neapolis, *Vita S. Johannis*, 35 (ed. H. Gelzer, "Leontius von Neapolis Leben des hl. Johannis des Barmherzigen Erzbischofs von Alexandrien," *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften*, V (1893).

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specifically fixed by imperial edict for the business of money-changing. The money-changer might purchase the solidus for 7,000 nummi, but he could not sell it for more than 7,200 nummi.[26] The copper coinage stood in a direct, fixed relationship to the gold solidus, and, as small change, was freely exchanged for gold.[27]

Whether or not this small change in copper was meant to be fiduciary or hard currency has been a matter of dispute among scholars. Mommsen and Seeck firmly supported the view that it was hard currency in the truest sense of the phrase. The successive reduction in

[26] *Nov. Valent.*, XVI: *Quo praecepto etiam illud in perpetuum volumus contineri, ne umquam intra septem milia nummorum solidus distrahatur emptus a collectario septem milibus ducentis.* The value of the solidus was always fixed in terms of silver and bronze coins. The Romans did not use a cumbersome system of parallel standards. The value of the solidus in terms of other coins might be easily changed to account for shifts in the price structure. One instance of this occurs in a letter of Symmachus dated 384/5 (*M. G. H., A. A.*, VI, 303–4): *Vendendis solidis, quos plerumque publicus usus exposcit, collectariorum corpus obnoxium est, quibus arca vinaria statutum pretium subministrat. Huic hominum generi taxationis exiguae vilitate nutanti divus frater numinis vestri tantum pro singulis solidis statuit conferendum, quantum sequitas illius temporis postulabat, ddd. imppp. sed paulatim auri enormitate crescente vis remedii divalis infracta est, et cum in foro venalium rerum maiore summa solidus censeatur, nummulariis pretia minora penduntur. Petunt igitur de aeternitate vestra pro ratione praesenti iusta definitionis augmenta, qui iam tanto oneri sustinendo pares esse non possunt. Haec est causa querimoniae, quam divinis sensibus vestris fides gestorum plenius intimabit; si petitionis genus probabile iudicatis quaeso ut huic quoque parti praecepto mansuetudinis vestrae salubre remedium deferatur.* On the identification of the *nummularii* and *collectarii* see von Premerstein in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, IV, pt. I, cols. 376–7, *s. v. collectarii*. Cf. Mommsen-Blacas, III, 173. Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, I, 10 (*M. G. H., A. A.*, XII, 19), dated 507/11, says: *Et quoniam delectat nos secretiora huius disciplinae cum scientibus loqui, pecuniae ipsae quamvis usu celeberrimo viles esse videantur, animadvertendum est quanta tamen a veteribus ratione collectae sunt. Sex milia denariorum solidum esse voluerunt, scilicet ut radiantis metalli formata rotunditas aetatem mundi, quasi sol aureus, convenienter includeret.* Clearly, this passage refers to a past valuation of the solidus, not contemporary with the author.

[27] G. Mickwitz, "Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *Societas Scientiarum Fennica* (*Finska Vetenskaps Societeten, Helsingfors*), *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, IV, 2, p. 81, n. 10, points to the fact that gold and bronze were often interchanged. Cf. St. Augustine, *Sermo*, 389, 3 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXIX, col. 1704). Procopius, *Anecdota*, 22, 3, should also be cited. In describing Peter Barsymes, who succeeded John of Cappadocia, Procopius calls him "an exchanger of bronze coins:" ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χαλκοῦ τραπέζης καθήμενος.

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module and, supposedly, in purity during the fourth century was used as evidence by Mommsen. Seeck noted the additional fact that the hoards show the heavier bronze to have passed out of circulation rather rapidly in the course of the fourth century.[28] There is, however, a legal text (A.D. 367?) which, if one follows Savigny's interpretation, clearly points to fiduciary subsidiary coinage: "with the decrease in the valuation (i.e., purchasing power) of the solidus which may occur, an equal depreciation is to be accorded all kinds (of money)."[29] This would seem to indicate that the number of subsidiary coins equivalent to a solidus was fixed regardless of the changing purchasing power or the intrinsic value of the base metals or gold. Mommsen held this edict to stipulate that when the number of subsidiary coins to the solidus was lowered, the price of all other goods in terms of bronze or silver currency was also lowered. In support of this view, which requires a non-fiduciary currency in all metals and a free market for establishing the value of coined gold in terms of other coins, Mommsen pointed out that *species*, in a technical sense, meant "commodities" in the fourth century; that *aestimatio* meant not "intrinsic" value but, rather, "rate of exchange"; and finally, that the solidus was never lowered in value. In opposition to this, one should point out that the bulk of the evidence, as has been shown, supports a fiduciary subsidiary coinage and a fixed number of small change pieces to the solidus. The edict itself is very susceptible to a translation indicating that the value of the small change was to vary with the purchasing power of gold and that a constant number of *folles* or other bronze coins were equivalent to a solidus. *Omnium quoque specierum pretia* can be translated, "also coins of all types," or, "also prices of all coins." The fact that the larger coins rapidly disappear from the hoards or are cut

[28] Mommsen-Blacas, III, 161, uses the phrase *monnaie d'appoint* to translate the German *Scheidemünze* (*Geschichte der römischen Münzwesen*, 838). Also see O. Seeck, "Die Münzpolitik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger," *ZfN* XVII (1890) 129–130; also 120–1. P. Strauss, "Remarques sur la monnaie de cuivre romaine au IV^e siècle," *RN*, 5^e sér., VIII (1944–5) 4, says that the fourth century *aes* can not have been fiduciary because of insurmountable problems which he does not record.

[29] *C. Just.* XI, 11, 2: *Pro imminutione, quae in aestimatione solidi forte tractatur, omnium quoque specierum pretia decrescere oportet.* This edict is undated save by the joint reigns of Valentinian, Valens and Gratian. Cf. Mommsen-Blacas, III, 171 and n. 1.

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into fragments may well indicate that there was only one denomination of bronze in common use and that larger pieces were clipped to that size whenever possible. It can also be taken as indicative of the series of demonetizations which are recorded in several laws in the Theodosian Code, e.g., IX, 23, 1 and 2.

To determine what the approximate weight of the nummus was at the end of the fourth century we must bear in mind the valuation of about 7,000 nummi to the solidus given in 445 and the testimony of two other edicts. In 396 the emperors Honorius and Arcadius decreed "that the prices demanded of the provincials for bronze (*aeris pretia*) shall be so exacted that for twenty-five pounds of bronze one solidus shall be rendered by the landholder."[30] The same wording was retained when this edict was incorporated in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, but in the latter instance only twenty pounds of bronze are given as equivalent to a solidus.[31] If one were to postulate that the 7,000 nummi mentioned in the edict of Valentinian were equal to twenty pounds of bronze, then each nummus would have an approximate weight of 0.935 grams. If the 7,000 nummi were equal to twenty-five pounds of bronze as in the earlier recension, then each nummus would weigh approximately 1.169 grams. Using 7,200 nummi in place of 7,000 in these calculations does not produce an appreciable difference. It merely decreases the final approximate weight by about three-hundredths of a gram. Obviously, the Roman moneyers could not weigh that finely.

This result, which is based solely on the texts, can be compared with the independent calculations of the frequency curve discussed below. The theoretical weight of the coins in our hoard as established by the curve lies between 0.92 and 1.21 grams, almost exactly the limits determined from textual analysis. This would seem to confirm the view that the minimi were really nummi and that the gold:bronze mint ratio was 1:1800.

The word nummus, however, as previously indicated, was quite properly only part of the legal name of any coin and was used in

[30] *C. Theod.*, XI, 21, 2.

[31] *C. Just.* X, 29, 1: *Aeris pretia, quae a provincialibus postulantur, ita exigi volumus, ut pro viginti libris aeris solidus a possessore reddatur.* In the Theodosian recension the word *quinque* is added after *viginti*.

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common parlance for all coins. After the bronze coinage reform of c. A.D. 348, a new term came into use. A law of 352 mentions for the first time the denomination known either as the *centenionalis* or *nummus centenionalis*.[32] The text of the law refers to two specific coins, the *maiorina* and the *centenionalis*, as well as to other currency which had been demonetized. In 395 still another edict established the centenionalis as the only current small change and abolished the coining of larger money. No person was allowed to exchange the *nummus decargyrus*, presumably the silver siliqua, for another coin.[33] It is noteworthy that in the reign immediately following, that of Valentinian III, only Æ 4 coins were struck. The Æ 3 issues of Theodosius II, Leo I and Zeno are to all intents and purposes so small in number that one can easily maintain that after 395 there was only one coin in common use, the *centenionalis communis* or *nummus centenionalis*. The Æ 3 piece of the fourth century must have been called the *maiorina*. This is first mentioned in a law of 349 which prohibits the *flaturarii* from removing the silver in bronze coins.[34] The relatively few Æ 1 and Æ 2 pieces must have been folles and coins of medallic character, or multiples.

Metrological analysis of the coins in the hoard presents some unusual difficulties which hold true, however, of almost all minimi deposits. By far the larger number of specimens, both catalogued and not, have been subjected to clipping, chipping, or even halving. In the case of the Æ 3 pieces this affects every specimen; in the case of the Æ 4 coins approximately one quarter of the identifiable pieces appear to be unclipped. Under the circumstances, it is impossible to hope for any successful analysis of the Æ 3 coinage. The Æ 4 pieces present a more encouraging picture if the analysis is carried out with most careful attention paid to the theoretical features of the frequency curve. The nature of the evidence makes it difficult to separate the clipped from the unclipped specimens, for there is always the presumption of error in such identification because of the crudity of manufacture. It is, therefore, necessary that all the clearly defined,

[32] *C. Theod.* IX, 23, 1.
[33] *C. Theod.* IX, 23, 2.
[34] *C. Theod.* IX, 21, 6. Cf. H. Adelson, "The Bronze Alloys of the Coinage of the Later Roman Empire," *ANSMN* VI, 111–129.

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authentic Roman issues catalogued from the hoard be used in the metrological analysis. Predictions can be made as to the effects of the inclusion of damaged specimens, and a proper account of their significance should be taken in the final result. First, the effect of clipping in such haphazard fashion would be to force the mode, or point of greatest concentration, far below the mean weight for all specimens. It is clear also that the coefficient of variation would be very large, and that, consequently, the theoretical weight for the entire series would lie at the upper end of the frequency curve.

In grouping the data for the analysis the step interval of 0.18 grams was chosen because of the probability that the Roman mint did not weigh coinage to a greater degree of accuracy than the half-carat (0.095 grams). In the case of bronze, it is unlikely that the Romans ever weighed to a finer degree than the carat. Since the coins themselves have been weighed to only one-hundredth of a gram for this analysis, and since they were struck *al-marco*, the step interval is clearly sufficiently fine for the purpose. A total of 371 Æ 4 coins are identified as authentic Roman issues in the catalogue and comprise the body of data. The mean was found to be 0.923 grams, which was promptly converted to 0.92 grams, since the weighing had been done to the nearest hundredth of a gram. The standard deviation is calculated as 0.292 grams, so that it is evident that the theoretical weight has to lie between 0.92 and 1.21 grams. The coefficient of variation is calculated at 31.73, which, as expected, indicates that the theoretical weight is in the upper range of that span. It will be noticed that in the three steps on the frequency curve from 0.60 to 1.14 grams there are 91, 78, and 73 specimens respectively. The next step interval, however, contains only 51 specimens. It would seem clear that the theoretical weight at which these coins were struck was within 0.05 of a gram of 1.14 grams. Accordingly, it seems safe to postulate that our minimi were struck at approximately 1.18 grams theoretical weight with a standard of 276 coins to the Roman pound. It is, however, possible that they were intended to be of one scruple weight each (1.14 grams) and that there were 288 coins struck from each pound of metal. The distribution of the weights reveals no series of chronological changes.

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NUMBER OF COINS FOR EACH HEADING IN THE CATALOGUE

Regular Issues

Constantinian Æ 3	24
Valentinian I Æ 3	1
Valens Æ 3	1
Valentinian II Æ 4	6
Valentinian I or II Æ 3	10
Theodosius I Æ 4	6
Gratian, Valentinian II or Theodosius I Æ 4	1
Honorius Æ 3, Æ 4	10
Arcadius Æ 3, Æ 4	12
Late 4th or early 5th Century Æ 3, Æ 4	17
Theodosius I, Arcadius or Honorius Æ 3	2
Arcadius or Honorius Æ 3	4
Theodosius II Æ 4	48
Arcadius, Honorius or Theodosius II	10
Period of Theodosius II	62
Valentinian III	12
Period of Valentinian III	40
Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius (Valentinian III)	15
Honorius, Theodosius II, Valentinian III	4
Marcian	30
Leo I	111
Libius Severus	1
Roman Illegible	1
Total:	428

Barbarous Issues

Arcadius	1
Theodosius I, Arcadius or Honorius	2
Theodosius II	3
Period of Theodosius II or later	25
Valentinian III	1
Imitations	26
Marcian	6
Leo I	11
Varia	12
Total:	87

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TABLE OF MINTS

	Constantinople	Nicomedia	Cyzicus	Antioch	Alexandria	Heraclea	Rome	Thessalonica
Constantinian Æ 3								
Valentinian I Æ 3								
Valens Æ 3								
Valentinian II Æ 4							(2)	
Valentinian I or II Æ 3								
Theodosius I Æ 4								
Gratian, Valentinian II or Theodosius I Æ 4								
Honorius Æ 3, Æ 4		1						
Arcadius Æ 3, Æ 4		2			2			
Arcadius, Barbarous								
Late 4th or early 5th century Æ 3	1	1					2	
Theodosius I, Arcadius or Honorius Æ 3								
Theodosius I, Arcadius or Honorius, Barbarous								
Arcadius or Honorius Æ 3				1				
Theodosius II Æ 4	6	1	4			1		
Theodosius II, Barbarous								
Arcadius, Honorius or Theodosius II		2			1			
Period of Theodosius II	5	2	3	1		1		
Period of Theodosius II or later, Barbarous								
Valentinian III								
Valentinian III, Barbarous								
Period of Valentinian III							2	
Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Honorius, (Valentinian III)		2		2				
Honorius, Theodosius II, Valentinian III		1						

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TABLE OF MINTS

	Constantinople	Nicomedia	Cyzicus	Antioch	Alexandria	Heraclea	Rome	Thessalonica
Barbarous Imitations								
Marcian	5	3	2					
Marcian, Barbarous								
Leo I	17	1	1					1
Leo I, Barbarous								
Libius Severus								
Roman Illegible						1		
Barbarous Varia								

CLIPPED COINS

Nos. 43, 44, 46, 49, 54–59, 61–63, 69, 72, 86, 88, 89, 98–101, 103, 105, 106, 108–114, 118–122, 126–137, 139–141, 143, 145, 148, 150, 152–154, 157, 158, 162, 163, 165–167, 169, 170, 174, 175, 177, 179–188, 192–195, 197–205, 207–210, 212, 214–218, 222, 224, 225, 227–232, 234, 235, 237, 239, 244, 245, 248–253, 257–262, 264, 265, 267, 269–273, 276, 281, 283, 285, 287–289, 291–294, 295, 296, 298, 301, 302, 304–306, 308–329, 331–337, 339–343, 346–356, 358–362, 364–366, 368–370, 372, 373, 375, 377–395, 397–415, 417–451, 453–456, 466, 468–470, 472–481, 483, 485, 486, 488, 490–501, 503–515.

Total: 338 (75 per cent of the 450 legible Æ 4)
65 (100 per cent. of the 65 legible Æ 3)

HALVED COINS

Nos. 447, 486 (both Æ 4; Leo I)

In the catalogue the obverse legend is given when some remains are visible. The obverse type is described only in those instances where it is unusual. Where either the obverse legend or type is recorded it is preceded by *Obv.* The reverse inscription and type are always given where legible. Three dots indicate an indeterminate number of illegible letters. The line following the statement of the reverse legend gives first the size, in millimeters, second, the die position, and third, the weight in grams. Reference to earlier literature follows, when pertinent. A "cf." preceding the reference to the standard catalogues indicates not an identification, but an approximation to the type.

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CATALOGUE*

CONSTANTINIAN

Æ 3[1]

Reverse type illegible

1. *Obv*: .NCONSTA...
   12–14 1.02

2. *Obv*: ..CONSTAN...
   11–12 1.81

FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Soldier l., spearing fallen horseman

3. ...REPAR...
   13–14 ↓ .99

4. 14–16 ↑ 2.14

5. 14–16 ↑ .90

6. 12–13 ↖ .78

7. 12–15 ↓ 1.04

8. 11–12 ↓ .97

9. 9–14 ← .64

SPES REIPVBLICE

Emperor standing l., holding globe in r. and leaning on spear[2]

10. *Obv*: ...T...
    SPESREI PVBLICE
    12–14 ↓ 1.00

11. *Obv*: DN...
    ...PVB...
    15–16 ↓ 1.34

12. *Obv*: ...AVG
    14–15 ↓ 1.15

13. ...SREI...
    13–16 ↓ 1.42

14. ..ESRE...
    12–13 ↓ 1.55

15. SPESREI...
    14–15 ↓ 1.29

16. .PESR...
    11–14 ↙ .91

17. ...REI...
    8–11 ↓ .93

18. 15 ↑ .94
    Obv. mint-mark to left of head:*

19. 12–15 ↓ 1.57

20. 11–12 ↙ .96

21. 11–12 ↓ .79

*An asterisk preceding the number indicates that the coin is illustrated in the plates.

[1] All Æ 3 coins in the hoard are cut down.

[2] The type occurs from Constantine II through the reign of Julian II.

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22. 11–13 ↑ .99
23. 11–14 ↓ 1.17
24. 12–13 ↓ 1.59

VALENTINIAN I

Æ 3

GLORIA ROMANORVM

C. 11

Emperor with labarum, dragging captive r.

25. *Obv*: DNVALEN...
11–14 ↓ 1.14

VALENS

Æ 3

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE

C. 47

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

26. *Obv*: DNVALENS...
SECVRITAS...
11–14 ↙ .97 $\frac{|}{\text{SM}..}$

VALENTINIAN II

Æ 4

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

C. 30

Victory running l., dragging captive

27. *Obv*: ...IANVSPFAVG
11–12 ↑ .89

VOT X MVLT XX within wreath *C.* 73

28. *Obv*: ..VALENTINIANVSPFAVG
VOT X MVLT XX
12–13 ↑ .70

29. .NVALENTIN...
VOT X MVLT XX
11–12 ↑ 1.18

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VOT XV MV. LT XX within wreath. *RIC* ix, p. 128, 51c

30. *Obv*: ...IANVSPFAVG[3]
VOT XV (?) MV. LT XX
11–13 ↑ 1.20

31. *Obv*: .NVALENT...
VOT XV MV. LT XX
14 ↑ 1.06

Reverse type illegible

32. *Obv*: DNV...[4]
...AVGG
11–13 ↑ .90

VALENTINIAN I OR II

Æ 3

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

33. *Obv*: ...VSPFAVG
...VBLICAE
13–16 ↓ 1.21

34. SECVRI...
14 ↑ 1.49

35. ...PVBLICAE
13–16 ↓ .91 |* / ....

36. 14 ↑ 1.18

37. 13–15 ↑ 1.40

38. 12–14 ↖ 1.40

39. 12–14 ↑ 1.18

40. 13–14 ↑ 1.58

41. 13 ↖ 1.39

42. 11–12 ↓ .88

THEODOSIUS I

Æ 4

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

C. 30

Victory running l., dragging captive

43. *Obv*: ...SIVSPFA..
SALVSREI PVBLICAE
11–14 ↑ 1.08

44. *Obv*: DNTHEOD...
10–12 ↑ 1.22

45. *Obv*: THEODO SIVS...
11–12 ↑ 1.18

[3] The type found on nos. 30 and 31 was struck only at the mint of Rome.
[4] This coin may be an Æ 3 cut down.

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VICTORIA AVGGG

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

46. *Obv*: ...SIVSPFAVG[5]
...GGG
11–12 ↓ .66

VICTORIA AVG (GG)[6]

Two victories facing one another, each holding wreath

47. *Obv*: . NTHEODO SIVS...
12–13 ↑ 1.16

48. *Obv*: DNTHEODO...
...VSPFAVG ...RIA...
12 ↓ .98

GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, OR THEODOSIUS I

Æ 4

VOT XV MVLT XX within wreath

49. ..T XV MVḶṬ XX
13–14 ↓ 1.27

HONORIUS

Æ 3

GLORIA ROMANORVM

C. 24

Emperor in military dress, moving r. and dragging two captives

50. GLORIARO MANORVM[7]
11–12 ↑ 1.02

51. 11–12 ↑ .84 $\frac{|}{\text{SMN}}$

52. 11–14 ↑ 1.38

53. 11 ↓ .62

[5] Cf. *RIC* IX, 155, no. 396.
[6] Cf. *C.* 43, which has -AVGGG. Also see *RIC* IX, 187, no. 63b, which has -AVG for the mint of Thessalonica.
[7] Nos. 50–53 are all Æ 3 cut down to Æ 4 size.

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Æ 4

GLORIA ROMANORVM

C. 27

Two emperors of equal height, standing, each with spear, together holding globe

54. *Obv*: DNH...
GLOR...
12–13 ↖ 1.22

55. 12–13 ↓ .85

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

C. 32

Victory running l., dragging captive

56. *Obv*: DNH...
SALVSREI PVBLICAE
10–12 ↓ .91

VICTORIA AVGG (G)[8]

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

57. *Obv:* ..HON...
VICTO...
11 ↙ 1.39

58. *Obv*: .NHONOR...
11 ↑ 1.35

CONCORDIA AVG (GG)[9]

Cross

59. *Obv*: .NHONORI VS...
...R DIA AVG..
9–11 ↑ .61

[8] Cf. *C.* 39 (with -AVGGG). Also see, for -AVGG, J. W. E. Pearce and M. E. Wood, "A Late Roman Hoard from Dalmatia," *NC*, 5th Ser., XIV (1934) 271, hereafter cited as "Pearce and Wood."

[9] Cf. M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora. Vol. II. Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period*, no. 1617, hereafter cited as "Thompson." The type shows either -AVG or -AVGGG.

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ARCADIUS

Æ 3

VIRTVS EXERCITI *Sab.* II, 341

Emperor standing r., leaning on spear; victory l., crowning him

60. *Obv*: DNARCA...
9–13 ↓ .89 —|— / SMNA

Æ 4

SALVS REIPVBLICAE *Sab.* 41

Victory running l., dragging captive

61. *Obv*: .NARC...
...PVB...
10–12 ↑ .72

62. *Obv*: DNARCA...
SA ...AE
13 ↙ 1.04 —|— / SMNB
RIC IX, p. 262 45c Var. (no Christogram in reverse left field)

63. *Obv*: DNAR...
...BLICAE —+|—
12–13 ↙ 1.33

64. *Obv*: DNARCADIVS...
SALVSR...[10]
13–14 ↙ 1.33 —P|—

VOT X MVLT XX within wreath. *RIC* IX, p. 302, 19c

65. *Obv*: DNARCAD...
VOT X MVLT XX
11–12 ↑ 1.14 —|— / ALE.
Obverse mint-mark to left of head: T

[10] The piece is double-struck.

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VOT X MVLT XX within wreath.[11] *RIC* IX, p. 301,13c

66. *Obv*: ...CAD IVSPFAVG
VOT X MVLT XX
12–13 ↗ 1.27 $\frac{|}{\text{ALEA}}$

VICTORIA AVG (GG)[12]

Two victories facing one another, each holding wreath

67. *Obv*: .NAR...
12 ↙ .96

68. *Obv*: ..ARCA...
13 ↓ 1.37

GLORIA ROMANORVM *Sab.* 38

Three emperors standing, with spears; two outer resting hands on shields; central figure slightly smaller

69. *Obv*: .NARCADI...[13]
...NORVM
12–14 ↑ 1.50

Reverse type illegible

70. *Obv*: .NAR...
11 1.26

71. *Obv*: DNARCADIVSPFAVG
12 1.05

[11] This blundered legend is noted in *RIC*, loc. cit.

[12] The type occurs with -AVG or -AVGGG. For -AVG in Thessalonica see *RIC* IX, 187, 63c.

[13] The piece is cut down. For a discussion of the size of these specimens see J. W. E. Pearce, *Roman Coinage from A.D. 364 to 423*, "Corrections and Additions" p. 4, hereafter cited as "Pearce, *Roman Coinage*;" and, by the same author, "A Roman Hoard from Southwest Asia Minor," *NC*, 5th Ser., XV (1935) 21–24. On the basis of a large specimen in this hoard (15 mm; Wt. 2.1; chipped) Pearce chose to change his older designation and call the type Æ 3 or "Æ 3 small" rather than Æ 4. He suggests (p. 22) that "...the true Æ 4 of the period is CONCORDIA AVG (or AVGGG) 'cross,' and at the time of issue no doubt a distinction was intended." Pearce's conclusions, as he himself remarks (p. 24), being quite tentative, we have thought it best to include these issues under the more traditional heading, Æ 4, while at the same time noting their larger diameter and occasionally (depending on condition) correspondingly heavier weight. The problem holds for all issues depicting two or three emperors: see notes 20, 23, 29, and 55.

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ARCADIUS: BARBAROUS

72. *Obv*: DNAR...
Type illegible
9–10 .63

LATE 4th, EARLY 5th CENTURY

Æ 3

CONCORDIA AVG (GG)[14]

Rome or Constantinople, helmeted, seated facing, head l., holding globe and partly seen spear; r.leg bare

73. 12–13 ↖ 1.40

GLORIA ROMANORVM[15]

Emperor with labarum, dragging captive r.

74. *Obv*: DN...
11 ↙ .96
76. 13–14 ↓ 1.48 | / SMNA
78. 14 ↓ 1.76
80. 11–12 ↑ 1.15
82. 14 ↓ 1.59

75. GLORIA...
13–15 ↓ .88
77. 9–11 ↑ .74 | / O
79. 15 ↓ 1.49
81. 13–14 ↑ .93
83. 12 ↑ 1.09

Æ 4

VICTORIA AVGGG

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

84. VICTORIA AVGGG
10–11 ↑ .59 | / CONA[16]

[14] The type is found for Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius, and shows either -AVG or -AVGGG.
[15] The type depicted on nos. 74–83 is found for Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius.
[16] The type is found for Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius. Neither *RIC* IX nor Pearce, *Roman Coinage* records the type for the Constantinopolitan mint.

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VOT X MVLT XX within wreath[17]

85. VOT X MVLT XX
11 ↙ 1.24

VICTORIA AVG (GG)[18]

Two victories facing one another, each holding wreath

86. *Obv*: ...AVG
VICTORIA AVG.. (?)
12–13 ↙ 1.03

87. ...CTO...
12 ↑ 1.00 R P

88. 10–12 ↑ .67 R E

Uncertain

89. ...SPFAVG[19]
Vota type
within wreath?
9–10 .75

THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, OR HONORIUS

Æ 3

VRBS ROMA FELIX[20]

Rome, standing, facing, head r., holding spear with trophy attached and victory on globe; shield at foot

90. 11–12 ↑ 1.64 |T

Æ 4

Camp gate; star between turrets[21]

91. 12 ↓ 1.19

[17] The type is found for Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius.
[18] The type is found for Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius. For the reverse legend, either -AVG or -AVGGG, see n. 12.
[19] The coin has been badly cut down. Further identification is impossible.
[20] See *RIC* IX, 135, 136, and 304 infra: "The smallness of many of the contemporary western Æ 3 *Urbs Roma Felix* has been commented on by Laffranchi and explained by him as due to insufficient force being exerted to spread the flan." See also J. W. E. Pearce, "A Late Roman Hoard from Southwest Asia Minor," *NC*, 5th Ser., XV (1935) 22; and our n. 13 supra.
[21] The *RIC* listings give the type, with the star between the turrets, only for western mints. The type in Æ 4 exists for Valentinian II through Honorius. Possible legends are SPES ROMANORVM or GLORIA REIPVBLICE.

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THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, OR HONORIUS: BARBAROUS

Same type

92. 7–9 ↓ .45 93. 7 .41[22]

ARCADIUS OR HONORIUS

Æ 3

VIRTVS EXERCITI

Emperor standing r., leaning on spear; victory l., crowning him

94. VIRTVS EXERCITI
11 ↖ 1.20 | ANT
96. 12–13 ↑ 1.62
95. *Obv*: DN...VSPFAVG
12–15 ↙ 1.22
97. 12–13 ↙ 1.24

THEODOSIUS II

Æ 4

VT XXXV in three lines within wreath. *Sab.* 31

98. *Obv*: ...FAVG
V [T] XX [X] V
10 ↖ .82
99. *Obv*: ...IVSP...
[VT] XXXV
9–10 ↙ .86 | CON
100. *Obv*: ...SIV...
VT XXXV
10–13 ↓ .97
101. *Obv*: ..THE...
VT XX [X] V
10 ↓ 1.14
102. VT XXXV
11 ↓ .91
103. VT XXXV
9–10 ↑ 1.03
104. VT XXXV
9–10 ↓ 1.00
105. [VT] X [X] X [V]
10 ↓ 1.06 | CON

GLORIA ROMANORVM[23] *Sab.* 29

Three emperors, standing, with spears; two outer resting hands on shields; central figure slightly smaller

106. *Obv*: ... SIVSPFAVG
...I AROMA NORVM
14–15 ↘ 1.30

[22] The attribution is doubtful.
[23] See n. 13.

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CONCORDIA AVG (G)[24]

Victory standing, facing; wreath in each hand

107. *Obv:* .NTHEODO SIVSPFAVG
CONCO...
10–11 ↓ 1.41

VICTORIA AVGG

Victory standing, facing; wreath in each hand[25]

108. *Obv*: ...S...
..CT...
11–12 ↓ 1.41

Anepigraphic. Cross in wreath.
Sab. 32

109. *Obv*: DNTH...SIVSPFAVG[26]
12 ↑ 1.05 | CON

110. *Obv*: .NTHEO-DOSIVSPFAVG
9–11 ↓ .71 | CON

111. *Obv*: ...ODOSI...
10 ↑ 1.40 | CON

112. *Obv*: .NTH...
10–11 ↖ .76 | C..

113. *Obv*: DNT...VSPFAVG
11 ↗ .97 | SMNΔ

114. *Obv*: ..THEODOSI...
9–10 ↖ .56 | SMHA

115. *Obv*: DNTHEODOSIV-SPFAVG
10–12 ↓ .96 | SMKA

116. *Obv*: ..T...
10–11 ↖ 1.04 | SMKA

117. *Obv*: DNTHE...
10–12 ↑ .77 | .MKB

118. *Obv*: ...EOD...
9–10 ↓ .62 | ..KΔ

*119. *Obv*: .NTHE...[27]
10–12 ↑ 1.24 | . R

120. *Obv*: .NTH...
10–12 ↗ .90 | ...Δ

[24] The legend ends in either -AVG or -AVGG. See Pearce and Wood, 272, 279.
[25] Cf. *Sab.* 30, who describes the wreath in the left hand as a globe.
[26] See Thompson no. 1630 note: "Although Theodosius is not recorded as having struck this type at Constantinople, the number of coins from the Agora leaves no doubt that there was an extensive emission from that mint."
[27] Before the R of the mint-mark there is a line which could just possibly represent the cross-bar of a T. Possibly, too, a third letter existed between the T and the R. If TR be read, we have here the mint of Treveri, and although Treveran bronze for Theodosius II is known (see Pearce and Wood, 272) in another type, the example of the "cross in wreath" would be unique. What precedes the -R being quite uncertain, we reserve judgment. See illustration.

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121. *Obv*: ...O...
11–12 ↓ .76

122. *Obv*: ...HEODOSIVS...
10–11 ↑ .81

123. *Obv*: DNTHEOD...
12 ↓ .92

124. *Obv*: DNTHE...
12 ↖ 1.20

125. *Obv*: ..THE...
10–12 ↓ .94

126. *Obv*: ..TH...
10–12 ↓ .82

127. *Obv*: ...ODOSIVS...
9–12 ↑ .76

128. *Obv*: ..THE...
10–11 ↙ .87

129. *Obv*: ...HEODOSIVSPFAVG
10–11 .98

130. *Obv*: ..THE...
10 .84

131. *Obv*: .NTHEO...
10–13 1.17

132. *Obv*: ...SIVS...
9–11 ↙ .41

133. *Obv*: ..THEODOSIVS...
9–11 ↑ .73

134. *Obv*: ..TH...
9–10 ↑ .36

135. *Obv*: .NTH...
8 .67

136. *Obv*: DNTH...
11 .71

137. *Obv*: DNTH...
10–11 ↗ .89

138. *Obv*: DNTH...
11–12 .87

139. *Obv*: ..THE...
9–11 ↓ 1.25

140. *Obv*: ...OSIVSPFAVG
8–11 .56

141. *Obv*: DNTH...
8–9 .73

142. *Obv*: DNTHE...
10–11 ↓ .75

PAX within wreath.

Sab. 34

143. 9–11 ← .45

Reverse type illegible

144. *Obv*: DNTH...
9–11 .76

145. *Obv*: DNT...
8–9 .68

THEODOSIUS II: BARBAROUS

PAX within wreath.

Sab. 34

*146. 8–9 ← .53

*147. 8–9 ↙ .44

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Victory running l., with wreath and palm.
Cf. *Sab.* 30

148. *Obv*: .NTHEODO...
.NAVR
9–11 ↗ .58

ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, OR THEODOSIUS II

CONCORDIA AVG (GG) around cross.[28]

149. CO...
10–11 ↓ .59 | ALEA

150. CO...
10 ↓ .56 | SMNA

GLORIA ROMANORVM[29]

Three emperors, standing, with spears; two outer resting hands on shields; central figure slightly smaller

151. 12–13 ↓ 1.17 | SMNA

152. 11–12 ↑ 1.38
Obverse has star in left field

153. 12–13 ↑ 1.29
Obverse has star in left field

154. 12–14 ↓ 1.35

155. ...ROMAN...
12–14 ↖ .96

156. 11–12 ↑ .71

157. 10–13 ↑ .84

GLORIA ROMANORVM[30]

Two emperors standing, holding spears and leaning on shields

158. GLORIA ROMANORVM
10–11 ↓ 1.13

[28] The type exists for all three emperors in either -AVG or -AVGGG.
[29] For a discussion of the size of the pieces showing GLORIA ROMANORVM with two or three emperors see no. 13.
[30] The type exists in a very doubtful specimen also for Valentinian III. See Pearce, *Roman Coinage*, 78, no. 141.

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PERIOD OF THEODOSIUS II[31]

Anepigraphic. Cross in wreath

159. *Obv*: ...AVG
10–12 ↙ 1.10

160. *Obv*: ...SPFAV.
9–10 ↓ .98

161. *Obv*: ...SPFAVG
10–11 ↓ 1.04

162. *Obv*: ...SPFAV.
10–12 ↓ .66

163. *Obv*: ...FAVG
9–10 ↓ .56
CON

164. 10–11 ↑ .68
CON

165. 10–11 ↑ .68
CON

166. 11 ↙ 1.38
CON

167. 10–11 ↓ .62
.MNA

168. 11–12 ↑ .94
SMN.

169. *Obv*: ...AVG
9–10 ← .63
.MHA

170. 9–10 ↑ .95
SMKB

171. 10–11 ↗ .88
SMK.

172. 9–10 ↑ .66
SMK.

173. 11–13 ↓ 1.35
ANTA

174. 9 ↓ 1.04
SM..

175. 8–9 ↑ .75
SM..

176. 10–12 ↑ .73
SM..

177. 10 ↑ 1.02
....

178. 9–10 ↑ .79

179. 8–10 ↓ .91

180. 8–9 ↖ .67

181. 9 ↓ .77

182. 10–11 ↖ 1.13

183. 9–10 ↑ .64

184. 9 ↑ .79

185. 9–11 ↓ .77

186 9–10 ↙ 1.21

187. 9–10 ↑ .55

188. 9–11 ↓ .61

189. 10–11 ↑ .97

190. 10–11 ↑ .94

191. 10 ↗ 1.08

192. 11–12 ↑ .97

193. 9 ↑ .72

194. 9 ↑ .65

195. 10 ↗ .82

196. 10 ↑ .79

197. 8–9 .73

198. 10–12 .88

199. 7–9 .53

200. 9–11 .40

201. 9–10 .50

202. 7–8 .65

[31] The type, "cross in wreath," exists preponderantly for Theodosius II. Because a very few have been recorded also for Valentinian III, we have thought it wise to list the coins which follow under the "Period" heading. See Thompson, no. 1657 n.

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203.	10–12		.81	204.	9		.60
205.	8–11		.60	206.	7–9		.51
207.	9–12		.84	208.	10–11		.63
209.	9–10		.77	210.	10–12		.80
211.	10		.93	212.	11		.36[32]
213.	9–11		1.00	214.	8		.88
215.	10–12		1.34	216.	10		.89
217.	11–13		.88	218.	9–11		.54[33]

Victory standing, facing; wreath in each hand[34]

219.	11	↑	1.40	$\frac{\vert}{\text{CON}}$	220.	11	↑	1.05

PERIOD OF THEODOSIUS II OR LATER: BARBAROUS

Anepigraphic. Cross in wreath

221.	*Obv*: ...VSPFAVG			222.	*Obv*: ...SPFA..			$\frac{\vert}{..\text{AI}}$
	9	↑	.52		9	↓	.78	
223.	*Obv*: ...VG[35]			224.	10–11	↑	.75	
	9–10	↑	.81					
225.	10	↑	.76	226.	9–10	↙	.57	
227.	11	↓	.72	228.	8–10		.44	
229.	7–10		.44	230.	10		.46	
231.	9		.45	232.	8–9		.99	
233.	8–9		.50	234.	7–9		.39	
235.	9		.23[36]					

Anepigraphic. Cross pattée within wreath

236.	10		.67	237.	9–10		.38

[32] This is an exceptionally thin planchet.
[33] The piece is double-struck.
[34] See notes 24 and 25. The legend for Theodosius II is **CONCORDIA AVG** or **-AVGG**, or **VICTORIA AVGG**. The type exists also for Valentinian III with **CONCORDIA AVGG.**
[35] The attribution is uncertain.
[36] This is an exceptionally thin planchet.

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Anepigraphic. Cross potent within wreath

238. *Obv*: ...ꝏ... 8–9 .41
240. 9 .57
242. 8–10 .46
*239. 10 .37[37]
241. 11 .64

Varia

*243. *Obv*: Very jumbled lettering. Anepigraphic. Christogram within wreath
11–13 ↓ .86
245. Anepigraphic. 8-pointed star within wreath
8 .39[39]
244. Inscription (illegible) around cross
9 .94[38]

VALENTINIAN III

VOT XX within wreath. Pearce and Wood, p. 273

246. *Obv*: DNVAL... VOT XX
12 ↗ 1.32 $\frac{|}{\text{Ɛ}}$?
247. *Obv*: ..VAL... NIANVSP... VOT XX
12 ← 1.17 $\frac{|}{\cdots}$

Anepigraphic. Cross in wreath.[40]
Pearce and Wood, p. 274

248. *Obv*: ...ENT...
10–11 .77
249. *Obv*: ..VA... NVSPFAVG
10–11 ↓ .65

[37] The cross appears to be encircled not by a wreath but by a single unbroken line. See illustration.
[38] See coin no. 149 and n. 28.
[39] Cf. *BMC* p. 38 and Pl. IV, 31.
[40] On these rare specimens see Thompson no. 1657 n.

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VICTORIA AVGG (G)

Two victories facing one another, holding one wreath (and palms?)

250. *Obv*: DNVALE... [41]
10–11 ↓ .92 | / ....

251. *Obv*: DNVALEN... | / ....
10–11 ↑ .91

252. *Obv*: DNVALE...
10 ↓ .84

VICTORIA AVGG

Victory running l., with wreath and palm[42]

253. *Obv*: .NVAL...
VICTO RIA AVGG
10 ↑ 1.03

254. *Obv*: ...NT...
...IA AV..
11–12 ↑ 1.30

VICTORIA AVGG

Victory running l., dragging captive[43]

255. *Obv*: ...NVSPF...
VICTORIA AVGG
10 ↓ 1.12

Victory running l., with wreath and palm[43a]
Legend uncertain

256. *Obv*: DNVA... S| / ....
11–12 ↑ .77

Victory running l., dragging captive[44]
Legend uncertain

257. *Obv*: ...ENT... Q| / ....
10–11 ↓ .80

[41] Cf. *C.* 15, 16. The type is found with either -AVGG or -AVGGG. See E. T. Newell, *Two Hoards from Minturno*, *NNM* 60, 31, 32, nos. 95–108. Pearce and Wood, 283, have a description of the type.
[42] Cf. *C.* 12, 13 and Pearce and Wood, 273, 282.
[43] See Pearce and Wood, 283, for additional specimens.
[43a] Two legends are possible: either VICTORIA AVGG or SALVS REIPVBLIC(A)E.
[44] Valentinian III shows two legends with the type, either VICTORIA AVGG (see coin no. 255) or SALVS REIPVBLIC(A)E.

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VALENTINIAN III: BARBAROUS

Victory running l., with wreath and palm[45]

Legend uncertain

258. *Obv*: ..VALE...
8–10 ↑ .68

PERIOD OF VALENTINIAN III[46]

VOT XX within wreath

259. VOT XX
11–13 ↓ 1.37

260. [VOT] XX
8–9 .71[47]

VICTORIA AVGG

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

261. VICTO...
10–11 ↓ .80 S | RM

262. *Obv*: ...PFAV.
..CTOR...
11–12 ↑ .90 T | ....

263. *Obv*: ...FAVG
VI...
11–12 ↑ 1.06 T | ....

264. ..CTOR...
11 ↓ 1.08 S | ....

265. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
VIC...
10–11 ↑ .77

266. VICT...VGG
11 ↓ 1.17

267. .ICTOR...
11–12 ↑ 1.20

268. ...AVGG
11–12 ↑ 1.00

Victory running l., with wreath and palm[47a]

Legend uncertain

269. 10–11 ↑ 1.04 S | ....

270. *Obv*: ...SPFAV.
10–12 ↓ 1.28

271. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
11–12 ↓ .72

272. *Obv*: ...PFA..
11 ↖ .78

[45] See preceding note.

[46] A study of the style and fabric of the coins under this heading suggests that most belong to Valentinian III, although some are probably Honorian. The coins can not be later than Valentinian III. The thick and dumpy style appears quite characteristic of this emperor. See also Pearce and Wood, 273.

[47] The attribution is doubtful.

[47a] See n. 43[a].

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273. *Obv*: ...VSPFA..
11–12 ↑ 1.36
274. 9–10 ← .94
275. 10–11 ↓ 1.27
276. 10–11 ↑ 1.02
277. 9–11 ↙ .69
278. 10–11 ↓ 1.29
279. 10 ↑ 1.07
280. 10 1.08

CONCORDIA AVG (G)

Victory standing, facing, wreath in each hand[48]

281. *Obv*: ...PFA..
CO NCO RDIA AVGG (?)
10–12 ↑ 1.27
282. *Obv*: ...SPFAV.
...AVGG
11–12 ↓ 1.05
283. 9 ↑ .63 Q| / ....
284. 11–12 ↓ 1.46

VICTORIA AVGG (G)[49]

Two victories facing one another, holding one wreath (and palms ?)

285. 11–13 ↓ 1.39 *S / ....
286. 11–12 ↙ 1.69
287. 12 ↓ 1.21
288. ..CTOR...
10–12 ↑ .75
289. 11–12 ↙ 1.33

VICTORIA AVGG

Victory running l., dragging captive

290. .ICTOR...
10–11 ↑ 1.33 P| / R.
291. ..CTOR...
11–12 ↓ 1.15 T| / R.
292. VICTOR...
11 ↑ 1.04 | / R|.

Victory running l., dragging captive[50]
Legend uncertain

*293. *Obv*: ...FAVG
9–15 ↑ 1.24 T| [51] / ....
294. 9–10 ↑ .94 P| / ....
295. *Obv*: ...VSPFAVG
12–13 ↑ 1.11 T| / ....
296. 11–12 ↑ 1.10 P| / ....
297. 11–13 ↑ 1.84
298. 9–11 .73

[48] Either -AVG or -AVGG is possible. See Pearce and Wood, 273, 279.
[49] See n. 41.
[50] See n. 44.
[51] The coin is struck on an elongated flan. See illustration.

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VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, (VALENTINIAN III)[52]

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Victory running l., dragging captive

299. SALVS REI PVBLICAE — 12–13 — 1.12 — SM..

300. SALVS... — 13–14 ↓ — 1.65 — ꝑ | .SMNA

301. 11–12 — .74 — ꝑ | SMNA

302. ...BLICAE — 13 ↙ — 1.13 — | .NTA

303. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
SALVS REI... — 12–13 ↑ — 1.82 — ꝑ | .ANT

304. ...VBLIC.. — 11–13 ↑ — .98 — ꝑ | ....

305. .ALVS REI .VBLICAE — 12–13 ↑ — .77 — ꝑ | ....

306. 9–12 ↓ — .91 — ꝑ | ....

307. 12 — 1.15 — ꝑ | ....

308. 11–13 ↑ — .90 — ꝑ | ....

309. 11 ↙ — 1.44 — ꝑ | ....

310. 12–13 ↓ — .41[53]

311. 10 ↓ — .33

312. 10–12 — .72[54]

313. *Obv*: ...AVG — 9–11 ↑ — .80

HONORIUS, THEODOSIUS II, VALENTINIAN III

GLORIA ROMANORVM

Two emperors of equal height, standing; each with spear, together holding globe[55]

314. *Obv*: ...SPFAVG
...ORVM — 12–14 ↓ — .92 — | SMN·

315. *Obv*: ...SP... — 11–13 ↑ — 1.21

316. 12–14 ↑ — 1.13

317. 12 — 1.03

[52] The coins under this heading are probably to be dated not later than the joint reign of Arcadius and Honorius. Since, however, the type is listed for Valentinian III (see nos. 256, 257), we have thought it best to include them at this point. The SM- mint-mark on many would support the earlier dating.

[53] Nos. 310 and 311 are struck on exceptionally thin planchets.

[54] Nos. 312 and 313 on stylistic grounds may be later than most of the pieces under his heading.

[55] For a discussion of the proper classification of this type as Æ 3 or Æ 4 see n. 13.

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BARBAROUS IMITATIONS[56]

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

318. *Obv*: ...O...[57]
9–10 ↓ 1.64

*319. 9–10 ↓ 1.26 $\frac{1\ |}{\cdot\cdot\cdot\cdot}$

*320. VIIV...
9–11 ↙ .72 $\frac{1\ |}{\cdot\cdot\cdot\cdot}$

321. ...AVG
9 ↑ .48

322. ...VGGG
11–12 ↘ 1.35

*323. 10–11 ↓ 1.39

324. 10–12 ↑ 1.00

*325. 10 ↓ .65[58]

326. 9–10 ↑ .76

327. 9–11 ↑ .72[59]

328. 9–11 ↑ .60

329. 10 .44

330. 10 .32[60]

Two victories facing one another, holding one wreath (and palms ?) ??[61]

331. 7–8 .53

Victory standing, facing, wreath in each hand

332. 9–12 .51 $\frac{|}{\cdot\cdot\cdot\cdot}$

333. 9 ↑ .39

334. 9–10 .38

*335. 11 .63[62]

Victory running l., dragging captive

*336. *Obv*: ...AG
10–11 ↖ .90

*337. 10–11 ↑ .94

*338. 11 ↑ .51

339. 9–11 .99

340. VIC...
11–12 ↑ .82

341. 9 ↙ .65

342. 11–13 ↙ .67

343. 11–12 ↙ .50

[56] The pieces under this heading cannot be attributed to any specific reign. They are markedly cruder in style, but in fabric often approach the regular issues.
[57] The attribution is doubtful.
[58] The "letters" on this coin are in actuality only dots. See illustration.
[59] The piece shows an anepigraphic obverse *and* reverse.
[60] This is an exceptionally thin planchet.
[61] The attribution is doubtful.
[62] Note that the victory figure wears a short tunic. See illustration.

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MARCIAN

within wreath. *Sab.* 11

*344. *Obv*: DNMARCIANVSPFAVG
10–11 ↓ 1.17 | CON

345. *Obv*: DNMARCIANVS
..A..
12–13 ↓ 1.38 | CON

346. 9 ↓ .96 | CY.

347. *Obv*: ...VSPF...
7–8 ↑ .50

348. *Obv*: ...PFA..
10–11 ↓ .63

349. *Obv*: ...ANVS...
10 ↖ 1.17

350. *Obv*: ...VSP...
9–10 ↓ .96

351. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
10–11 ↙ 1.01

352. *Obv*: ...NVSPFA..
8–9 ↑ .53

353. *Obv*: DNMARC...
10–12 ↖ 1.01

354. *Obv*: .NMA...PFAV.
11–12 ↓ .76

355. 8–10 ↑ .61

356. 10 ↓ .77

357. 6–9 .43

within wreath. *Sab.* 11

358. *Obv*: ...AVG
11 ↙ 1.69

within wreath. *Sab.* 11

*359. *Obv*: .NMARCI...
10–12 ↓ .92 | CON

360. *Obv*: ...ARC...SP...
11–13 ↖ 1.16

361. *Obv*: ...RCIAN...
9–11 ↓ 1.00

within wreath. *Sab.* 11

362. *Obv*: ...CIANVSP...
10–11 ↓ 1.28 | CON

363. *Obv*: ...SPFAV.
10 ↓ .83 | NIC

within wreath. *Sab.* 11

364. 8–10 .62 | .ON

365. *Obv*: ...VSP...
8–10 ↙ .57 | .YZ

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⁂ within wreath. *Sab.* 11

366. *Obv*: . . . AVG
9–10 ↓ 1.13

367. *Obv*: . . . PFAV.
9–11 ↑ .69

⁂ within wreath. *Sab.* 11

368. *Obv*: . . . IANVSPFAVG
10–12 ↑ .92
| / C..

369. *Obv*: . . . ANVSPF . . .
9–10 ↓ 1.07
| / NIC

⁂ within wreath. *Sab.* 11

*370. 10–11 .57

⁂ within wreath. *Sab.* 11

371. 10–12 ↓ .90
| / NIC

⁂ within wreath. *Sab.* 11

372. *Obv*: . . . SPTAVG
11–12 ↓ .98

Reverse type illegible

373. *Obv*: . . MAR . . .
7–9 .54

MARCIAN: BARBAROUS

⁂ within wreath

374. *Obv*: . NMARCIAVSPAVG
11 ↙ 1.11

⁂ within wreath

375. 10 ↓ .87

⁂ within wreath

376. *Obv*: . . . IAIX.
9–11 ↓ .97

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Barbarous monograms (within wreath?)

*377. 9–12 .53
378. 9–10 .38
379. *Obv*: ...IVS...
6–8 .37

LEO I

ꝆE within wreath. *Sab.* 18

380. *Obv*: DNLEONS...
10–11 ↓ 1.46 CON

381. *Obv*: DNLEO...
PFAVG
10–11 ↙ 1.52 CON

382. *Obv*: ..LE...
8–11 ↓ .67 CO.

383. 10–11 ↑ .67 ..N

384. 9 ↓ .82 .YZ

385. *Obv*: ...AV.
10–11 ↓ 1.35 TES

386. *Obv*: .NLEOP...
10–11 ↓ 1.46

387. *Obv*: D...
10–11 ↓ 1.34

388. *Obv*: ...P...
10–11 ↑ .72

389. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
10–11 ↓ .76

390. 9 ↓ .76
391. 9–10 ↑ .99
392. 8–10 ↓ .78
393. 10–11 ↓ .57
394. 9 .70
395. 9 .89
396. 10 1.22

ꝆE within wreath. *Sab.* 18

397. *Obv*: ...RTPFAV.
10 ↓ 1.18

398. *Obv*: ...EO...FAV.
10–11 ↙ 1.24

399. *Obv*: DN...
9 ↑ .54

400. 9 ↑ .73

401. 9–11 ↓ .84
402. 9–10 ↑ 1.19
403. 8–9 ↗ .81
404. 7–8 .63
405. 9–10 .44

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ꟿ or ꟿ within wreath. *Sab.* 18[63]

406. *Obv*: DNLE...
9–10 ↓ .72

407. 8–10 ↓ 1.29

408. 10–11 ↓ 1.28

409. 10–11 ↓ .77

410. *Obv*: ..LEO...
10 .75

411. *Obv*: ...PAV.
9–10 .78

412. 9–10 .60

413. 10 .64

414. 8–9 .30

415. 8 .72

ꟿ within wreath. *Sab.* 18[64]

416. *Obv*: ...PFAV.
9–10 ↓ .56

417. *Obv*: ...AVG
8–9 ↓ .47

418. 8–9 ↓ .65

419. 9–10 ↑ .49[65]

ꟿ within wreath. *Sab.* 18

420. 11 ↓ 1.03

ꟿ within wreath. *Sab.* 18

421. 9–10 ↓ .67

Anepigraphic. Emperor, in military dress, standing r., holding long cross in r., dragging captive with l. Cf. *Sab.* 14

422. *Obv*: ...EO...[66]
8–10 ↑ .81

423. *Obv*: ...AVG
9–10 ↓ .88

424. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
8–9 ↓ .83

425. 8–10 ↑ .55

426. 8–10 ↑ .68

427. 9 ↓ 1.03

428. 9–10 ↙ .85

429. 8 .50

430. *Obv*: DNLEO
12–13 ↓ .68 $\frac{*\,|}{C}$[67]

431. *Obv*: ...FAV.
9–10 ↓ .73 $\frac{|}{.ON}$

[63] The monogram in these instances cannot be determined with absolute certainty.

[64] The coins with monogram no. 3 are of cruder design, but, we believe, not to the degree where they can be called barbarous issues.

[65] The obverse appears to be anepigraphic.

[66] Nos. 422–429 have no border around the type and no star. No. 430 shows a reel border and a star in the left field. Nos. 431–444 show a reel border and no star.

[67] The remainder of the exergual mint-mark does not seem to have been cut into the die. The full obverse legend on nos. 430, 461, 462, 467, 479, and 499 is simply DNLEO.

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*432. *Obv*: DNLE... | NIC
10 ↓ 1.33

433. *Obv*: ...V.
9–10 ↑ .59

434. *Obv*: ..LEO...
9–11 ↓ .77

435. *Obv*: .NLE...SPFA..
9–10 ↑ .89

436. *Obv*: ...PERP...
8–9 ↙ .70

437. *Obv*: ...EO...
9 ↓ .79

438. *Obv*: ...AVG
9–11 ↓ .87

439. *Obv*: .NLE...
10 ↓ .89

440. *Obv*: DNLEO...
10–11 ↑ 1.52

441. *Obv*: .NLE...V.
9–11 ↙ .59

442. *Obv*: DN...
11 ↓ .80

443. *Obv*: ...E...
9–11 ↓ .68

444. 9–11 ↓ .60

Anepigraphic. Figure, in long robes, nimbate, standing facing, holding cross-surmounted globe in r. and scepter transversely in l. Cf. *Sab.* 15[68]

*445. *Obv*: DN... b | E
12 ↑ 1.06

446. *Obv*: .NL... b | E
10–11 ↓ 1.05

447. *Obv*: ...E... ...|E
7–10 ↙ .65

448. 9–10 ↓ .83 ...|E

449. 9–10 ↑ .64 ...|E

450. *Obv*: ...EO... b |...
10–12 ↙ .87

451. *Obv*: ...E... b |...
10–12 ↘ .62

452. *Obv*: ...EO... b |...
12 ↑ .79

453. *Obv*: DNL...
11 ↓ .91 b |....

454. 8–10 ↓ .39 b |...

455. *Obv*: ...E...
10–11 ↑ 1.19

456. *Obv*: DNLE...[69]
10–12 1.24

[68] O. Ulrich-Bansa ("Note sulle Monete dell' Augusta Aelia Licinia Eudoxia," *Numismatica* I (1935) 28, 29) and P. Grierson ("Three Unpublished Coins of Zeno (474–491)," *NC*, 6th Ser., VIII [1948], 226) regard the figure on the reverse of the coins with b|E (nos. 445–456, 496–498) as female. The former holds for Eudoxia, considering the issue commemorative of her release from Vandal captivity and b|E standing for B[asilissa] E[udoxia], while the latter, supposing B and V in this period to be interchangeable, prefers Leo's wife, Verina. Sabatier considers the representation to be the figure of the emperor himself. See illustration.

[69] The attribution is doubtful.

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Anepigraphic. Lion l., looking r., within reel border. *Sab.* 19

*457. *Obv*: DNHEOPF...[70]
11 ↑ 1.54

458. *Obv*: .NLEOPF...
10–11 ↖ 1.14

459. *Obv*: DNL...AVG
10 ↓ .71

*460. *Obv*: ...EOPFA..
11 ← .97

461. *Obv*: ...LE.
9–10 ↙ 1.06

462. *Obv*: ..LE.
9–10 ↑ .81

463. *Obv*: ...PFA..
9–10 ↙ 1.08

464. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
11–12 ↙ 1.12

465. *Obv*: ..LEO...
9–10 ↖ .83

466. *Obv*: .NLE...
8–10 ↑ .82

467. *Obv*: ...EO
9–10 ↘ .54

468. *Obv*: .NL...A..
9–10 ↑ 1.03

469. 9 ↙ 1.14

470. 8–9 .42

471. 8–10 .80

Anepigraphic. Lion l., looking r; above, star. *Sab.* 20

472. *Obv*: DNLE...[71]
10–11 ← .65 | CON

Anepigraphic. Lion l., looking r; above, star; reel border. Cf. *Sab.* 20

473. *Obv*: .NLEO...
10–12 ↓ 1.05 | CON

474. *Obv*: ...OPF...
11–12 ↓ .82 | CON

475. *Obv*: ..HE...
8–11 ↖ .42 | CO.

476. *Obv*: ..LEOPFAVG
9–10 ↙ .72 | ....

Anepigraphic. Lion l., looking r. Cf. *Sab.* 20

477. *Obv*: ...EOPFA..
9–11 ↓ .63 | CON

478. *Obv*: ...PETA..
9–12 ↓ .69 | CON

479. *Obv*: ...E.
9–10 ← 1.15

480. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
10–11 ↑ 1.26

[70] Pearce and Wood, 276, list the pieces showing H for L in Leo's name as barbarous. A careful examination of the equivalent specimens in this hoard (nos. 457, 475, 483, 484, 487) reveals no evidence of barbarization. See illustration.

[71] Nos. 472 and 501 show a star in the upper center reverse field and no border. Nos. 473–476 show a star and a reel border. Nos. 477–479 show no border; the star, if it existed, would be off flan. No. 480 has clearly no star and no border. Nos. 481–489 show a reel border and no star. On no. 490 the type is encircled by a wreath.

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Anepigraphic. Lion l., looking r; no star; reel border. Cf. *Sab.* 20

481. *Obv*: ...OPFAVG
II–I2 ← .92 $\frac{|}{\text{CON}}$

482. *Obv*: ...P...
I0 ↓ I.0I $\frac{|}{\text{CON}}$

483. *Obv*: .NH...
I0–II ↑ .96 $\frac{|}{\text{CON}}$

484. *Obv*: .NHEO2PF...
II ↓ .95

485. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
II–I2 ↙ I.6I $\frac{|}{\text{CON}}$

486. *Obv*: ...OPE...[72]
8–II ↓ .89 $\frac{|}{\text{CON}}$

487. *Obv*: DNHEOPF...
I0–II ↙ .96 $\frac{|}{\text{CO.}}$

488. *Obv*: ...PFAVG
9–II ↓ I.28

489. *Obv*: ..EOPFAVG
II I.0I

Anepigraphic. Lion l., looking r; no star; wreath border. Cf. *Sab.* 20

490. *Obv*: DNLEOPFAVG
I0 ↖ .50

LEO I: BARBAROUS

 within wreath. Cf. *Sab.* 18

491. *Obv*: ...EO...
I0–II ← .38

 within wreath. Cf. *Sab.* 18

492. *Obv*: ...E...
8–I0 ↓ .44 $\frac{|}{\text{....}}$

Anepigraphic. Emperor, in military dress, standing r., holding long cross in r., dragging captive with l; reel border. Cf. *Sab.* 14

493. *Obv*: ...TAIYLI
I0–I2 ↙ .62

494. *Obv*: DNLEOP...
I0–II ↖ .80[73]

495. 8–I0 ↖ .23

Anepigraphic. Figure, in long robes, nimbate, standing facing, holding cross-surmounted globe in r. and scepter transversely in l. Cf. *Sab.* 15

496. 8 .62 $\frac{...|\text{E}}{\text{....}}$[74]

497. *Obv*: DNL...
9–II ↗ .50

498. 8–II .72

[72] The attribution is uncertain.
[73] The attribution is uncertain.
[74] For nos. 496–498 see n. 68.

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Anepigraphic. Lion l., looking r; reel border. Cf. *Sab.* 19

499. *Obv*: ...O
10–11 ← 1.30

500. *Obv*: .NL...[75]
7–9 .46

Anepigraphic. Lion l., looking r; above, star; no border. Cf. *Sab.* 20

501. 10 ← .59[76]

LIBIUS SEVERUS

RE[77]

*502. 9–10 ↓ 1.03

ROMAN

Reverse type illegible; within wreath

503. 11 .98 $\frac{|}{\text{SMH}}$.

BARBAROUS VARIA

*504. *Obv*: Anepigraphic; crudely done head r.
Rev: Fish-bone type wreath within reel border;
vertical fish-bone type palm branch outside border.
10–11 ↓ .48

505. *Obv*: ...SPFAVG
Rev: Illegible
9–10 1.17

506. *Obv*: Head r., hair in fish-bone style.
Rev: Victory running l. (?)
8–10 ← .27

[75] The attribution is uncertain.
[76] The attribution is uncertain. The border is in fish-bone style.
[77] This is the monogram of Ricimer, which was first identified by J. Friedländer (*Die Münzen der Ostgoten* [Berlin, 1844] 5f.). The identification has been accepted by Sabatier (87 and Pl. II, 1) and Thompson (no. 1677 and note). The specimen from the Agora is not so well preserved as the one from this hoard, although in neither case is any obverse lettering visible. The line drawing of the Berlin coin which Friedländer identified shows the letters -RVS P A. These can only refer to Libius Severus, who reigned from A.D. 461 to 465. The bust on the obverse of the three specimens must be that of Severus III. As Thompson points out (loc. cit.), the specimen with an uncertain monogram recorded by Cohen (VIII, p. 229, 18) is probably an example of this type. See illustration.

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507. *Obv*: Head r.
Rev: Unidentifiable lines and dots within wreath.
8–9 .28

508. *Obv*: Head r.
Rev: XXX within wreath.
8–9 .28

*509. *Obv*: Head r.
Rev: K † within reel border.[78]
9–10 1.19

510. *Obv*: Head r; illegible lettering.
Rev: Camp-gate type. (?)
9–11 .67

*511. *Obv*: Head r.[79]
Rev: Intersecting lines.
8–10 .26

512. *Obv*: Head r; illegible lettering.[80]
Rev: Barbaric wreath. (?)
9–10 .18

513. *Obv*: Head r.
Rev: Barbaric figure standing r.
8–10 ↓ .49

514. *Obv*: Head r.
Rev: Barbaric representation of emperor dragging captive. (?)
8 .35

515. *Obv*: Head r.
Rev: Unidentifiable.[81]
9 .83

HOWARD L. ADELSON
AND
GEORGE L. KUSTAS

[78] See a similar coin listed by Pearce and Wood, 277, with illustration Pl. VIII, 5. See illustration.
[79] See a roughly similar coin listed by Pearce and Wood, 278, with illustration Pl. VIII, 13. See illustration.
[80] The piece is of unusually thin flan.
[81] This may just possibly be a barbarous representation of the lion on Leo's coinage, either *Sab.* 19 or 20.

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BYZANTINE MILIARESION AND ARAB DIRHEM: SOME NOTES ON THEIR RELATIONSHIP

(See Plates X–XIII)

Anyone who has held in one hand a Byzantine silver coin (*miliaresion*) of the second half of the 8th or of the 9th century, and in the other an Umayyad or 'Abbāsid dirhem, cannot have failed to recognize the close morphological relationship between the two. To be sure the Byzantine coin bears a cross potent on steps and Christian legends in mixed Greek and Latin letters, while the Arab coin is purely epigraphical and in Kufic characters; but in fabric, general design, approximate weight and size and in "feel," the two are strikingly similar. The Byzantine obverse field containing the cross is surrounded by a circular legend; the inscriptions of the reverse are arranged in severe horizontal lines resembling the area legends of the dirhem; both obverse and reverse fields are surrounded by triple beaded borders almost identical in style to those on the Arab silver.

The relationship between the two was remarked upon nearly a hundred years ago by Jean de Bartholomaei, who wrote:[1] "Au VIIIe siècle, le dirhem koufique, bientôt après son apparition, devient si repandu et si accrédité, qu'il avait déjà cours dans toute l'Asie, et il dut également être admis, dans l'empire de Byzance, où le numéraire d'argent blanc, était alors en très-petite quantité. Aussi vers la fin du VIIIe siècle, la monnaie d' argent byzantine prit-elle une physiognomie tout semblable au dirhem des Khalifes; les effigies y disparurent et furent remplacées par des légendes, soit circulaires, soit en plusieurs lignes au milieu du champ, les cercles de grénétis se doublèrent et se triplèrent, tout comme sur les dirhems de l'époque, et ce type, byzantin arabisé, se maintint invariablement pendant un siècle et demi c. a d. jusqu'à la moitié du Xe siècle."

[1] "Lettre à Mr. B. de Köhne sur un dépôt de monnaies déterré à Tiflis, en 1858," in *Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappen-Kunde* 1859–1862, 65–71.

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These astute observations were quoted in extenso by J. Sabatier in his *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862) I, 90–91. Keary, in his well known article on the morphology of coins, made no mention of the resemblance or relationship, although he did recognize a possible influence of Arab coinage on Carolingian denarii.[2] Engel and Serrure repeated part of Bartholomaei's remarks but without further elaboration.[3] Subsequently the matter has attracted little attention, possibly because the relationship seemed so obvious and unworthy of further comment, but more probably because Byzantinists and Arabists alike in their specializations had failed to observe the affinity. Wroth, for example, says only that the "Hexagram having ceased to be coined, Constantine V (741–775) inaugurated a silver piece characterized by its thin, flat fabric, and by a reverse 'type' consisting entirely of an inscription;"[4] and "the triple or double border which surrounds each side imparts some finish to an otherwise plain coin".[5] Goodacre remarks on the introduction of the "distinctive" coin and observes that it is apparently a new denomination.[6] Very recently André Grabar has discussed the introduction of the new type of silver with particular reference to the beginning of the iconoclastic controversy and the use of the IC XC NICA legend, but his only allusion to the resemblance between the new type and the dirhem is in the statement that "un signe religieux abstrait et une longue inscription, cette formule rejoignait ou presque les formules des monnaies musulmanes, où l'on trouve

[2] C. F. Keary in *NC* 1886, 62–64. Sture Bolin goes so far as to say that "it is generally known that the Arab silver dirhem provided the model for the Carolingian silver denier," and "...when the Carolingian coins began to be minted in the reign of Pepin the Short, the Latin letters used in the inscription were designed in such a way as to reveal clear Cufic characteristics." ("Mohammed, Charlemagne and Ruric," in *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, I, 1953, 13). The deniers he refers to are ones attributed to Noyon, Quentovic, Saint-Germain and Saint-Marcel, illustrated in E. Gariel, *Les monnaies royales de France sous la race carolingienne* (Strasbourg, 1884) II, pl. III, nos. 49, 51–54, 65, 66. Perhaps this is so, but even with my consuming interest in pseudo-Kufic, I must confess to being a little skeptical. But I have never seen the coins themselves.

[3] *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age*, I (Paris, 1891) 335.

[4] *BMC Imp. Byz. Coins* (hereafter referred to as *BM*) p. lxxvii.

[5] Ibid., p. xciii.

[6] Hugh Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1957) p. 139; also p. 12.

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aussi l'emploi simultané d'inscriptions en lignes horizontales superposées et en lignes circulaires, le long du bord."[7]

Now it seems to me that both the abrupt change in the style, fabric and weight of the Byzantine silver coinage in the 8th century, as well as the patent relationship between the new *miliaresion* and the Arab dirhem, are phenomena of considerable interest and that they deserve somewhat more thoughtful comment. The *hexagram*[8] of Heraclius, introduced in Constantinople in 615 A.D. (PLATE X, 1),[9] was a large, thick coin of irregular and rather crude fabric, weighing about 6. 5 grams.[10] Under Constans II (641–668 A.D.), Constantine IV (668–685 A.D.) and during the first reign of Justinian II (685–695 A.D.) the coin continued to be struck at about the same weight.[11] Thereafter, between 695 and 741, during the reigns of Leontius, Tiberius III, Justinian II (second reign), Philippicus, Anastasius II, Theodosius III and Leo III (but see below), little if any silver appears to have been issued from the Constantinople mint.[12] Then, to judge

[7] A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957) 126. Sture Bolin (loc. cit. in n. 2, above) remarks that "exactly the same tendency [i.e., the arrangement of inscriptions in rows, as on the Carolingian coinage] is to be found in the silver coinage of the Byzantine empire from the mid-eighth century onwards."

[8] The νόμισμα ἑξάγραμμον ἀργυροῦν, or double *miliaresion*.

[9] ANS 55. 59, 24 mm., 6.51 gr., ↓ . Cf. *BM*, p. 195, nos. 99 and 103.

[10] Ten specimens in the ANS collection average 6.40 grams; the heaviest 6.56, the lightest 6.17. Twenty-two specimens at Dumbarton Oaks average 6.40 grams, ranging from 5.76 to 7.00 grams (two, far under weight, not included). In the *BM* catalogue 13 specimens average 6.47 grams and range between 5.57 and 6.82 grams. The theoretical weight of the *hexagram*, i.e., 6 γράμματα or *scripula*, was 6.82 grams.

[11] *Constans II*: 8 reasonably well preserved specimens in the ANS average 6.45 grams, ranging from 5.93 to 6.68 grams; 16 at Dumbarton Oaks average 6.34 grams, ranging from 5.68 to 6.77 grams (4 specimens of 5.22 grams and less omitted); in the *BM* catalogue 9 specimens average 6.57 grams and range from 6.27 to 6.84 grams (5 specimens omitted). *Constantine IV*: ANS, 2 specimens, 5.45 and 6.06 grams; Dumbarton Oaks, 10 specimens, average 6.46 grams, ranging from 5.85 to 6.84 grams; *BM* catalogue, 4 specimens, 4.51, 5.93, 6.49 and 6.62 grams. *Justinian II*: ANS, none; Dumbarton Oaks, none; *BM* catalogue, 3 specimens, 6.18, 6.22 and 6.63 grams. A specimen of Constans II in the ANS is illustrated in PLATE X, 2 (ex E. T. Newell Coll., 23 mm., 6.68 gr., ↓).

[12] See, however, the very rare issues of Tiberius III (F. de Pfaffenhoffen in *RN* 1865, 286, and Tolstoĭ, *Monnaies Byzantines* [St. Petersburg, 1914] 885), Philippicus (Tolstoĭ, 901) and Theodosius III (Tolstoĭ, 913–914). A few silver coins have been attributed to Leo III, but these are, in Philip Grierson's opinion, forged solidi.

[13]

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by the existing numismatic evidence, some time between July 741 and November 743,[13] Artavasdus, rebel brother-in-law of Constantine V, introduced the new type of *miliaresion* with which this paper is concerned.

This innovation was formerly attributed to Constantine V,[14] but since the only known type of silver issued by him bears also the name of his son Leo, and since the latter's association on the throne with his father took place in 751, the issue of Artavasdus[15] must take precedence.[16] Between the suppression of Artavasdus' revolt in 742 or 743 and a date not earlier than 751 we know of no silver, but thereafter until the reign of Basil II (976–1025) this new style of *miliaresion*, with only slight modifications in the obverse type and appropriate changes in the legend of the reverse, persists as the only silver issue of the Constantinople mint. With regard to the invention of the new type, the possibility of reattributing some of the coins of Leo IV to Leo III, thus depriving Artavasdus of the distinction, is discussed below, pp. 207–210.

My own interest in the affinity between the new *miliaresion* and the Arab dirhem, and in the obvious priority of the latter, was

[13] The exact dates of Artavasdus' rebellion are uncertain. Among the modern authorities Louis Bréhier (*Vie et mort de Byzance* [Paris, 1948] 81) is the most specific: Artavasdus was crowned in July 741, Constantinople was recovered by Constantine V on November 2, 742 (as in F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, I (München, 1924) 37). G. Ostrogorsky (*History of the Byzantine State*, transl. Joan Hussey [Oxford, 1956] 147–148) places Constantine's defeat by Artavasdus in 742, his reentry into Constantinople on 2 November 743. A. A. Vasiliev (*History of the Byzantine Empire* [Madison, 1952] 260) is not precise: Artavasdus was in control for a year within the period of the first two years of Constantine's reign, i.e., between 741 and 742 or 743. Wroth (*BM* II, 391) adopted Brooks' chronology (742 ?–744 ?), but also cited Lombard's (on which Bréhier chiefly relies), i.e., June (?) 741–742.

[14] E.g., Wroth, *BM* I, p. lxxvii, and, quite recently, Grabar, op. cit., 121 and 122.

[15] *BM* II, 391 (Paris) = Grabar, op. cit., pl. VI, 28. This specimen weighs 1.82,↑. The following unpublished specimens have come to my attention: *BM* (acquired since Wroth's catalogue), 1.68 gr., ↑; Dumbarton Oaks, two specimens, 1.80 gr., ↓, and 1.70 gr.,↓; ANS 58.231, 1.60 gr., ↓. Philip Grierson has recently informed me that there are eight specimens in the National Museum in Warsaw: 2.20, 2.10, 2.00, 1.98, 1.75, 1.70, 1.68, and 1.32. I have been able to include these in the table, p. 211, below.

[16] The first to make this observation, so far as I know, was Aline A. Boyce in "A solidus of Artavasdus," *ANSMN* V (1952) 91–92.

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heightened a year or two ago when Philip Grierson[17] brought to my attention a specimen of Constantine V and Leo IV at Dumbarton Oaks (no. 2, below) which revealed clear traces of its having been struck over an Arab dirhem. Here, if such were needed, was striking confirmation of the relationship between the two coinages. Subsequent search and correspondence have resulted in the discovery that this is not by any means an isolated phenomenon. Sixteen such overstrikes are described in the following pages.[18] They may be summarized as follows:

[17] May I take this opportunity to express my warm thanks to the many friends and colleagues who have helped me in the preparation of this article. Philip Grierson was not only the first to inform me of the existence of this overstrike, but off and on for a period of a good many months, whether at Dumbarton Oaks or in England, he has patiently replied to my many inquiries and has been helpful and encouraging in more ways than I can say. Alfred R. Bellinger made it possible for me to obtain a cast of the specimen in the Whittemore collection and has shared with me both his knowledge and his enthusiasm. I am grateful to the authorities of the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, Massachussets, of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, and of the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad for permission to publish coins in these collections. A. A. Bykov of the Hermitage very kindly supplied me with photographs of the Tolstoï specimens. Herbert A. Cahn of Basel was good enough to borrow a specimen from a European collector and to send it to me so that I could make a plaster-cast. John Walker of the British Museum and Georges Le Rider of the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris kindly furnished information which I required. Among others to whom I am especially indebted for advice and help are Speros Vryonis Jr., George L. Kustas and George Galavaris. I feel that after all the trouble they have taken, these kind people may be disappointed that nothing more substantial than this little article has resulted, but I do want them to know how much I appreciate their help and interest.

[18] Since these lines were written four more specimens with clear evidence of dirhem undertypes have come to my attention. Three are in the Campbell Collection in the University of Nebraska State Museum, and I am indebted to the Rev. I. C. G. Campbell for permitting me to examine the coins and to mention them here. They are: C 1544, Leo IV and Constantine VI, 23 mm., 2.20 gr., ↑, Arab annulet preserved at 5 o'clock on obverse, traces of Arab marginal legend from 11:30 to 9 o'clock on reverse; C 1564, Constantine VI and Irene, 21 mm., 1.78 gr., ↑, probable traces of Arabic at 5 o'clock on obverse, traces of two lines of Arabic area legend (probably the 2nd and 3rd lines of the obverse) from 8 and 9 o'clock to 1:30 and 2:30 o'clock on reverse; C 1565, Constantine VI and Irene, 22 mm., 1.86 gr., ↑, on the obverse at 10:30 o'clock and running across, the first four letters of the third line of the Arabic obverse area legend, and at 6:30 o'clock outside the Byzantine triple beaded border, an annulet, and on the reverse at 1:30 o'clock traces of reverse mar-

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Constantine V and Leo IV: 5 specimens, overstruck on Umayyad dirhems of 87 H., 98 H., 80–98 H., an Umayyad or 'Abbāsid dirhem of 130–139 H., and an Umayyad or 'Abbāsid dirhem of uncertain date.

Leo IV and Constantine VI: 5 specimens, overstruck on an Umayyad or 'Abbāsid dirhem of 79–140 H.(?), 'Abbāsid dirhems of 147–157 H. and of 156 H., and two Umayyad or 'Abbāsid dirhems.

Constantine VI and Irene: 5 specimens, overstruck on 'Abbāsid dirhems datable between 132 and 181 H.

Theophilus and Michael III: 1 specimen probably overstruck on an 'Abbāsid dirhem.

In addition to these, mention is made (p. 206) of seven other possible overstrikes ranging in date from ca. 751 to perhaps as late as 856 A.D. It may well be that there are many more such *miliaresia* overstruck on Arab dirhems. The number of collections of Byzantine silver that I have been able to examine at first hand is limited.[19] Also one should bear in mind that the presence of traces of Arab undertypes may have escaped the notice of collectors and curators not aware of this pheno-

ginal legend, at 2:30 to 3 o'clock the word *kullihi* (part of the same marginal legend), and an annulet or part of a letter on a double linear border surrounding the Arab area. To judge by this latter characteristic this dirhem may perhaps be attributed to the period between 158 and 193 H., or, considering the dates of the Byzantine issuer, 775–797 A.D.; the other two cannot be more precisely dated, but they are probably 'Abbāsid. Another specimen was acquired by the ANS in December 1959 (ANS 59.232): Leo IV and Constantine VI, 21 mm., 1.98 gr., ↑, traces of Arabic legend at 9 o'clock and possibly in right field below cross on obverse, traces at 3 to 4 o'clock on reverse.

[19] ANS, Dumbarton Oaks, the National Numismatic Museum in Athens (with the kind permission of Mme. E. Varoucha-Christodoulopoulos), the collection of Dr. John F. Lhotka of Oklahoma City who was good enough to send me his silver for examination, and a few in the hands of dealers in New York. In September 1958 Mr. Lars O. Lagerqvist kindly permitted me to examine the Byzantine coins in the Swedish Cabinet in Stockholm. It is perhaps worthy of note that in that collection there is not a single *miliaresion* of the period in question, although there are of course thousands of dirhems from the Viking hoards.

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menon and not sufficiently familiar with the Arab coinage to detect the remnants of a letter or two of the Kufic legends. Furthermore the possibility may be suggested that there exist many *miliaresia* the overstriking of which was so strongly and effectively done that no trace whatever of the undertype remains visible to the eye. It will be observed in the examples described and illustrated below that frequently the Byzantine overstriking very nearly obliterates all the Arab legends, but enough remains to demonstrate beyond any doubt that the original planchet was that of an Arab dirhem. One wonders whether microscopic or X-ray examinations of specimens showing no apparent Arab traces might reveal differences in density or structure that would indicate the fact of an earlier striking. The question is not without interest, for it suggests further lines of inquiry in which numismatist and physicist might collaborate to the benefit of the historian.

The purpose of the present article is two-fold: to lay the evidence of these overstrikes before students of Byzantine history—and especially before those interested in Arab-Byzantine relations—and to hint at some implications and unsolved problems which relate not only to the overstrikes but to the broader question of the circumstances surrounding the introduction of the new *miliaresion*. Let us begin with a detailed description of the overstrikes themselves.

Constantine V and Leo IV

751–775 A.D.

1. *Miliaresion.* Tolstoï,[20] p. 959, no. 49, pl. 67. 22 mm., 1.7 gr. Two specimens are listed under this number, but only one is illustrated. Tolstoï notes without further comment that both are struck on Arab dirhems. The plate, supplemented by the photographs furnished me by A. Bykov of the Hermitage Museum, shows the following details:

Obv. Between the left vertical bar of the transverse arm of the cross and 7 o'clock, ... احد الله ..., "one, Allāh,"

[20] J. Tolstoï, *Monnaies Byzantines* (St. Petersburg, 1914).

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being the middle and end of the first line of the Arab reverse area; on the main vertical shaft of the cross, [الصم]د [م.]لد و[لد], "the Eternal One. He does not beget and," being the second line of the Arab reverse area; in the field to the right of the cross, ...يولد..., "is not begotten," being part of the third line of the Arab reverse; at 3 to 4 o'clock, ...[ا]كفو..., "like," being part of the fourth line of the Arab reverse; and starting at 10 o'clock and running counter-clockwise, [محمد رسول] الله ارسله بالهدى ود[ين الحق ليظهره على] الدين كله ولو كره ا[لمشركون] "[Muḥammad is the messenger] of Allāh, sent with guidance and the re[ligion of truth, to make it prevail over] every other religion, even though the [polytheists] may be averse" (Qur'ān IX, 33), being the marginal legend of the Arab reverse.

Rev. Beginning and ending at 10 o'clock, ب[سم الله ضرب هـ]ذا الدرهم بواسط فى [سنة] سبع وثمنين, "In [the name of Allāh, th]is dirhem was struck at Wāsiṭ in [the year] seven and eighty", being the marginal legend of the Arab obverse. PLATE X, 3.

The year 87 H. is equivalent to 705/6 A.D. Thus this Arab dirhem, issued under the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd I, was overstruck by the Byzantine mint between 45 and 70 years later. Wāsiṭ,[21] the most prolific of all Umayyad mints, lay midway between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah in southern 'Irāq. It was founded in 84 H. (703 A.D.), just three years before the coin under consideration was struck. A dirhem of Wāsiṭ dated 87 H. in the collection of the ANS is illustrated in PLATE X, 4.[22]

[21] The name of the mint is not legible in Tolstoĭ's plate. For various reasons, no longer worth recounting, I had decided that Wāsiṭ was probably the mint before Mr. Bykov's photograph arrived to confirm this conclusion.

[22] ANS 56. 163, ex Boyd Coll., 28 mm., 2.66 gr.↙.

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2. *Miliaresion*. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. 25 mm., 2.15 gr. Byzantine die position: ↓; Arab die position: ←.

Obv. Beginning at 5 o'clcok and continuing around the periphery, outside the Byzantine marginal inscription, the entire reverse marginal legend of an Arab dirhem (cf. the full text in the description of no. 1, above). Traces of reverse area legend above and to left of left arm of cross.

Rev. Beginning at 1 o'clock and continuing around periphery:

بسم] الله ضرب هذا الدرهم..(بخ؟)..فى (؟) سنة ثمان وتسعين

"In the name of Allāh, this dirhem was struck ..... in the year eight and ninety." In portions of this legend the lower parts of the letters are obliterated.

PLATE X, 5 (enlarged 2 diameters), 6.

The date (98 H. = 716/7 A.D.), while very imperfectly preserved, is certain, and I believe *fī*, "in," can be read before the word "year." The mint name, however, is very dubious. Only one letter appears to be preserved and even this may not be a letter but simply a flaw or a bit of the Byzantine overstrike. If it is a letter, it would be *jīm*, *khā* or *ḥā*—all three the same in Kufic script. At least 20 mints are known to have issued dirhems in the year 98,[23] and of these at least 15 have the word *fī*, "in," before the date. Among these latter, two mint names with the letter *jīm-khā-ḥā* within the name offer themselves as candidates: Iṣṭakhr and Darabjird. If the letter is indeed present then the more likely of these two is Darabjird, for there is too much space before *fī* for only one letter (*rā* of Iṣṭakhr), whereas there would appear to be enough space to accommodate the *ra-dal* of Darabjird. This important town lay in the province of Fārs, southeast of Shīrāz. Unfortunately no specimen of Darabjird, 98 H., is available for illustration, but a dirhem of Iṣtakhr of that year (PLATE X, 7) will demonstrate how little space is required between the *khā*

[23] John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins* (*A Catalogue of the Muḥammadan Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. II), London, 1956, p. lx, where 19 are listed. To these should now be added a specimen of Junday-Sābūr which I have recorded in the possession of a collector in Casablanca.

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and *fī*, and why I imagine that Darabjird is the more probable name.[24]

This overstrike was issued between 34 and 59 years after the striking of the original coin.

3. *Miliaresion*. ANS 59.104 (purchased). 22 mm., 1.88 gr. Byzantine die position: ↓; Arab die position: ↑.

Obv. Between 6 and 4:30 o'clock, part of Arab reverse marginal legend, ...بالهدى ودين الحق....Traces of Arab area legend at 11 o'clock.

Rev. Between 3 and 12 o'clock, part of Arab obverse marginal legend, ending with ثلا]ثين ومئة...., "....ty and one hundred." Probable traces of Arab area legend at 5 o'clock.

PLATE X, 8.

It will be noted that of the Arabic mint-date formula only the word for "one hundred" and the last three letters of the decade are preserved. These three letters could be the termination of the words *thalathīna* (30), *sittīna* (60) or *thamanīna* (80), but the dirhem cannot be later than 159 H. (the equivalent of 775 A.D., the last year of Constantine V's rule), and the decade must therefore be "thirty." One or two letters appear faintly at about 3 o'clock, but they are not clear enough to be deciphered as part of the mint name, the word *sanah* ("year") or a digit. At all events the dirhem must date between 130 and 139 H. (747–757 A.D.), and thus predates the overstriking by a maximum of 28 years and a minimum of 3 years.

4. *Miliaresion*. Tolstoï, op. cit., 959, no. 49, another specimen. Not[25] illustrated, but Tolstoï noted that this specimen also was struck on an Arab planchet. 22 mm., 1.6 gr.

Obv. Faint traces of Arab reverse area legend downward above right arm of cross. Beginning at 12 o'clock

[24] ANS 56. 163, ex Boyd Coll., 26 mm., 2.54 gr. (clipped) ↓.
[25] See no. 1, above.

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and reading counter-clockwise ...ق ليظهره على الد... (part of Qur'ān IX, 33).

Rev. Unidentifiable traces of Arabic legend at right between 2 and 5 o'clock.

PLATE X, 9.

Not enough of the undertype is preserved on this specimen to enable us to determine the date. Since the reverse marginal legend is the same on both Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dirhems, we cannot tell whether the original coin was struck before or after 750 A.D.

5. *Miliaresion.* Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Provenance unknown. 24 mm. Pierced.

Obv. Possible traces of Arabic reverse area legend in lower right field.

Rev. At 7 o'clock and from 4 to 2 o'clock, reading counter-clockwise, traces of Arab obverse marginal legend, ...في سنة ...د(؟)...ا ال(؟)...[هذ]..., "[.....thi]s [dirhem] (?) ....d (?) in the year ....."

PLATE XI, 1.

I believe there can be little doubt about the presence of في سنة, "in the year." Preceding this there may be the letter *dāl*. Only two Umayyad mints at which dirhems were struck have names that end with this letter: one the rare Birāmqubādh, the other, Darabjird. The latter retains the preposition *fī* in the mint-date formula until the year 98 H. A noteworthy characteristic of the epigraphy at Darabjird is the sharp angle that the marginal legend takes after the preposition, the word *sanah* being almost at right angles to the preceding base line. This feature appears to be present here, and hence there is a good possiblity that the original coin is a dirhem of Darabjird, struck between the years 80 and 98 H. (699–717 A.D.).[26]

[26] See the corpus of preserved years in Walker, op. cit., 139–141. For the location of Darabjird, see p. 197, above.

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Leo IV and Constantine VI
776–780 A.D.

6. *Miliaresion*. Fogg Museum, Cambridge, ex Thomas Whittemore Coll. 22 mm., 1.89 gr.

Obv. Beginning at 11:30 o'clock and extending to 8 o'clock, part of Arab obverse marginal legend, ... لام سنة .... ست و خ, "[in Madīnat al-Sa]lām, year six and fif[ty and one hundred]." Most of the Byzantine circular legend left of the cross is too weakly struck to show over the Arabic words. Also, to the left of the left arm of the cross, لا, *lā*, being the first word of the third line of the Arab obverse area legend.

Rev. At 10:30 o'clock and from 4 to 1 o'clock, portions of the Arab reverse marginal legend: ... رسول الله ... ه على الدين كله ولو كره المشر .... (cf. no. 1, etc.). Also at right of third and fourth Byzantine lines, possible traces of بخ بخ, *bakh bakh*, "bravo, bravo," beneath Arab reverse area legend.

PLATE XI, 2, 3 (enlarged 2 diameters).

This dirhem was an issue of Madīnat al-Salām, i. e., Baghdād, struck in the year 156 H. (772/3 A.D.) under the Caliph al-Manṣūr, the grandfather of Hārūn al-Rashīd. It will be observed that the Byzantine overstrike postdates the Arab original by a maximum of eight and a minimum of four years. An example of the 'Abbāsid undertype is illustrated in PLATE XI, 4.[27] Note the words بخ بخ beneath the reverse area.

7. *Miliaresion*. Property of a private European collector = ex *Münzen und Medaillen*, List 128 (Sept., 1953), no. 56. 24 mm., 2.16 gr.

[27] ANS, ex Wood Coll., 26 mm., 2.90 gr. ↗.

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Obv. Annulets oo at 3 and 7 o'clock. Very faint traces of Arab obverse area legend in lower right quarter of empty field, and possibly in lower left quarter.

Rev. Beginning at 3 o'clock, portion of Arab reverse marginal legend, محمد....الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون (cf. no. 1, etc.).

PLATE XI, 5, 6 (enlarged 2 diameters).

In this case there is very little clue to the date or mint of the original coin. It cannot, of course, be later than 164 H. (780 A.D.), the last year of Leo IV's reign. The epigraphy of the reverse marginal legend is not sufficiently distinctive to limit the date. However, the pairs of annulets on the obverse provide us with certain restrictions: they do not occur on Umayyad dirhems, thus eliminating any date earlier than 132 H. (750 A.D.); and an examination of the trays of dirhems in the collection of the ANS between the beginning of the 'Abbāsid dynasty and 164 H. reveals that pairs of annulets (without alternating single or triple annulets) occur only in the decade between 147 and 157.[28] In all probability then this Arab dirhem was struck between these two dates, i. e., 764 and 774 A.D.; and the overstriking therefore probably occurred not less than two years and not more than 16 after the original issue.

8. *Miliaresion.* Tolstoĭ, op. cit., 967, no. 9, pl. 67. 25 mm., 2.15 gr. Three specimens are listed under this number, but only one is illustrated. It is assumed that the first weight given is that of the specimen illustrated in Tolstoĭ's plate and described below. Tolstoĭ notes, without further comment, that all three specimens were struck on Arab dirhems.

Obv. Traces of Arab marginal legend at 10–11 o'clock, 7 o'clock and 6 o'clock. Also an annulet probably surviving from the original dirhem border at 12 o'clock.

[28] At various dates in this interval at Arrān, Armīnīyah, al-Baṣrah, al-Muḥammadīyah, and Madīnat al-Salām. There may, of course, be others.

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Rev. Traces of Arab area legend between 4th and 5th lines of Byzantine inscription and at right angles to it; probable traces of Arab marginal legend at 2–3 o'clock and at 9 o'clock.

PLATE XII, 1.

Too little of the Arab undertype is preserved, in the photograph at least, to permit even approximate identification of the dirhem.

9. *Miliaresion.* Tolstoĭ, op. cit., 967, no. 9, not illustrated in Tolstoĭ's plate. 22 mm., 1.9 gr. Cf. no. 8, above.

Obv. At 7:30 to 9 o'clock, several letters of Arab obverse marginal legend, just possibly صطخر[ا] ...," ... [I]ṣṭakhr...."

Rev. Traces of Arab reverse area (?) legend at 5 o'clock, and possibly at 11 o'clock.

PLATE XII, 2.

The letters preserved on the obverse of this specimen are unmistakably Arabic and the first two look very much like *ṣād's* or *ṭā's*. This combination would suggest only *Iṣṭakhr*, and if one assumes that only the tops of the next two letters are preserved then one could see in them the *khā* and *rā* which follow, making the word almost complete. My only hesitation is caused by the length of the second preserved element, which is longer than the usual *ṭā* in the mint name (compare the illustrated specimen of this mint, PLATE X, 7). The only other possibility (if indeed the preserved letters are part of the mint name, and I cannot identify them as any other part of the conventional Arabic legends) would be *al-Baṣrah*, but this would entail reading the second element as a *rā*, and this letter never takes an elongated form at this mint. If, then, Iṣṭakhr is the correct reading, the original dirhem could date as early as 79 H. (698/9 A.D.)[29] and at least as late as 140 H. (757/8 A.D.).[30]

[29] Walker, op. cit., 112–114.

[30] H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I (Paris, 1887) 489, no. 1685. The only other known 'Abbāsid dirhem of Iṣṭakhr is one of 139 H. (G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins*, *NNM* 118, New York, 1950, p. 57, no. 221).

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10. *Miliaresion*. Tolstoĭ, op. cit., 967, no. 9, not illustrated in Tolstoĭ's plate. 24 mm., 2.1 gr. Cf. no. 8, above.
Obv. Probable traces of Arab marginal legend at 10 o'clock.
Rev. Traces of Arab marginal legend at 1 o'clock and possibly of area legend underneath the 4th line of the Byzantine legend at the left. The pellet between ƭ and I in the 3rd line of the Byzantine inscription may perhaps be the centering point which occurs on many Arab dirhems.

PLATE XII, 3.

Here again so little of the original is preserved that closer attribution cannot be attempted.

Constantine VI and Irene
780–797 A.D.

11. *Miliaresion*. ANS 46.51, ex H. W. Bell Coll. 20 mm., 1.39 gr. Byzantine die position: ↑; Arab die position: ↖ (?).
Obv. Beginning at 11:30 and 1:30 o'clock and running down upper shaft of cross and parallel to it in field, the beginning of the 2nd and 3rd lines of the Arab obverse area:

.....الله "Allah...."

.... لا شر "There is no part[ner]....."

Rev. Traces of Arab reverse marginal between 9 and 12 o'clock; of the linear border enclosing the reverse area between 8 and 12 o'clock; and of the reverse area legend running across the field from 2 to 11 and from 5 to 8 o'clock.

PLATE XII, 4, 5 (enlarged 2 diameters).

Precise attribution of the dirhem is impossible, but judging by the epigraphy of the few letters both on the obverse and the reverse, one can at least say with reasonable confidence that the piece was 'Abbāsid rather than Umayyad. This would place the original between 132 and 181 H. (750–797 A.D.).

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12. *Miliaresion.* ANS 57.163, ex Münzen und Medaillen, Basel. 21 mm., 1.69 gr. Byzantine die position: ↑; Arab die position: uncertain.

Obv. Probable traces of Arab reverse marginal legend at 6:30–7 and 9–10:30 o'clock, where there are irregular depressed areas; also probable trace of area legend below and to left of left arm of cross.

Rev. Diagonally from 3 to 6 o'clock, the 3rd line of the Arab obverse area legend, لا شريك له, "There is no partner with Him;" and at 6 o'clock 3 or 4 letters of the marginal legend, possibly, ...ر هم ب[الد], [*al-di*]*rham bi-*....., "this dirhem in....."

PLATE XII, 6, 7 (enlarged 2 diameters).

The character of the epigraphy of the third line of the Arab obverse is unmistakably 'Abbāsid, but closer attribution is probably out of the question. As in the case of no. 11, but without reservation, we can say that the original coin was struck between 750 and 797 A.D.

13. *Miliaresion.* Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (Tolstoï collection?). 22 mm. This piece supposedly is Tolstoï, 981, no. 13, which Tolstoï states is overstruck on an Arab dirhem, but the photograph furnished me by Mr. Bykov does not correspond with the illustration in Tolstoï's pl. 68 (see no. 14, below). A note from Mr. Bykov accompanying the photograph suggests that Tolstoï's no. 13 and no. 14 were interchanged on the plate, but this would not appear to be the case. At all events the specimen here described and illustrated is not illustrated in Tolstoï's catalogue.

Obv. Traces of Arab obverse marginal legend between 6:30 and 5:30 o'clock; and possible traces of area legend in field at left of steps.

Rev. Crossing the 1st and 2nd lines of the Byzantine inscription and clearly evident between 11:30 and

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9:30 o'clock, the ends of the three lines of the Arab reverse area legend: د[محم], [رس]ول and [اله][الا], "Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh."

PLATE XIII, 1.

There is no doubt whatever about this specimen's being 'Abbāsid, as the reverse area legend, "Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh," replaced the Umayyad formula (Sūrah CXII) at the beginning of the 'Abbāsid period. Compare PLATE XI, 4, for the placement of this inscription. One cannot, however, limit the date more closely than 750–797 A.D.

14. *Miliaresion.* Tolstoĭ, op. cit., 981, no. 13, pl. 68. 19 mm., 1.95 gr. Cf. the note under no. 13, above. My illustration is taken directly from Tolstoĭ's plate.

Obv. No traces of Arab original.

Rev. Diagonally upward from 8 o'clock, part of one line of Arab area legend (obverse or reverse?).

PLATE XIII, 2.

Again this dirhem is probably 'Abbāsid.

15. *Miliaresion.* Ratto Auction Catalogue, *Monnaies Byzantines*, etc., 9 Dec. 1930, no. 1776, pl. XL. 21 mm.

Obv. In field to right of cross, upside down and slanting downward with respect to the vertical shaft of the cross, the ends of the 2nd and 3rd lines of the obverse area of an Arab dirhem: ده.... "He is o[ne]; يك له....[There is no part]ner with him."

Rev. From 10 to 8 o'clock, traces of Arab reverse marginal legend.

PLATE XIII, 3.

Also probably 'Abbāsid.

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Theophilus and Michael III

Ca. 840–842 A.D.

16. *Miliaresion*. ANS, ex E. T. Newell Coll. 23 mm., 1.66 gr. Byzantine die position: ↑; Arab die position: uncertain.
Obv. Between 7 and 9 o'clock, outside the word **lhsys**, probable traces of Arab legend.
Rev. Between 3rd and 4th lines of Byzantine inscription, at extreme right, portion of an Arabic (?) letter.
PLATE XIII, 4 and 5 (enlarged 2 diameters).

The identification of this specimen as an overstrike on an Arab dirhem is not entirely certain. It is just possible that the elements that I have taken to be Arabic letters on both obverse and reverse are actually traces of double-striking or of a Byzantine overstriking on a Byzantine original.

Other specimens that have come to my attention that may be overstrikes on Arab dirhems are the following: one of Constantine V and Leo IV (Ratto, op. cit., no. 1753), possible traces on obverse beneath right arm of cross and at 5 o'clock; another of the same rulers in the BM with the possible remains of a *tā marbūṭah* with a dot over it, as on dirhems of Iṣṭakhr of the year 95 H. (information of Dr. John Walker); one of Leo IV and Constantine VI (*BM*, p. 394, no. 7), possible traces on obverse between 3 and 6 o'clock, at 9 o'clock, and in lower left field; two more of Leo IV with several probable traces (in the collection of Dr. John F. Lhotka); one of Constantine VI and Irene (*Ars Classica*, auction catalogue no. XV, 2 July 1930, Lucerne, no. 2074), double struck, with barely possible Arabic traces on obverse from 7 to 9 o'clock, and on reverse in upper right of field and at 3 to 5 o'clock; and one of Michael III with Theodora and Thecla (842–856 A.D.), with almost certain traces on both obverse and reverse (Dr. Lhotka's collection).

No *miliaresia* later than this last with clear or even possible evidence of their having been overstruck on dirhems have come to my notice. However, to illustrate the continuity of the "dirhem style" of Byzantine silver I show in PLATE XIII, 6–7, *miliaresia* of Basil I and

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Constantine, 869–879 A.D. (ANS 46.51, ex H.W. Bell Coll., 26 mm., 2.73 gr., ↑), and of Leo VI and Constantine VII, 911–912 A.D. (ANS, ex E.T. Newell Coll., 25 mm., 2.86 gr., ↗).

With this evidence before us that a number of *miliaresia* of the new type were struck on Arab planchets let us examine a little more closely some of the problems associated with the introduction of the reformed silver. Two questions, closely related, immediately spring to mind: were perhaps the first *miliaresia* of this type *all* struck over Arab dirhems, and was Artavasdus actually the innovator? The numismatic evidence at present available dictates the answer no to the first question and yes to the second. Of the *miliaresia* of Artavasdus that I have examined or that others have examined for me, none appears to be an overstrike;[31] and there are many of the joint rule of Constantine V and Leo IV (751 onward) which show no visible traces of Arab undertypes. But, as I have suggested, it is possible that the physicist's or metallurgist's penetrating eye might cause us to reconsider this question. Obviously I am not at the moment in a position to press this point. The second query, however, is, I believe, one which merits careful examination before the answer is allowed to remain categorically affirmative. With some hesitation and misgivings, then, I submit the following arguments against the accepted view that Artavasdus was the first to strike the "dirhem type" of silver.

It is true that as *strategus* of the Armeniakon theme Artavasdus would doubtless have been familiar with the Arab dirhem (indeed most imperial functionaries, wherever situated, would by this time have seen and handled this coin) and would have had cause to admire its quality. Also one might expect a rebel to mark his success by issuing a coin of revolutionary type. But is it likely that he, an iconodule, should have introduced a type of coin which, on the face of it, has a rigid iconoclastic appearance and which imitates the severe imageless epigraphic style of the Arab dirhem? Would not Artavasdus' father-in-law, the great and iconoclastic Leo III (717–741), have been the more probable innovator? His close association with the Arab world throughout his long career is well known. He is re-

[31] Mr. Grierson examined seven of the eight specimens in the National Museum in Warsaw and detected no traces of Arabic legends.

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ported even to have been able to speak Arabic.[32] There are those who believe that his iconoclastic policies were prompted at least in part by the hope that the destruction of the icons would tend to break down opposition between Moslems and Christians and thus promote the subjugation of the former to the Empire.[33] The issue of a silver coin resembling the dirhem would have been consonant with such policies. Another question may be put in this connection: Constantine V recovered his throne in 742 or 743, but, according to the presently accepted view (which, to be sure, in the premises is inescapable), he issued no silver until 751 when, in association with his son Leo, he followed the precedent of the arch-enemy who had usurped his throne a decade before. What may be the historical justification of this curious performance? And if there be reasonable cause to doubt its acceptance as a fact and to propose the alternative—that is, the attribution of the first dirhem-type *miliaresia* to Leo III—can the necessary numismatic adjustments be made?

Without attempting a complete argument of the case I may at the moment suggest the following possibilities: sometime between March 720, when Leo III associated his son Constantine V with him, and June 741, Leo could have introduced the new *miliaresion*. The occasion might have been after Leo and Constantine had won their great victory over the Arabs at Akroinos (Afyūn Qara Ḥiṣār) in 739, or, more probably, in 740.[34] It is conceivable that tribute or

[32] Actually, some of the arguments which I suggest here in support of Leo III as the possible innovator might equally well be applied in favor of Artavasdus. He was an Armenian (George Finlay, *A History of Greece*, ed. Tozer, Oxford, 1877, II, 47) and his name is Iranian (cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, 38–39, s. v. *Artawazdah*); another Artavasdus, general of the Anatolics in 778, also was an Armenian (J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, London & N. Y., 1889, II, 479); and still another person by this name, the Hetaeriarch in 867, spoke Persian (J. B. Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, London, 1912, 178). Might Artavasdus not have been particularly susceptible to "oriental" influences? My attention was first drawn to the origin of Artavasdus' name by Mr. Kenneth A. Luther, a graduate student at Princeton University and a participant in the ANS Summer Seminar in 1959.

[33] Bréhier, op. cit., 76ff.; Vasiliev, op. cit., 234, 252; Charles Diehl & Georges Marçais. *Histoire du Moyen Age, Tome III, Le Monde Oriental de 395 à* 1081 (Paris, 1944) 252.

[34] Vasiliev, op. cit., 238; Ostrogorsky, op. cit., 139; Bréhier, op. cit., 76–77; Diehl & Marçais, op. cit., 252. L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica* Rome, 1912ff.) 1534. There is a good deal of confusion about the date, chiefly due to

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booty in the form of Arab dirhems provided a large supply of silver, part of which was restruck with Byzantine dies of the new type. Alternatively the new issue might be connected with Leo III's emergency tax of or after October 26, 739, to finance the rebuilding of the capital's walls following the great earthquake,[35] although the general concensus now is that the term δικέρατον[36] referred not to a coin but to the tax.

As for the strictly numismatic problem, the legend on the reverse of the *miliaresia* now attributed to Leo IV and Constantine VI (776–780) could as well refer to Leo III and Constantine V. We would then have Artavasdus following suit in 741 and 742 (or 743), a break in the series until 751 (not satisfactorily explained in any case according to the attribution commonly accepted), and the resumption of the type in or about the latter year under Constantine V and Leo IV, continuing until 775. What then of the rule of Leo IV and Constantine VI, if the silver formerly attributed to them were assigned to Leo III and Constantine V? Perhaps some of them could be attributed to the former pair of rulers, some to the latter. Are there any differences among the known specimens with the names of Leo and Constantine (in that order)[37] which would enable us to distinguish between two issues? A preliminary study of the limited body of material at my disposition reveals only one possible criterion. Of 45 specimens which

contradictory testimony in the Arabic sources. Cf. E. W. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor (641–750), from Arabic Sources," in *JHS* XVIII (1898) 182–208. For the location of Akroïnos, see Fr. Taeschner, s.*v.* Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār in *Encyclopaedia of Islām*[2] (1955). There were of course other occasions on which the Arabs were defeated in Asia Minor during this period, for example in 105, 106 and 114 H. = 723/4, 724/5 and 732/3 A.D. (cf. Caetani, op. cit., 1321–2, 1338, 1439).

[35] Theophanes (ed. Bonn) 634–635; Dölger, op. cit., 37. Cf. L. Bréhier, *Les Institutions de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1949) 258; Diehl & Marçais, op. cit., 257; George Finlay, *A History of Greece* (Oxford, 1877) II, 32.

[36] Du Cange, *Glossarium.... Graecitatis* (Lugduni, 1688), I, 637; idem., *Glossarium..... Latinitatis* (Basileae, 1762), III, *Dissertatio*, 45, *ult.*

[37] There is no question of confusing the *miliaresia* of Leo V and his son Constantine (813–820) or of Leo VI and Constantine VII (911–912) with those of Leo III or IV because their legends end with ϧASILIS ROϺAIOh, a title introduced on the coinage by Michael I (811–813). Cf. Vasiliev, op. cit., 268, in reference to the probable occasion. Finlay (op. cit., I, 450), on the basis of scant metrological data, once proposed assigning the silver of Leo V to Leo III, but he failed to take the matter of the title into consideration.

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I have examined or about which I have data, ten have on the obverse the misspelling (?) hISUS[38], and the rest have IhSUS. Admittedly this aberration may simply be a die-engraver's error. If it is intentional it would seem to be a poor way for Leo IV's mint-master to have distinguished his coins from those of Leo III. I have no intention of pressing the point.[39] In any case, if this criterion should have any validity, the issues with IhSUS (i.e., the majority of those examined) would have to be assigned to Leo IV, because among them is the specimen in the Whittemore Collection (no. 6, above), restruck on a dirhem of 156 H., or 772/3 A.D., which of course is long after the death of Leo III.

Another question that comes to mind is that of the relationship, if any, between the weight of the new *miliaresion* and of the dirhem. I have no intention of entering into the complicated problem of Byzantine metrology, even if I were competent to do so. Philip Grierson intends shortly to publish an exhaustive study of the metrology of the *miliaresion*, and to this article I shall be happy to refer the reader. It may, however, be useful to set forth here such data as I have been able to assemble on the weights of the relevant Byzantine and Arab denominations. As stated above, the *hexagram* of Heraclius and his immediate successors weighed about 6.5 grams. The new silver currency departed radically from its predecessor not only in design and fabric but in weight. The following table summarizes the metrological data which I have recorded for the period from Artavasdus to Basil I.

[38] ANS, two specimens; Tolstoï, 967, no. 10; Ratto Catalogue, no. 1769; four at Dumbarton Oaks; and three in the collection of Dr. J. F. Lhotka.

[39] Closer study might result in the emergence of other criteria. The presence or absence of pellets or rosettes after the reverse legend may have some significance. I have found them to be lacking on all specimens with the misspelled word on the obverse. But they are also lacking on some of the others. As for any relevance that die-positions might have, no suggestive data present themselves, because of the 28 Leo–Constantine specimens of which I know the positions 24 are at 12 o'clock and among the four with reverses at 6 o'clock none has the misspelling. One should perhaps note, however, that the arrangement of the dies on the coins of Artavasdus and of Constantine V–Leo IV is irregular (Artavasdus: two at 12 o'clock, three at 6 o'clock; Constantine V–Leo IV: two at 12 o'clock, six at 6 o'clock). Later, i.e., from Constantine VI onward, reverses are regularly at 12 o'clock. In other words at the start the majority are at 6 o'clock, under Leo–Constantine the majority are at 12 o'clock, and later all are at 12 o'clock. Could the Leo–Constantine specimens at 6 o'clock be attributed to Leo III, the others to Leo IV?

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Ruler	*Dates*	*No of Spec.*	*High*	*Low*	*Avg.*	*Frequency Peak*
Artavasdus	ca. 741–743	13	2.20	1.32	1.79	1.66–1.70
Constantine V & Leo IV	751–775	8	2.15	1.61	1.79	1.71–1.75
Leo IV & Constantine VI	776–780	35	2.22	1.49	1.99	2.11–2.20[40]
Constantine VI & Irene	780–797	31	2.65	1.39	1.93	2.16–2.20
Irene	797–802	None	—	—	—	—
Nicephorus I	802–811	None	—	—	—	—
Michael I	811–813	9	2.25	2.01	2.10	2.11–2.15
Leo V & Constantine	813–820	11	2.24	1.71	1.95	2.01–2.05
Michael II	820–829	12	2.21	1.62	2.02	2.11–2.15
Theophilus	829–842					
Light series		11	2.30	1.66	2.00	1.91–2.00
Heavy series		7	3.26	2.63	3.05	3.06–3.15
Michael III	842–867	23	2.28	1.49	1.99	1.91–1.95
Basil I	867–886	22	2.90	2.41	2.70	2.71–2.85

Most, but not all, of the 8th century specimens are clipped; in the 9th century few are. Since the various degrees of clipping make it difficult to decide which specimens should be eliminated, if any, I have included all except fragmentary or badly damaged pieces. The above table, although compiled from a rather limited body of material, shows fairly clearly that from the time of Leo IV down through the reign of Michael III (with the exception of part of Theophilus' reign when there appear to have been two standards) the weights of recorded specimens (not heavily damaged) suggest that the intended standard was somewhat in excess of 2 grams. Previous to Leo IV's reign, i.e., in the period of Artavasdus and Constantine V, the weights are well under this figure, but the material is too scanty to justify the

[40] There is a lesser peak at 1.86–1.90.

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inference that at the beginning the intended weight was under 2 grams. With Basil I and thereafter until Basil II at the beginning of the 11th century when the type changes and silver again becomes very scarce, the weight is raised to a figure in excess of 2.70 grams.[41]

As for the Arab dirhem in the period under consideration we have a sufficiently large body of evidence to show that after 'Abd al-Malik's coinage reform the intended weight was in the neighbourhood of 2.97 grams, i.e., nearly a gram heavier than that of the *miliaresion*. The pre-reform Arab-Sasanian dirhem was still heavier—nearly 4 grams.[42] In the following table I have assembled some data, largely from material in the Museum of the ANS, which probably give a fairly accurate picture of the actual weight of the Arab dirhem during the period of somewhat more than two centuries from about 651 to 865 A.D. The reader will note the remarkable consistency of weight after the reform of 79 H./698 A.D.

After the reign of the Caliph al-Musta'īn the weight of the dirhem becomes very erratic, and to include in the above table statistics relative to the years when al-Mu'tazz, al-Mu'tamid, al-Mu'taḍid and al-Muktafi occupied the throne in Baghdād would serve no useful purpose.[43] For example, under al-Mu'tazz (252–255 H./865–869 A.D.) dirhems range in weight from as low as 1.95 grams to as high as 3.70, with an unimpressive peak somewhere between 2.86 and 2.95. With al-Mu'tamid (256–279 H./870–892 A.D.) the peak is again between 2.91 and 2.95, but many specimens weigh more than 3 grams, and

[41] Philip Grierson tells me that his calculations show that during the first period of the new *miliaresion* the theoretical weight would have provided 144 to the pound, in the second 108 to the pound.

[42] John Walker (*A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London, 1941, p. cxlvii) does not give a precise figure for the Arab-Sasanian dirhem in the BM catalogue but states that it has "an average weight that can be put round about the same figure" as the average that Mordtmann arrived at by weighing 2000 Sasanian dirhems, viz., 3.906 grams. Unfortunately we have, so far as I know, no frequency table calculations for the Sasanian drachm (R. Göbl, *Aufbau der Münzprägung*, Wiesbaden, 1954, gives only "durchschnittlich" 3.7 to 4 grams), but it would appear that the Arab-Sasanian standard was indeed no lower than the Sasanian. Zambaur's article *dirhem* in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* needs quite drastic revision.

[43] A thorough study of the metrology of this period, with due consideration of the possibility of different standards at various mints, might bring some order out of what appears to be chaos, but this is not the place for such an inquiry.

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Period	*Spec.*	*Peak*	*in (c)*	
Arab-Sasanian, 31–83 H./651–702 A.D.	145[44]	3.96–4.00	20	3.982
Post-Reform Umayyad, 79–132 H./698–750 A.D.	292[45]	2.91–2.95	80	2.924
'Abbāsid				
Al-Ṣaffāḥ, 132–136 H./749–754 A.D.	12[46]	2.91–2.95	4	2.930
Al-Manṣūr, 136–158 H./754–775 A.D.	123[46]	2.91–2.95	38	2.930
Al-Mahdi, 158–169 H./775–785 A.D.	31[47]	2.91–2.95	16	2.930
Al-Hādi, 169–170 H./785–786 A.D.	32[48]	2.86–2.90	7	2.881
Hārūn al-Rashīd, 170–193 H./786–809 A.D.	44[47]	2.91–2.95	21	2.933
Al-Amīn, 193–198 H./809–813 A.D.	22[47]	2.91–2.95	9	2.930
Al-Ma'mūn, 198–218 H./813–833 A.D.	31[47]	2.91–2.95	14	2.933
Al-Mu'taṣim, 218–227 H./833–841 A.D.	30[49]	2.91–2.95	10	2.934
Al-Wāthiq, 227–232 H./841–847 A.D.	24[50]	2.91–2.95	9	2.920
Al-Mutawakkil, 232–247 H./847–861 A.D.	20[46]	2.91–2.95	9	2.925
Al-Musta'īn, 248–251 H./862–865 A.D.	16[51]	2.96–3.00	4	2.970

[44] In the collection of the ANS. Clipped specimens (25 in number) are excluded. These latter range between 2.26 and 3.03 grams with a peak between 2.71 and 2.75 grams and a lesser peak between 2.86 and 2.95; in other words the clipping appears in most cases to have been done to conform roughly with the lower post-reform weight standard.

[45] Cf. G. C. Miles, "The Iconography of Umayyad Coinage," *Ars Orientalis* III (1959) 213, where the *average* weight of 289 specimens in the ANS collection was calculated at 2.8920 grams. Walker *BMC Arab-Byz.*, p. xcv) gives the average weight of post-reform Umayyad dirhems in his catalogue as "approximately 2.90 grams."

[46] All the undamaged specimens in the ANS.

[47] All the undamaged specimens in the ANS of the mint of Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdād) only.

[48] As the ANS has only 8 specimens, I have included the undamaged specimens of the BM (5) Paris (6) and Berlin (13). All mints are included.

[49] As the ANS has only 8 specimens, I have included the undamaged specimens of the BM (13), Paris (2) and Berlin (7). All mints are included.

[50] As the ANS has only 7 specimens, I have included the undamaged specimens of the BM (6), Paris (3) and Berlin (8). All mints are included.

[51] As the ANS has only 4 specimens, I have included the undamaged specimens of the BM (7), Paris (1) and Berlin (4). All mints are included.

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some more than 4 and even as much as 5 grams. The situation is equally chaotic under al-Mu'taḍid and al-Muktafi (279–295 H./892–908 A.D.).

To return to the period of particular concern to us, the table above clearly demonstrates that from the date of 'Abd al-Malik's dirhem reform in 698 until well into the middle of the 9th century the average weight of preserved specimens falling within the largest frequency group is approximately 2.93 grams. If we allow 1½% for loss of weight,[52] we arrive at an intended weight of 2.97(395) grams, which agrees precisely with the supposed theoretical weight of the classical Arab dirhem which has long been accepted by European writers.[53] Actually this theoretical weight in grams for the dirhem is nothing but a figure arrived at by taking 7/10 of the weight of the dinar (following the Arab metrologists who wrote that the weight of the legal dirhem stood in relationship to the dinar in the ratio 7:10); and the weight of the dinar was calculated empirically at 4.25 grams on the basis of the average weight of a few Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dinars and dinar glass weights.[54] Without digressing too far it might serve a useful purpose to present here the results of some calculations of my own with respect to the weight of the dinar.

Adding 1½% for wear to the above figures for dinars we arrive at an intended weight of 4.251 for both the Umayyad and the 'Abbāsid issue. As for the glass weights, it will be observed that the weight is appreciably higher, 4.2301 grams without allowance for loss of weight. I am not competent to say how much one should allow for the loss of weight in glass as opposed to gold, but if one applies .005% instead of .015% (which perhaps is reasonable in view of the relative hardness of glass)[55] one arrives at the same figure, 4.251, for the glass exagia.

[52] Cf. P. Naster, "Trouvaille de monnaies Carolingiennes à Zelzate," *RBN* 1950, 222–223.

[53] E.g., Zambaur (loc. cit.); Vasmer *apud* F. v. Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, 145; Adolf Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur Arabischen Papyruskunde* (Prague, 1955) 206.

[54] In most if not all instances modern writers refer, directly or indirectly, to E. von Bergmann's article, "Die Nominale der Münzreform des Chalifen Abdulmelik," in *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Cl. der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien*, LXV (1870) 239ff.

[55] We recall that the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik is alleged to have ordered the manufacture of glass weights as glass would not be "susceptible of alteration either by augmentation or by diminution." Cf. G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* (*ANSNNM* 111, New York, 1948) 2–3.

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(a) *Period*	(b) *No. of Spec.*	(c) *Frequency Peak*	(d) *No. of Spec. in (c)*	(e) *Avg. of (d)*
Dinars				
Umayyad, 77–132 H./696–749 A.D.	81[56]	4.16–4.20	40	4.1887
'Abbāsid, 132–218 H./749–833 A.D.	96[57]	4.16–4.20	50	4.1886
Dinar Glass Weights				
Weights				
Umayyad & 'Abbāsid, 90–194 H./709–810 A.D.	85[58]	4.21–4.25	56	4.2301

[56] Undamaged specimens in the collections of the ANS and the University Museum, Philadelphia (the latter now on deposit at the ANS), not including al-Andalus. Cf. G. C. Miles, "Some Early Arab Dinars," *ANSMN* III (1948) 93–114, where the weights of the individual specimens are given but no metrological observations are made. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, "Studies in the Monetary History of the Near East in the Middle Ages," in *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* II (1959), 128–161, dealing with this and supplementary material, concerns himself with the fineness, not the weight, of dinars.

[57] Undamaged specimens down through the reign of al-Ma'mūn, from the same sources.

[58] These weights are assembled from records in my files; the specimens are in many different collections, public and private. Weights of specimens from unreliable published sources are excluded. Incidentally, the weights of one-half and one-third dinar glass weights (not included in the above table) are extraordinarily accurate: of 48 intact one-third dinar weights 16 weigh 1.41 grams each, and 42, or approximately 87%, weigh between 1.40 and 1.43 grams. Dirhem glass weights are not common and there are not enough undamaged ones in my files to justify the compilation of a frequency table.

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These calculations (based on more material than heretofore and perhaps more scientifically compiled) appear to confirm the conventional figure of 4.25 grams for the weight of the dinar and of 2.97 for that of the dirhem; and the Arab metrologists do indeed seem to be correct in their statement of the weight ratio between the dinar and the dirhem in the "classical" Arab period. In general also it may be marked that the Arab dirhem appears to have been struck with much greater accuracy than the Byzantine *miliaresion*, and one may reasonably conclude that the dirhem normally passed by tale, the *miliaresion* by weight.

One would expect that the Byzantine overstrikers would have made some effort to reduce the weight of the Arab planchet to conform with their own standard. What evidence do the recorded examples provide? We find that all are clipped, most of them severely (diameters range from 19 to 24 mm.); only two (nos. 2 and 8, each 25 mm.) approximate the normal dirhem size. Consequently the weight in every instance is far below the Arab standard. The heaviest (I.C.G. Campbell specimen of Leo IV) weighs 2.20 grams; two specimens weigh 2.15 (nos. 2 and 8); and the rest range between 1.39 and 2.1 grams, in most cases well up to, if not slightly exceeding, the Byzantine average.

I shall not venture to draw any conclusions from all these figures. One thing is evident, and that is that in introducing the new coin the Byzantine authorities had no intention of having its weight approximate that of its prototype. Whether there was an intended relationship between the weights of the *miliaresion* and the dirhem is not clear, although the evidence suggests that the former may have been struck at a weight approximating two-thirds of the Arab coin. One should perhaps seek an explanation which would take into consideration a comparison of the Arab and Byzantine gold-silver ratios. Here unfortunately we are on very difficult ground. Theoretically, the 8th century dinar was worth 12 dirhems, but we have evidence also for this period of 20:1, 22:1 and even 28:1.[59] The *miliaresion*, at least theoretically, appears to have been reckoned at 1/12 of the solidus.[60]

[59] The best modern summary is in Grohmann, op. cit., 190ff., based partly on Sauvaire's well-known collection of source material and partly on the testimony of the papyri. Cf. also A. v. Kremer, *Über das Einnahmebudget des Abbasiden-Reiches vom Jahre 306 H. (918–919)*, Wien, 1887, 7ff.

[60] Cf. A. Andreades, "De la monnaie et de la puissance d'achat des métaux précieux dans l'Empire byzantin," in *Byzantion* I (1924) 79–80.

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Perhaps the economic historians can make use of these figures to affirm or reject some fiscal relationship between the two neighboring silver currencies. But in any case the study would not be conclusive without an examination of the relative fineness of the silver employed in the two denominations, and this I have not attempted. Still another problem is the fluctuation in the gold-silver ratio which in these troubled times must have been considerable.

The question of the fineness of the silver suggests one other field of speculation and of possibly fruitful research in connection with the introduction of the new *miliaresion*. What was the origin of the Byzantine silver bullion in the 8th and 9th centuries? I can only adumbrate some lines of inquiry and hope that other students better qualified than I may find them worth pursuing. What silver mines within Byzantine territory were being exploited?[61] Did the Byzantines lose important silver mines in the Taurus area to the Arabs in the 7th and 8th centuries, and might the scarcity of silver coinage in the period between 695 and the second quarter of the 8th century be attributable in part to such circumstances?[62] Did the iconoclastic melting-down of church and monastery plate and treasures[63] serve as a source of coinage metal for the *miliaresion*? Or alternatively did

[61] A cursory search would seem to indicate that literature on the subject is scanty. M. Cary ("The Sources of Silver for the Greek World," in *Mélanges Glotz* I [Paris, 1932] 133–142) does not carry his study beyond the Hellenistic period. R. J. Forbes (*Metallurgy in Antiquity*, Leiden, 1950) lists many silver deposits and mines in Anatolia (pp. 190–192) and in Greece, Macedonia, Thrace and the islands (pp. 198–200), but makes no specific mention of Byzantine operations. The title of O. Davies' *Roman Mines in Europe* (Oxford, 1935) indicates the limits of his important study. Many suggestive references will be found in David Magie's *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 7, 44, 179, 196, 374–375, 493, 804, 1069, 1239. Dr. Speros Vryonis Jr. has been good enough to let me examine a preliminary draft of a study of his on Byzantine mining which one hopes will soon be published. He concludes that silver was available to the Byzantines on their own soil in mines which probably continued in operation from antiquity down into Ottoman times.

[62] We do know that the Arabs had taken over the argentiferous section of Armenia and later, in the latter half of the 9th century, lost control of this region (cf. R. P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol Epoch," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1937, 309, citing J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886* [Paris, 1919] 241 ff.).

[63] Bréhier, *Vie et Mort de Byzance*, 80–81.

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Arab tribute in the form of dirhems provide sufficient silver, whether restruck, as the examples under consideration in this article, or melted down and freshly issued as *miliaresia*?[64] Finally we must not forget that despite the theoretical state of war which perpetually existed between Islam and Byzantium, the actual fighting was intermittent and meanwhile trade continued both by land and by sea, with the result that the precious metals in the form of coin doubtless changed hands frequently and in large quantities.

Once more the examination of a numismatic phenomenon appears to raise more problems for the historian than it resolves, but none of us can ignore the evidence and perhaps this article will have served its purpose in drawing attention to a little-known episode in the history of Arab-Greek relations.

GEORGE C. MILES

[64] There is frequent mention in the chronicles of tribute being exacted from the Arabs (although needless to say the tribute as frequently flowed in the opposite direction). For specific instances cf. the references to Dölger, op. cit., in R. P. Blake, "Some Byzantine accounting practices illustrated from Georgian sources," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 51, p. 22, n. 1. See also the following episodes recorded, for example, in Bréhier, *Vie et Mort*: ca. 718 A.D. (p. 76), 740 A.D. (pp. 76–77), ca. 745–751 A.D. (p. 85), 778 and 780 A.D. (p. 87). Of course the sums were not necessarily paid in silver, but even where the figures are given in *nomismata* or dinars these words may have been used as terms of account and may represent recalculations in whole or in part of sums of dirhems.

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A HOARD OF ARAB DIRHEMS FROM ALGARVE, PORTUGAL

(See Plate XIV)

Through the kindness of Dr. John F. Lhotka of Oklahoma City the writer has had the opportunity to examine a small hoard of Spanish Umayyad silver dirhems presenting some rather extraordinary peculiarities which deserve publication and brief discussion. The hoard, which was obtained from a dealer in Lisbon, is said to have come from Silves in the province of Algarve, undoubtedly the small town of that name in southwestern Portugal, at 37° 11′ N., 8° 26′ W., 10 kilometers northeast of Portimão and only about 50 kilometers east of Cape St. Vincent.

Silves, or Shilb in Arabic, was in Umayyad days the capital of the province or *kūrah* of Ukshūnubah (Ocsonoba), the Algarve of today. Situated on the river of the same name, Silves possessed a shipyard and was an active maritime trading center in Arab times. The inhabitants were said to be of Yemenite origin and to speak unusually pure Arabic. On the coast in the same area was Santa Maria de Algarve (Faro today), where late in the rule of the Caliph Muḥammad I (238–273 H./852–886 A.D.), that is, around the time of the terminal date of the hoard under consideration, a certain princeling by the name of Yaḥyâ, great-grandson of a Christian named Zadulpho, had declared himself independent of the Caliphate. His son, Bakr, resident in Shilb, had an ambitious little provincial court with secretaries of state, a department of finance, and an army with generals of its own. Muḥammad's successor, the Caliph 'Abdullāh, rather than quarrel with Bakr found it convenient to entrust him with the administration of the whole southwestern province with Shilb as its capital.[1]

[1] Ibn 'Idhāri, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* (ed. Colin & Lévi-Provençal, Leiden, 1951), II, 137; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, II (2nd ed., Leiden, 1932), 57; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane* (Paris, 1950–1953), I, pp. 340–1, III, pp. 50, 110, 341; idem., s.v. Silves in *Encyclopaedia of Islām*; al-Ḥimyari (ed. and transl. E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule Ibérique*, Leiden, 1938), 129–32 of the translation.

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That part of the hoard which the writer has seen consists of 79 dirhems, ranging in date from 153 to 261 H. (770–875 A.D.). One more specimen was included in the lot, but its date, 342 H.,[2] indicated that it cannot have belonged to the hoard and must be a stray, perhaps from the dealer's stock. Four specimens date from the 2nd century of the Hijrah and the rest from 221 to 261 H., with the heaviest concentration at the end, that is, of the years 260 (7 specimens) and 261 (10 or 11 specimens). One may reasonably assume that the hoard was buried or lost in or shortly after 261 (875). The details of type and weight of each specimen are set forth in the tables printed at the end of this article.

The span of years and the distribution of dates represented are in no way remarkable and the hoard might perhaps merit no more than passing mention were it not for the fact that a dozen specimens present a very curious appearance. These pieces have been cut or pierced with a sharp instrument, and clippings of other Spanish Umayyad dirhems have been inserted through these holes, gashes or slashes and bent around the coin, sometimes overlapping the edge, to hold them in place (see PLATE XIV). Other specimens have been similarly pierced or slashed, but the clippings, if such were at one time inserted, have fallen out or have been removed. The following table summarizes the condition of the coins in question:

1 slash	Nos. 12, 14, 16, 44, 46, 50, 51, 52, 54, 59, 61, 63
2 slashes	Nos. 4, 5, 25, 35, 38
1 clipping attached	Nos. 5, 12, 14, 16, 35, 38, 51, 52, 59, 61
2 clippings attached	Nos. 4, 25
Slashings without attached clippings	Nos. 2, 5, 35, 38, 44, 46, 50, 54, 63

The earliest coin with an attached clipping is one of the year 198 (no. 4), the latest a specimen of the year 259 (no. 59). One specimen of the year 260 (no. 63) has been slashed but bears no clipping, and no specimen of the final year, 261, has been slashed, although two of this year appear to have been slightly clipped. The inserted clippings are sometimes long strips cut from the edge of a coin, sometimes a wedge-

[2] Cf. G. C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain* (New York, 1950). no. 232g. All ensuing references to coin types are to this work, abbreviated "M".

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shaped segment. In one case (no. 4) a segment is clamped into place on the surface of the coin by a long strip inserted through two slashes. Three of the inserted clippings are roughly datable: the segment attached to no. 4, probably ca. 229–237 H.; the strip attached to no. 51, bearing the name of the mint—al-Andalus—, after 229; and the clipping attached to no. 5, dated 26X. This last is significant in that it shows that dirhems of 260 or 261, close to the terminal date of the hoard, were being clipped and inserted in earlier coins in this strange fashion.

In connection with the study of this hoard the writer re-examined the dirhems of the Umayyads of Spain in the collections of the American Numismatic Society and the Hispanic Society of America (including a large lot of dirhems turned over to the ANS by the HSA after the publication of M., and not yet published), and found the following specimens exhibiting comparable characteristics:

a) Dirhems with inserted clippings: 216 H. (M. 107j),[3] 221 H. (M. 112h),[4] 231 H. (M. 123a),[5] 254 H.

b) Dirhems with single slashes: 184, 186, 197, 198, 222, 223, 233, 236, 237, 239 (2), 242, 250, 251, 256, 261, 263 (2) H.

c) Dirhems with 2 slashes: 226, 251, 270 H.

It should be noted that these slashes and cuts are to be distinguished from a) neatly executed single circular piercings, obviously for suspension and probably of relatively recent execution, sporadically occurring throughout the series; and b) carelessly executed double piercings with rough edges, a phenomenon chiefly of the 4th century of the Hijrah, these being the subject of a somewhat detailed but inconclusive discussion in M., pp. 94–95.[6] The observed evidence

[3] Described as "refilled."

[4] Described as "plugged."

[5] HSA 14334. Fully described and illustrated (pl. II), and also mentioned in a footnote on p. 95 (misprinted "96").

[6] Two articles bearing on the piercing of Spanish coins have subsequently come to the writer's attention: J. Leite de Vasconcellos, "Monnaies anciennes percées d'un trou de suspension" (*Congrès Archéologique d'Athènes (1905)*, Lisbon, 1905); and Fernando de Almeido Ribeiro, "Uma Hipótese," in *Coimbra Médica* VII (1940), 593ff. Neither of these appear to have any relevance to the subject under discussion here.

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seems to indicate that the slashings are to be found only on coins of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Hijrah and that they cease shortly after the terminal date of the hoard now under consideration. As for the insertion of clippings in these slashes, nos. 5 and 59 of the hoard inform us that the practice was current at least as late as roughly 260 H.

What can be the intent or significance of this curious practice? If all the attached clippings were close to the edge (like no. 52) one might argue that the purpose was to provide rings for suspending the coins as jewelry. But a glance at the others shows that this could not possibly be the explanation. Mutilation of the coins by cutting or slashing in order to devaluate or invalidate them is a possibility,[7] but aside from several objections to this argument, the insertion of the clippings would be left unexplained. There might perhaps be some magical significance, but unless there be some supporting evidence about which this writer is unaware, such an explanation would be pure speculation. There remains the possibility—one might say the probability—of a metrological relevance. Let us briefly examine the pertinent metrological data.

It is evident that around the year 260 H. Spanish Umayyad dirhems were accepted by tale. The weights of well-preserved specimens show remarkably little deviation. Of the year 260, 15 specimens (eight recorded in M., and seven in the present hoard) range between 2.47 and 2.71 grams and average 2.609 grams. Of the year 261, 20 specimens (11 in M., and nine in the hoard) range between 2.44 and 2.69 and average exactly the same figure, 2.609 grams. In this latter year, 13 of these 20 specimens vary in weight only 4/100 of a gram between 2.62 and 2.66 grams (2 at 2.62, 3 at 2.63, 4 at 2.64, 1 at 2.65, and 3 at 2.66). In fact, approximately this accuracy is observable throughout the 3rd century dirhems in the hoard. Of 43 reasonably well preserved coins in the hoard (not including those markedly clipped or those with built-in fragments), ranging in date from 180 to 261 H., the frequency of weights, rounded out to the nearest five-hundredths of a gram, is as follows:

[7] See the discussion with reference to the multiple-pierced dirhems of the 4th century H. in M., p. 95 ["96"].

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Weight	*No. of specimens*
2.85 grams	1
2.70	6
2.65	19
2.60	11
2.55	2
2.50	3
2.45	1

One might therefore assume that an individual or a money-changer in possession of clipped or defective dirhems might have wished to bring them up to the current standard of weight (2.65 ± grams) by adding clippings from other underweight coins. Unfortunately the data to support this hypothesis are somewhat disappointing. Of the dozen specimens in the hoard bearing attached clippings only two[8] are close to the standard with weights of 2.58 and 2.69 grams; three[9] are overweight (2.81, 3.07 and 3.23 grams); and the rest are all underweight, with weights ranging from 1.69 to 2.42 grams.[10] One could explain the deficiency of some of these latter by the fact that one at least lacks a fifth of its flan (no. 4) and one has an additional slash from which an inserted clipping may have been lost (no. 5), but this argument is not too satisfactory because one of the standard weight specimens (no. 38) and one of the overweight specimens (no. 35) also have unfilled slashes; and several others with unfilled slashes (nos. 44, 46, 63) are close to or above standard weight. The overweight specimens with clippings attached are in any case particularly difficult to explain on this basis. Then there are the underweight dirhems of earlier date without slashes at all, whether filled or empty. While we might say that the money-changer or merchant would in theory have accepted the contemporary dirhems and the built-up pieces by tale, he would have had to weigh the coins of the late 2nd and earlier 3rd centuries. Finally it may be observed that many of the coins in

[8] Nos. 38 and 61.
[9] Nos. 35, 51 and 59.
[10] The observed specimens not in the hoard (M. 107j, 112h, 123a, and one unpublished of the year 254 H.) weigh 1.94, 2.29, 1.92 and 2.77 grams respectively.

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the hoard, including some with attached clippings, are themselves clipped and one might argue that they had been clipped after the insertion of the fragments. But aside from the inherent improbability of such a performance (why not remove the inserted clippings as well?), we know from no. 5 that some, perhaps all, of the clippings were being inserted just about the date when the hoard went out of circulation, and hence it is extremely unlikely that the coins would have been further tampered with in 260 or 261 H.

Despite all these objections and counter-objections and the inconclusiveness of the available data, a metrological explanation for this bizarre practice still seems the most likely. The possibility that the practice was localized, perhaps in Shilb or in the province of Ukshūnubah, is not to be excluded; and even more specifically one might find that the phenomenon was in some way related to the contemporary political situation in this south-westernmost region of Spain where Bakr b. Yaḥyâ had set himself up as a semi-independent princeling. The fact that he was reputed to have had a financial administration of his own is suggestive.[11] At all events this curious material is perhaps of sufficient interest to justify its being made available to numismatists in general and to historians of Arab Spain in particular; and the hope may be expressed that among them they will perhaps find the proper solution to the problem.

The detailed description of the hoard follows:

No.[11a]	*Date*	*Type*	*Weight*	*Remarks*
1	153	44b	2.23	Clipped.
2	180	71b bis[12]	2.68	Single piercing in center.
3	190	81c	2.16	Clipped.

[11] There is no implication that the province had its own mint. All these dirhems of course bear the simple mint-name "al-Andalus," which may be one of several cities. The attribution of "al-Andalus" dirhems of different styles to specific cities remains one of the unsettled problems of Hispano-Arabic numismatics (cf. M. pp. 33–42).

[11a] Specimens marked with asterisk (*) are illustrated on PLATE XIV.

[12] Five annulets; nothing above or beneath areas.

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No.	*Date*	*Type*	*Weight*	*Remarks*
4*	198	89a	2.02	$\frac{1}{5}$ lacking. Narrow clipping (3 mm. wide) inserted in two slashes of equal width at 3:30 and 10 o'clock of obv., clamping another wedge-shaped piece. (max. 9 mm.), datable ca. 229–237 H., into center of reverse
5*	221	112g	2.18	Clipped. Large clipping (max. width 6 mm.) dated 26X H. inserted through long (12 mm.) gash from center to 3 o'clock of obv.; another piercing, empty, at 11 o'clock of obv.
6	222	114c	2.61	
7	22(2?)	114c?	1.89	Clipped.
8	227	Obv. 119c Rev. 119b	2.51	Slightly clipped.
9	227	119 var.[13]	2.67	
10	228	120b	2.61	
11	229?	121a?	2.23	Three deep channels, not piercing the coin, diagonally on obv.

[13] Nothing above 3rd line, pellet beneath area of obv.

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No.	*Date*	*Type*	*Weight*	*Remarks*
12	[229–237]	121–129[14]	1.69	Clipped. Broad clipping (7 mm.) inserted in slash of equal length running from center to 10 o'clock of obv.
13	232	124b	2.52	Slightly clipped.
14	2[32?]	124a?	2.02	Clipped. Small clipping inserted in piercing at 10 o'clock of obv.
15	2[3]4	126a	2.55	Worn.
16*	234	126b	2.37	Clipped. Large wedge-shaped clipping (max. 15 mm.) inserted through 13 mm. slash across bottom of obv. area and wrappeda round edge at 6 o'clock of obv.
17	235	127b	2.45	Cracked from near center to 9 o'clock of obv.
18	236	128b	2.20	Clipped.
19	236	Obv. 128b Rev. 128e	2.37	Clipped,andcracked at 5:30 o'clock of obv.
20	237	Obv. 129b Rev. 129k	2.53	Cracked, and metal missing at 5 and 11:30 o'clock of obv.

[14] Date off flan, but style reveals approximate date.

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No.	*Date*	*Type*	*Weight*	*Remarks*
21	237	129e	2.04	Clipped.
22	237	129q	2.02	Worn and corroded.
23	238	130b	1.89	Clipped.
24	238	130b	2.30	Clipped and worn.
25*	238	130d	2.41	Clipped. Narrow (4 mm.) clipping inserted through 9 mm. slash from center to 5 o'clock of obv.; another (3 mm. wide) inserted through 3 mm. slash at 8:30 o'clock of obv.
26	238	130g	2.65	
27	239	131a	2.07	Clipped.
28	239	131j	1.90	Clipped.
29	239	131k	2.46	Slightly clipped.
30	241	133c	2.68	
31	241	133c	2.37	Slightly clipped.
32	241	133f	2.58	Worn.
33	241	133g	2.64	
34	242	134f	2.63	Clipped?
35*	242	134f	2.81	Clipped. Clipping (max. width 7 mm.) inserted through right-angle slash (5 × 4 mm.) in lower right quarter of obv.; another empty triangular gash at 11:30 o'clock of obv.
36	244	136b	2.67	
37	244	136b	2.64	

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No.	*Date*	*Type*	*Weight*	*Remarks*
38	24[4?]	136b?	2.58	Worn. Narrow (3 mm.) clipping inserted through slash of equivalent width at 9 o'clock of obv.; another irregular empty gash right of center.
39	24[6?]	138?	2.61	Clipped.
40	247	139a	2.60	
41	247	139b	2.01	Clipped and worn.
42	248	140a	2.68	
43	248	140a	2.65	
44	248	140a	2.66	Empty gash in lower left quarter of obv.
45	248	140b	2.68	
46	250?	142a ?[15] var.	2.52	Slash left of center of obv.
47	251	143a var.[16]	2.64	
48	251	143f bis[17]	2.16	Clipped?
49	252	144i[18]	2.83	
50	253	145g bis[19]	2.17	6 mm. slash from center toward 5 o'clock of obv., in line with one of 3 deep parallel channels (the other two not piercing the coin).

[15] Ornament above rev. area differs.
[16] No annulets? Ornament above rev. area differs.
[17] Style C. Crude epigraphy, irregular flan.
[18] Style C. Crude epigraphy. Annulets: o...o...o...
[19] No ornaments, but جيد above rev. area.

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No.	*Date*	*Type*	*Weight*	*Remarks*
51*	25[4?]	146g?[20]	3.23	Large clipping (max. width 12 mm.) bearing mint-name (probably style B) inserted through slash (9 mm.) in center.
52*	255	147g	2.42	Worn, and cracked at 3 and 5 o'clock of obv. Long narrow (3 mm.) clipping inserted through piercing below 12 o'clock of obv., both ends wrapped around edge at 12 o'clock.
53	256	148g[21]	1.97	Much clipped.
54	257	149c	2.71	Small piercing in center.
55	257	149c	2.64	
56	258	150a var.[22]	2.66	
57	258	150a var.[23]	2.53	
58	258	150a var.[22]	2.58	
59*	259	151a[23]	3.07	Long narrow (4 mm.) clipping inserted through gash of equal length near center.
60	259	151c	2.30	Clipped.

[20] Style C. Careless epigraphy. No ornaments. Annulets: ◦o◦ (five times).
[21] Style C. No ornaments. One set of annulets . • . preserved.
[22] Ornament above rev. area differs.
[23] Annulets: o . . . o . . . . ومائتين.

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No.	*Date*	*Type*	*Weight*	*Remarks*
61*	25X	143–151	2.69	Long narrow (3 mm.) clipping inserted through 4 mm. slash above center.
62	260	153d[24]	2.71	
63	260	153d	2.65	Short (3 mm.) slash at 5 o'clock of obv.
64	260	153d	2.63	
65	260	153d	2.62	
66	260	153d	2.61	
67	260	153d	2.59	
68	260	153d	2.58	Flan cracked and split in several places, obv. and rev.
69	261	154h[25]	2.66	
70	261	154h	2.64	
71	261	154h	2.63	
72	261	154h	2.62	
73	261	154h	2.60	
74	261	154h	2.19	Clipped.
75	261	154f var.[26]	2.63	
76	261	154j var.	2.64	
77	261	154j var.	2.57	Edge chipped.
78	261	Rev. 154f var.[27]	2.24	Clipped.
79	261?	Rev. 154f var.?[27]	2.63	

GEORGE C. MILES

[24] Nos. 62–68 all have ornaments above the rev. area only; those which are recognizable differ from those recorded in M. 153.
[25] Nos. 69–74 all have ornaments, clear or obscure, above the rev. area only.
[26] Star above, ornament below.
[27] Obv. exceptional style, careless epigraphy, circular margin, double beaded border.

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NOTES ON KĀKWAYHID COINS

(See Plate XV)

A few years ago the American Numismatic Society acquired a handsome unpublished dirhem of the Kākwayhid (or Kākōyid) dynasty, that interesting family of princes who ruled over various regions of north central Persia during the period of the collapse of the Buwayhids (Būyids) and the rise of the Seljūqs. This addition brings the total of these rare coins in the Museum's collection to eight, a respectable number considering the limited size of the published corpus. In 1938 I undertook to assemble everything that was known about the coinage of the Kākwayhids and published a little article on the history, geography and coins of this principality.[1] To bring the record up to date I now publish this recent acquisition together with some other additions, corrections and bits of relevant information that have come to my attention since the publication of that article.

Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān. 410 *H.* = 1019/20 *A.D.*

عدل	لله
لا اله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	شاهانشاه
القادر بالله	مجد الدولة
محمد بن دشمنزار	بن فخر الدولة
Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باصهبان [sic] سنة عشر واربع مائة The marginal legend is enclosed	Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33. Borders and scrolls as on obverse.

[1] "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty," *Iraq* V (1938) 89–104, hereafter referred to as *Kākwayhids*.

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within an inner linear and an outer beaded border. In the outer margin are four large scrolls, at top and bottom, left and right.

Æ 26 mm., 2.30 gr., ANS 54.122 (acquired by purchase in Egypt, 1954)

PLATE XV (enlarged two diameters)

The coin is handsomely engraved and bears several ornamental letters (note the second and last letters of the prince's name, and in the reverse area the *ḥā* of Muḥammad, the *jīm* of Majd and the *nūn* of bin). In view of the quality of the engraving and the unusual decorative elements in the outer margins it is remarkable that the die-engraver should have committed an error in spelling: a metathesis in the name of the mint, *Iṣhabān* for *Iṣbahān*. One might also remark on a peculiarity in the writing of the name of the prince's father: the *dāl* of Dushmanzār is in Naskhi rather than Kufic script. It would almost seem that the artisan at first forgot to engrave this letter and later squeezed it into a space that would not have accomodated a Kufic *dāl*; but it is a curious fact that this aberration occurs on several other dirhems of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār's.[2]

No Kākwayhid issue of the year 410 at Iṣbahān (Iṣfahān) has previously been published. The coin fits neatly into the corpus (*Kākwayhids*, 97), between a dirhem in Mr. Philip Thorburn's collection dated 409 (no. 4) and another issue dated 41(1?), represented in the same collection and in the British Museum (no. 5). It is interesting to note that in 409 at Iṣbahān Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār acknowledges the suzerainty of Shams al-Dawlah, Buwayhid lord of Iṣbahān and Hamadhān; whereas in 410 and 411 his allegiance is to Shams al-Dawlah's brother and rival, Majd al-Dawlah of Rayy. Shams al-Dawlah was succeeded by Samā' al-Dawlah in 412, and it is the latter whom Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār recognizes on coins struck at various mints (but not Iṣbahān) between 414 and 421.

[2] Cf. *Kākwayhids*, nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, and *Numismatic History of Rayy* (ANS Numismatic Studies No. 2, N.Y., 1938), no. 218 B.

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There follow a few additions to and amplifications of the corpus of Kākwayhid coins and seals (pp. 96–99 of my ittle monograph). The numbers refer to the entries in that list, with letters where appropriate to indicate additions.

3a. *Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān.* 410 *H.* (The coin described above).

14a. *Lead seal. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān.* 430 *H.* = 1038/9 A.D. (P. Casanova, "Sceaux arabes en plomb," in *RN* 1894, p. 117, no. 23).

The titles are: الامير الا.... المجاهد (؟) عضد الدين وعلاء الدولة ابو جعفر

14b. *Lead seal. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān.* 430 *H.* = 1038/9 A.D. (Khalil Edhem, *Qūrshūn Mühür Qatālōghï* (Constantinople, 1321), no. 20).

The titles are: الامير الس[يد].... عضد الدين علاء الدولة ابو جعفر

14c. *Lead seal. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān. Date effaced.* (Casanova, op. cit., p. 118, no. 24).

Same titles as on no. 14a?

21a. *Billon dirhem. Ṭoghril Beg and Farāmarz. Iṣbahān. Date effaced.* (Collection of Mr. Philip Thorburn).[3]

Farāmarz bears the simple title الامير, *al-amīr*.

41a. *Billon* (?) *dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Al-Muḥammadīyah* (?). 409 *H.* = 1018/19 A.D. (Adolph Weyl Auction Catalogue no. 50, Berlin, 1885 (Gagarine Coll.), no. 937).

No description.

43. *Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Al-Muḥammadīyah.* 421 *H.* = 1030 A.D.

In my corpus I referred to Siouffi, *Tables*, Janvier, 1880, on the authority of Zambaur. My friend Dr. Paul Balog, who has a copy of Nicolas Siouffi's *Listes des monnaies musulmanes* (Mosul, 1880), has kindly provided me with the description on page 30 of that publication. This is undoubtedly the same coin.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Thorburn for information on this and other coins in his collection.

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Obv.: العادل | لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | القادر بالله محمد بن دشمنزار

Rev.: لله محمد رسول الله عضد الدين علا الدولة وفخر الملة وتاج الامة ابو جعفر

44. *Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Al-Muḥammadīyah.* 424 *H.* = 1032/3 A.D.

The following description also has been furnished me by Dr. Balog from Siouffi's *Listes*, p. 30.

Obv.: عدل | لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله القائم بامر الله مسعود

("à droite de محمد un élif")

Margin: [بس]م الله ضرب.....ع وعشرين واربع م....

Rev.: قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد | محمد بن دشمنزار

46a. *Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Al-Muḥammadīyah. Date effaced.* [421–*ca.* 431 *H.* = 1030–*ca.* 1040 A.D.] (Siouffi, *Listes*, p. 30).

Obv.: عدل (؟) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله القائم بامر الله مسعود

("à droite de محمد un élif")

Rev.: قل (؟) هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد | محمد بن دشمنزار

The dates are limited by the presence of the name of the Ghaznavid Mas'ūd (accession in 421 H.) and a 432 issue at Rayy of the Buwayhid abu-Kālijār Fana-Khosraw (cf. *Numismatic History of Rayy*, p. 194). We know that in 429 Muḥammad was ruling Rayy with Ghaznavid sanction (*Kākwayhids*, no. 45 and p. 101). It is just barely possible that this is the same coin as that in the Cabinet des Médailles, which I attributed to the year 429 (?) at al-Muḥammadīyah (?) and described in the *Numismatic History of Rayy* under no. 221 B; although Siouffi's description carries no date and in my description محمد رسول الله is lacking.

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48a. *Dirhem Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār.* [42]1 *H.* = 1030 A.D. (Siouffi, *Listes*, p. 30).

Obv.: "Dans cinq ۵ servant de cadres et dans les intervales qui les séparent": لا اله الا الله وحده لاشريك له نصر من الله ولا قوة الا بالله القادر بالله

Inner margin: امر الاميرا [sic] ... الدولة وسنا الملة .... وبه

Outer margin: بسم ..... الدرهم بهمذان سنة احد .....

Rev.: لله محمد رسول الله عضد الدين علا الدولة ابو جعفر

To judge by the description, this coin resembles *BM* iii, no. 43 (mint effaced, 421 H., illustrated on pl. 1).[4] There are several differences in Siouffi's and Lane-Poole's descriptions, but the latter's is doubtless correct. He points out that the curious circular figures are actually *lām-alifs*. The Buwayhid Samā' al-Dawlah is here recognized as over-lord. So far as I know the date of his death is uncertain but these coins would seem to establish the fact that he was still alive in 421.

69a. *Billon dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Mint effaced.* 4XX *H.*[*ca.* 422–433] = ca. 1030–1041 A.D.

بدر	بدر
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله القائم بامر
لا شريك له	الله محمد بن
	دشمنزار

Margin: بسم ..... ربع مائة

Margin: traces.

Billon, 28 mm., 7.04 gr. W. Leo Thompson Coll. (from Saudi Arabia).

[4] No. 64 in the corpus.

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The date limitations are fixed by the accession of the Caliph al-Qā'im in 422 and the death of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār in 433. No over-lord is recognized, but it may be that we have in the name Badr (or possibly Bakr) above the obverse and reverse areas a princeling subject to the Kākwayhid. If Badr is the correct reading (the coin is worn very smooth) he might be Badr b. Muhalhil, one of the 'Annāzid family of Kurdistan, or perhaps a certain Badr b. Hilāl, appointed by the Seljūq Ibrāhīm b. Yinal over Daynawar a few years later.[5]

Finally I owe to Professor V. Minorsky two corrections to the historical sketch in *Kākwayhids*, pp. 100–102. With reference to the famous al-Sayyīdah, mother of the Buwayhid Majd al-Dawlah, it appears that Dushmanzār was not her brother but her uncle; thus al-Sayyīdah and Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār were first cousins.[6] On p. 101 I refer to the "Kurds of Jūzaqān." Professor Minorsky infomrs me that this should be Jūr-aqān or Jaur-aqān, present-day Gūr-ān.[7]

GEORGE C. MILES

[5] See V. Minorsky, s.v. 'Annāzids, *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (2nd ed.). Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 212, now out of date.
[6] See Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 146 and 338.
[7] Cf. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 1943, 75–103.

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DINARS OF AL-MU'AẒẒAM SHAMS AL-DĪN TŪRĀNSHĀH, AND AL-'AZĪZ ṬUGHTEGĪN, AYYŪBID PRINCES OF THE YEMEN

(See Plate XVI, 1–4)

The coinage of the Ayyūbid princes of the Yemen was known to Lane-Poole by two dirhems in the collection of the British Museum and to Lavoix by a single one in that of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. No other coins of this branch of the Ayyūbid dynasty turned up until George C. Miles, in an excellent article (*NC* 1939, 62–97), published an imposing series of seventy-seven dirhems; his article was accompanied by detailed historical notes. The publication of this important hoard constitutes the real basis of our knowledge of this all but unknown branch of Islamic numismatics.

The three dirhems published by Lane-Poole and Lavoix, and the seventy-seven of the ANS belong to the reigns of al-Nāṣir Ayyūb (598–611 H., 4th king), Mas'ūd Yūsuf (612–626 H., 6th king) and to al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn abū-Bakr, who probably was the last ruling Ayyūbīd prince (628 H.). In 1954 I was able to add to the corpus some unpublished dirhems of Ismā'īl b. Ṭughtegīn (593–598 H.) and of Ayyūb.[1] Thus only silver dirhems have hitherto come down to us and no coins of the first (al-Mu'aẓẓam Tūrānshāh), the second (al-'Azīz Ṭughtegīn) and the fifth king (al-Muẓaffar Sulaimān) have so far been published.

Recently we have acquired, from an ambulant dealer in Cairo, four dinars struck at 'Aden, at the beginning of the Ayyūbid rule. It was not possible to learn where the coins were found, or whether there were more specimens in the hoard. The coins are badly struck, the legends unskillfully engraved; the thin flan, of pale yellow gold, probably base metal, shows squashed, broken and chipped edges. The style of the inscriptions is an unartistic angular Kufic, which, however, is quite legible, except the date on no. 3 and the entire circular legend on no. 4, which latter is completely effaced.

A fifth dinar in the collections of the ANS also belongs to this series. It is similar in fabric and color to the four coins mentioned above.

[1] Paul Balog, "Dirhems ayoubites inédits du Yemen," *BIE*, XXXVI (1955) 347–355.

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1.

Border on both sides: linear circle.

Counter-clockwise marginal legend:

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين

Linear circle enclosing:

الملك المعظم
ملك اليمن
شمس الدين
تورانشاه بن
ايوب

Counter-clockwise marginal legend:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بعدن سنه ثلث وسبعين وخمسماية

Linear circle enclosing:

الامام
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
المستضي بامر
الله اميرالمو
منين

'Aden, 573 H.

24 mm., 2.28 gm. PLATE XVI, 1

2.

Border missing.

Counter-clockwise marginal legend:

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على

Linear circle enclosing:

الملك الناصر
صلاح الدنيا والدين
يوسف بن ايوب

Border: linear circle.

Counter-clockwise marginal legend:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بعدن سنه ست وسبعين (sic)

Linear circle enclosing:

الامام
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله
امير المومنين

'Aden, 576 H.

22 mm. 2.31 gm. PLATE XVI, 2

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3.

As above.

As above, but marginal legend less clear; the date ثمانين (5)80 H. Insufficient room for the century (خمسماية)

'Aden? 580 H.

21 mm., 2.38 gm. PLATE XVI,3

4.

As above, but marginal legends effaced, illegible.

'Aden; date effaced.

22 mm., 2.35 gm. PLATE XVI,4

5.

As above, but *Basmala* ends at: على ال

As above, but date: سنه ثلث وثمانين

'Aden, 583 H.

ANS, 21 mm. 2.16 gm.

There is no doubt about the attribution of the five coins to the Ayyūbid branch ruling in the Yemen. All five dinars present 'Aden as the minting place, one was struck in the name of Tūrānshāh, Saladin's brother and lieutenant, the others bear the protocol of Saladin himself.

Several points of interest come to our attention through this modest series. First of all, this is the only gold issue of the Yemeni Ayyūbids which has come down to us so far. It is noteworthy for the fact that only independent rulers were supposed to strike gold; and certainly independent they were not. It is very well known that Tūrānshāh had to apply to Saladin for permission to leave his lieutenancy and to move to Baalbek.

Nevertheless, on dinar no. 1, issued in 573 H., when he resided in Baalbek, he is styled king of the Yemen and Saladin's name is not even mentioned as his overlord. The protocol on this coin is therefore in contradiction with the political facts and the feudal relationship between the two brothers. The anomaly must, at one time or the other, have come to the attention of the central government, because in the next issue the royal protocol is already corrected. On coin no. 2, although struck in the year 576 H., only Saladin's name and titles

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appear and Tūrānshāh is left out altogether. At this time Tūrānshāh lived in Alexandria and died there during the next year.

Dinars nos. 3, 4 and 5 demonstrate that the emission of gold did not cease after the death of Tūrānshāh; although they do not bear Ṭughtegīn's name, these coins have clearly been struck in 580 and 583 H., during his reign. It is also the only existing coin of this prince so far known.

Coin no. 4 is similar to nos. 2 and 3. Its attribution must, however, remain uncertain because of the absence of date in the illegible margin. We should not err too greatly if we believe it to belong either to Tūrānshāh or to Ṭughtegīn.

The subsequent Ayyūbid issues of the Yemen present, with very few exceptions, the princely protocol in its correct relationship with that of their overlord, the king of Egypt and Syria. These issues are, however, all of silver and none of gold are known.

As already stated, the coins described here were manufactured from gold of very inferior alloy and the craftsmanship is also of poor quality. The entire issue has the markings of "provincial" work, unusual for the coinage of the Ayyūbids. It is true that the Ayyūbid dinar lost the stability of weight of the earlier Muslim gold. The fluctuation of weight, however, is not excessive and does not fall below 3.50 grams, which is already an exceptionally low level. It is also true that the Ayyūbid gold is somewhat inferior in fineness[2] to that of the Umayyad, 'Abbāsid and Fāṭimid dinar; the debasement of the alloy is mostly negligible, or at least unimportant. In the case of our four coins, both shortcomings are pronounced: the coins are definitely underweight, between 2.28 and 2.38 grams, and the gold brittle, very pale and heavily covered by a rusty-brown patina, a sign of much copper in the alloy.

The five coins fill an important gap which has existed until now in our knowledge of the Ayyūbid coinage in the Yemen. Above all, they are the issues of the first and second prince, Tūrānshāh and Ṭughtegīn, whose coins were previously unknown. Furthermore, they are the first gold coins of this branch of the Ayyūbids to be published.

PAUL BALOG

[2] A. S. Ehrenkreutz, "The Crisis of Dīnār in the Egypt of Saladin," *JAOS*, Vol. 76 (1956) 178–184.

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FULLY DATED COINS OF MURĀD BAKHSH, PRETENDER TO THE THRONE OF HINDUSTAN (December 1657 — June 1658)

(See Plate XVI,5–6)

Among the occupants of the Mughal throne and the pretenders thereto there were quite a few whose brief appearance on the historical stage both began and ended within the span of one and the same Hijrī year shown on their coins. There is therefore no way of telling which of their coins belong to an earlier and which to a later issue, unless some historical evidence gives us a clue to it. An exception to this situation represent a few very scarce coins of Murād Bakhsh, on which the Ilāhī month happens to be discernable. Of such pieces only two silver rupees seem to have been published so far.

(1) Rupee of Sūrat mint in the Calcutta Museum dated: Aḥad A.H. 1068, Ilāhī month Farwardīn (see H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. III (Oxford, 1908), No. 1118, Pl. XI).

(2) Rupee of Khambāyat mint in the British Museum (originally in the collection of the Rev. G. P. Taylor) dated: Aḥad A.H. 1068, Ilāhī month Azar (see Part II of R.B. Whitehead's article, "Some Notable Coins of Mughal Emperors of India" in *NC* 1926, 383–384, Pl. XXIV, 6).

Note: A coin similar to (1) is in the author's collection, and since the Indian Museum Catalogue has long been out of print, the reverse of this coin is reproduced here for ready reference (Plate XVI, 5).

Rev.

In square area: بادشاه غازی
محمد مراد بخش

Left margin: [ضرب] سورت

Top margin: فرور [دین] ماه الهی سنة احد

Æ. 9, 176½

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In his "Chronology of the Mughal Emperors"[1] Prof. S.H. Hodivala gives the dates of Murād Bakhsh's two coronations: the first one performed in secrecy on 23 Safar 1068 A.H., which corresponded to November 20 (Old Style) 1657 A.D.; the second took place in public on 9 Rab'ī I, 1068 A.H., or December 5 (Old Style) 1657 A.D. The same article gives the date of the deposition of Murād Bakhsh by his brother Aurangzeb as 4 Shawāl 1068 A.H. which corresponded to June 26 (Old Style) 1658 A.D.

Therefore Murād Bakhsh was the illusory head of the Mughal realm barely 7 months, counting from the date of his first enthronement November 20,1657. The latter date fell on Ilāhī 9 Azar,[2] whereas his deposition took place on Ilahi 15 Tir.[3]

Obviously the coins showing the Ilāhī month ADHAR belong to the first issue made at the time of the coronation of Murād Bakhsh.

Besides the already mentioned rupee of the Khambāyat mint in the BM with the Ilāhī month Azar, a Sūrat mint rupee displaying the same old Persian month is in my cabinet; it is described below:

Obv.

In square area: The Kalīmah

On margins: Names and epithets (partly cut) of the four orthodox Caliphs, starting from the right margin clockwise; in the top margin fully visible ١٠٦٨ (A.H. 1068).

Rev.

In square area: بادشاه غازی
محمد مراد بخش

Left margin: ض[رب] سورت

Top margin: اذرماه الهی سنة احد

(PLATE XVI, 6)

Æ, .9, 176½

[1] S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1923, 273–274.

[2] See table II, p. 45 of V. S. Bendrey's "Tārīkh-i Ilāhī" published by G. B. Nare, B. A., Gaikwadwada, 568 Narayan, Poona, India, 1933.

[3] Ibid.

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The next crucial point in the short lived adventure of Murād Bakhsh was the launching of the rebellious campaign, jointly with his brother Aurangzeb, against their ailing father Emperor Shāh Jahān. The rupee in the Calcutta Museum with the Ilāhī month FARWARDĪN must have been issued during the early stage or on the eve of this campaign, since in 1658 the first day of that month corresponded to March 11th, and its last day to April 9th,[4] while the junction of the armies of the two brothers near Malwa took place early in April 1658.[5]

Speaking of the coronation of Murād Bakhsh, the well known historian of Mughal India, Jadunath Sarkar, mentions "the low state of his finances".[6] The three known mints of Murād Bakhsh, therefore, could not have been very prolific in their issues of silver coins, to say nothing of the gold. However, besides the coronation issues, the next logical time for an adequately large issue was the start of the decisive campaign against the imperial forces of Shāh Jahān. As the newly proclaimed "Padshāh," Murād Bakhsh could not have failed to use to the utmost at this time the royal prerogative to coin in order to impress the populace, if not his crafty brother Aurangzeb, with his newly appropriated exalted position.

Thus the two salient points of the unsuccessful venture of Murād Bakhsh are represented at least by a few fully dated coins of his. It is likely that there were other issues bearing the names of one or more of the following Ilāhī months:

	Old Style
Dī	Ist day corresponded to December 11, 1657
Bahman	,, ,, ,, ,, January 10, 1658
Isfandārmuz ...	,, ,, ,, ,, February 9, ,,
Ardībihisht	,, ,, ,, ,, April 10, ,,
Khūrdād	,, ,, ,, ,, May 11, ,,
Tīr	,, ,, ,, ,, June 12, ,, [7]

None of these coins seems to have come to light so far.

L. N. KUKURANOV

[4] Ibid.
[5] Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 2nd ed. 1923, 410.
[6] S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1923, 273.
[7] V. S. Bendrey, op. cit., Table II, p. 45.

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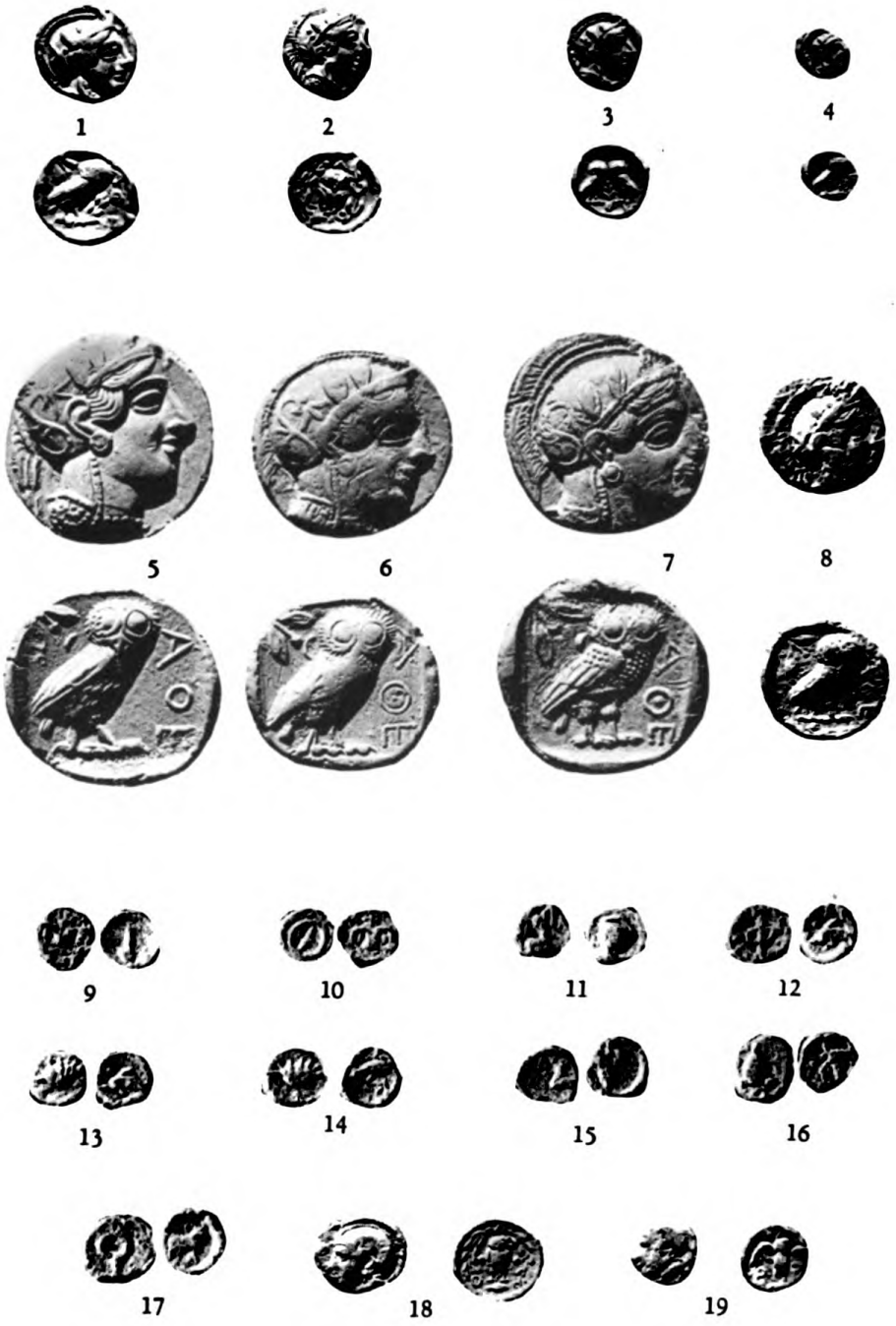
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LATER FIFTH CENTURY COINAGE OF ATHENS

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PTOLEMAIC HOARD FROM PHACOUS

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IV



PTOLEMAIC HOARD FROM PHACOUS

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1



2







3



4





PTOLEMAIC HOARD FROM PHACOUS

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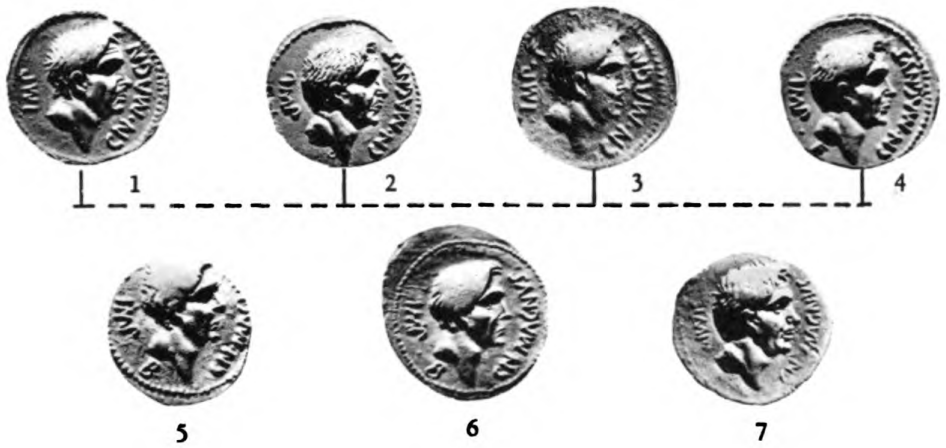
VI



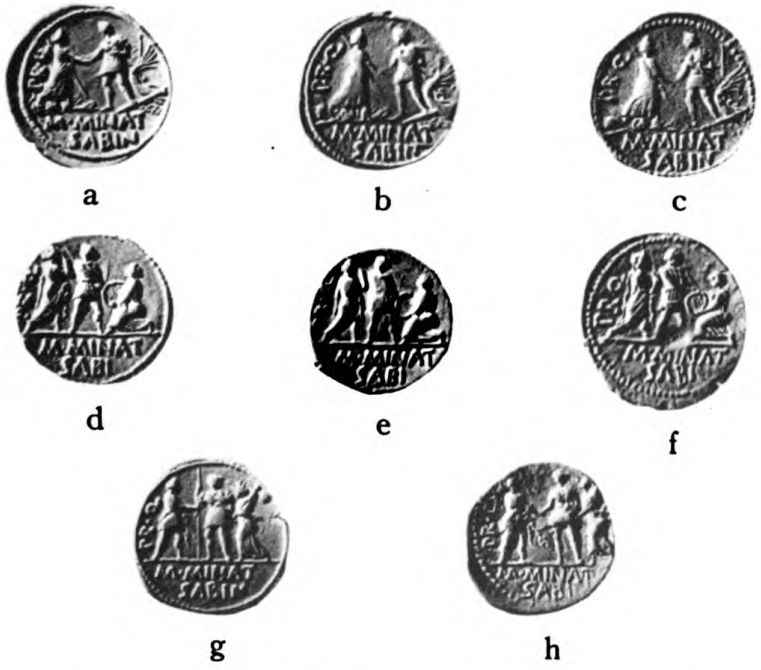
THE SIKELIOTAN COINAGE

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Obverse Dies



Reverse Dies



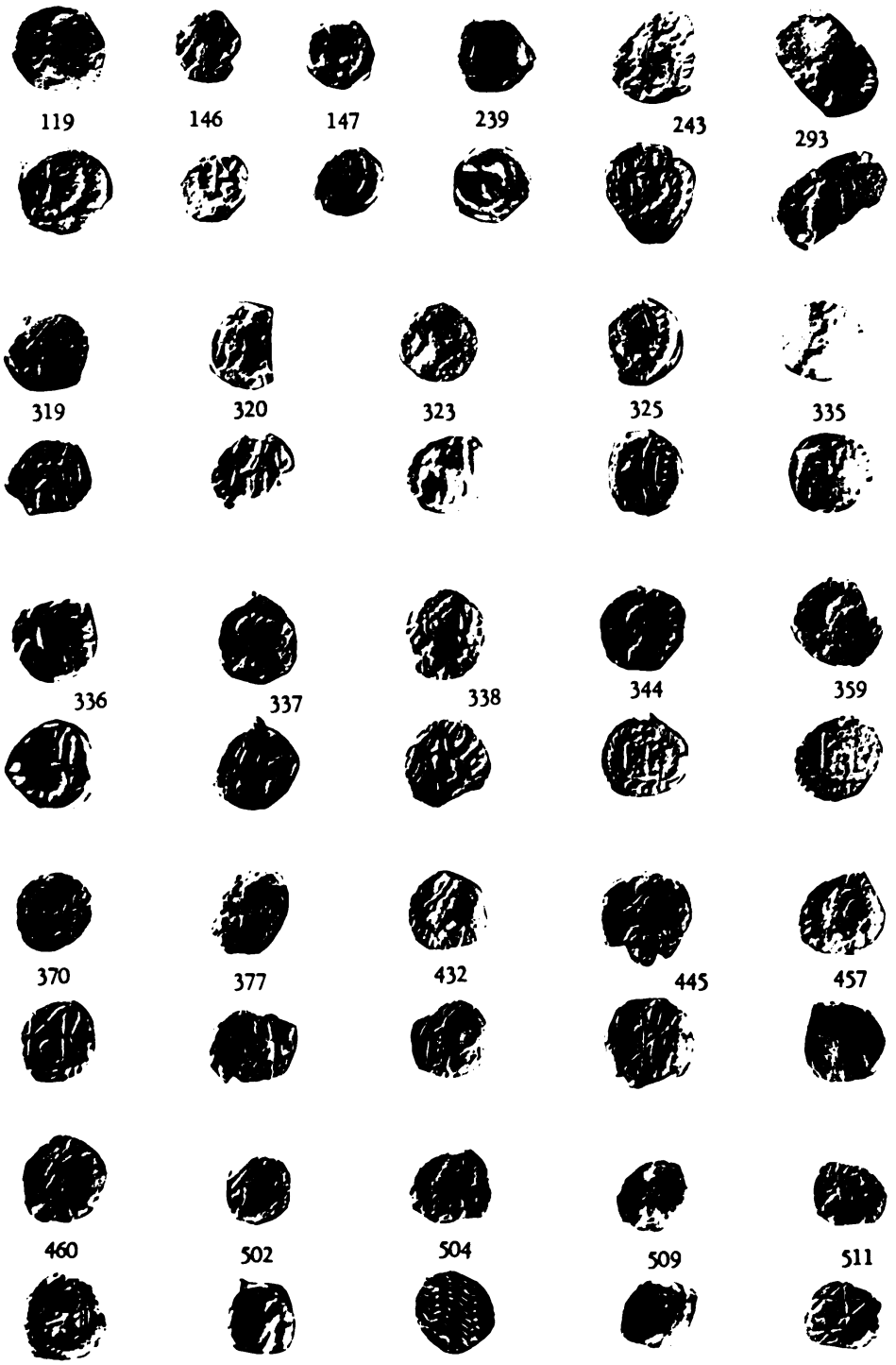
DENARII OF CN. POMPEIUS JR. AND
M. MINATIUS SABINUS

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DENARIUS OF P. VENTIDIUS

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BRONZE HOARD OF PERIOD OF LEO I

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BYZANTINE MILIARESION AND ARAB DIRHEM

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XIV



A HOARD OF ARAB DIRHEMS FROM ALGARVE

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KĀKWAYID DIRHEM,
IṢBAHĀN, 410 H.

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XVI



AYYŪBID PRINCES OF THE YEMEN, 1–4.
MURĀD BAKHSH OF HINDUSTAN, 5–6.

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THE CROWN OF NAXOS*

(See Plate I)

The sack of Naxos on the eve of the Marathon expedition in 490 B.C. and her subjugation to a decade of Persian rule marks the end of the archaic coinage of the island.[1] Her independence restored at the close of the Persian Wars, Naxos came under Athenian influence, and her ill-fated revolt of 466 B.C. resulted in absolute Athenian control.[2] Thus the Naxian mint remained inactive until it was reopened at the end of the fifth century. In the archaic period, however, Naxos was a powerful island. Largest of the Aegean Cyclades and situated in their center, she could field 8,000 hoplites and commanded a sizeable fleet.[3] Her substantial coinage comprised staters and fractions in silver which may be described as follows:

Obv. Kantharos, surmounted by an ivy leaf; below handles, l. and r., a pendant bunch of grapes.
Rev. Incuse square, shallow and quadripartite. Plate I, 1–3.

The attribution of these coins to Naxos rests on a secure foundation. The kantharos reappears on later inscribed issues of the island.[4] The Dionysiac iconography of wine cup, grapes, and ivy reflects the

* With the exception of the stater in the collection of Mr. A. S. Dewing, the material for this article has been gathered from published sources. I am indebted to Mr. Dewing for making his specimen known to me and to Mr. G. K. Jenkins of the British Museum, M. Le Rider of the Cabinet des Médailles, and Mme Belova of the State Hermitage for additional information regarding certain coins.

[1] The ruthlessness of the sack is described by Herodotus, 6:96. Naxian ships fought for the Persians at Salamis, Aeschylus, *Persae*, 885ff., or according to Herodotus, 8:45, were sent to the battle but deserted to the Greeks. The Naxians were free in time to join the Greeks at Plataea, Diodorus, 5:52, and to be commemorated in the victory offerings at Olympia and Delphi, Pausanias, 5:23:2, M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I (Oxford, 1946) no. 19.

[2] Thucydides, 1:98, 137.

[3] Herodotus, 5:30. The Naxians were given a place in the thalassocracy lists as masters of the sea in the late sixth century, Diodorus *ap.* Eusebius, *Chronica*, I, p. 255 (Schöne).

[4] Cf. *BMCat, Crete and Aegean Islands* (London, 1890) 110–112, nos. 7–21.

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important role played by the god in the mythological past of the island.[5]

In the stater series two major varieties of obverse type are known. In one the bowl of the kantharos is decorated with an ivy wreath (PLATE I, 3). In the other it is left unadorned (PLATE I, 2). That the undecorated class is the earlier is suggested by the development of the design. A single stater is known which lacks the pendant bunches of grapes below the handles as well as the ivy wreath (PLATE I, 1). If this piece represents an early and formative stage of the design, the large group of obverse dies with plain bowl and pendant grapes marks an intermediate stage, and finally the wreathed kantharoi are the latest phase in the sequence.

The addition of the ivy wreath to the well established design of the plain bowl kantharos cannot have been a casual innovation. Archaic mints allowed their engravers considerable freedom in executing dies, but this freedom was never extended to an option over the elements of the design. The charming variations in the execution of the kneeling goat emblem on the late archaic drachms of Paros[6] or the stylistic differences among the dies used at the Aiginetan mint in the same period[7] bear out both aspects of this observation. An ivy leaf, moreover, was already a part of the design of the Naxian staters. Therefore, the decision to decorate the kantharos with a wreath of ivy was a matter of policy on the part of the governing authority of the mint, and the reasons which prompted it merit investigation.

The fabric of the coinage permits us to establish its chronology with some accuracy. Throughout the archaic Naxian coinage, the incuse reverse is a broad, shallow square evenly divided into four smaller squares. Technically, this form of incuse is an advance over the small, deep, oblong punches with irregular or triangular internal segments which were used to strike the earliest electrum coinages in

[5] The god was born on Naxos, and it was there he discovered Ariadne, Diodorus, 3:66, 4:61, 5:51–52.

[6] The hoard of these drachms found on Paros in 1936 (J. Allen, *British Museum Quarterly*, 14, 1939–1940, 95–96 and pl. 33) confirmed the attribution to Paros proposed by F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, 2 (Vienna, 1902) 453.

[7] Cf. E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, 2:1 (Paris, 1907) pl. 30, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, and 14, all issues of the years 510–480 B.C. In a future study I plan to treat the chronology of the early Aiginetan series in full detail.

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Asia Minor and which were imitated by the first mints of European Greece such as Aigina (PLATE I, 5 and 6).[8] The Naxian type of incuse is also familiar from coins of the mints in the Thraco-Macedonian region that began operation in the second half of the sixth century (PLATE I, 7).[9] Aside from Aglaosthenes' notion that the Naxians invented coins,[10] which is patently mistaken, there is no reason to place the beginning of the Naxian coinage earlier than those of the silver-producing regions of Thrace and Macedonia. Moreover, the tyranny of Lygdamis at Naxos in the third quarter of the sixth century is precisely the period in which one might expect the opening of the island's mint. Lygdamis owed his power to the support of his fellow tyrant Peisistratos,[11] and as a contemporary of the Athenian ruler, the foundation of his mint should be placed well within the third quarter of the sixth century, in the 540's or later.

The relative number of dies in the unwreathed and wreathed series adds evidence for the dating of the latter group. As may be seen from the appended catalogue, the dies of the earlier unwreathed issues outnumber those of the wreathed staters two to one. It is impossible to estimate the length of time during which any one die or group of dies was in service, but the natural inference drawn from this ratio is that the wreathed kantharos type was introduced toward the end of the coinage. Since the latest archaic Naxian staters were struck in 490 B.C., the close of the sixth century appears to be a reasonable date for the change of type.

[8] Ionian electrum stater, London, British Museum, after *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks* (1959) pl. I, 8; Aiginetan ℞ stater, B. Y. Berry Collection.

[9] Akanthos, tetradrachm, B. Y. Berry Collection; cf. Babelon, *Traité*, 2:1, pls. 44–60; J. N. Svoronos, *L' Hellénisme primitif de la Macédoine* (Paris and Athens, 1919) = *JIAN*, 19 (1918–1919) 1–262. The dating of K. von Fritze, "Die autonomen Münzen von Abdera," *Nomisma*, 3 (1909) 14ff. and J. Desneux, "Les tetradrachmes d'Akanthos," *RBN*, 95 (1949) 23ff. is to be preferred to that of D. Raymond, *Macedonian Regal Coinage to 413 B.C.* (*NNM* 126, New York, 1953) 50–51, who suggests that the Macedonian series began at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century.

[10] Quoted by Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 9:83 = *FGrHist*, no. 499, frag. 7.

[11] After his second restoration Peisistratos helped Lygdamis to become tyrant of Naxos, Herodotus, 1:64 and Polyaenus, 1:23:2. Lygdamis was not the first tyrant of Naxos, Aristotle, *Pol.*, p. 1305 a, but he was a keen business man, Aristotle, *Oec.*, p. 1346b. He appears to have been deposed by the Spartans about 520, Schol. *ap.* Aeschines 2, sec. 80, p. 56 (Dindorff) and Plutarch, *De Her. Malig.*, 21 = *Moralia*, 859 d.

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The reason for the adoption of the new design at this time is not difficult to find. In 500 B.C., Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletos, incited the Persians to attack Naxos.[12] A timely warning, however, and a stubborn defense by the islanders were sufficient to repulse the invasion after a siege of six months. This campaign, on the eve of the Ionian revolt, was the first Greek victory of the Persian Wars.

The wreath which appears on the coins of the Naxians at this time was in every respect a fitting celebration of their triumph, for the crown was the symbol of victory and the mark of rejoicing.[13] Statues of the gods and their attributes were commonly decorated in this fashion.[14] The ivy wreath, moreover, had a particular significance for the Naxians. Dionysos himself had subdued the East, a legendary triumph which the troops of Alexander the Great were later to commemorate at Babylon by crowning themselves with ivy.[15] In 500 the god was defending his own island against the forces of Asia, and the ivy wreath again appears in his honor.

The kantharos is also symbolic. An entry in the lexicon of Suidas states:

> Ναξιουργὴς κάνθαρος: πλοῖα ἦν οὕτω λεγόμενα κάνθαροι ἐν Νάξῳ γίνομενα ..... Κρατῖνος δὲ λέγει ἅτι θαλασσοκρατοῦντές ποτε Νάξιοι ἐχρῶντο αὐτοῖς τοῖς κανθάροις.
>
> Naxian-made kantharos: ships built in Naxos were thus called..... and Kratinos says that when the Naxians ruled the seas, they sailed these very kantharoi.

Thus the wreath of the kantharos is also a garland of victory decorating the warships of Naxos. Through this harmonious symbolism her staters were the appropriate memorial of a national and an Hellenic triumph. They are, moreover, the first known commemorative coinage.

After the decisive victory of the Persian Wars, Athens appears to have imitated the Naxian example. Beginning with a tetradrachm

[12] Herodotus, 5:30–36.

[13] Cf. the article, *Corona*, in C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, 1:2 (Paris, 1887) 1520–1537.

[14] Relevant texts are collected by K. F. Herman, *Lehrbuch der Gottesdienstichen Alterthümer der Griechen*, 2[2] (Heidelberg, 1858) sec. 24.

[15] The earliest mention of Dionysos' triumph is Euripides, *Bacchae*, 13–20; for Alexander's soldiers, cf. Pliny, *HN* 16:62, Tertullian, *De Corona*, 7.

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series and their decadrachm, probably struck to commemorate the Battle of Salamis, the Athenians crowned the helmeted head of the goddess Athene appearing on their coins with a wreath of olive leaves (PLATE I, 4).[16] Just as the Naxians continued to strike wreathed staters after the first issue of the type, the Athenians preserved the olive crown in their subsequent coinage. This parallel confirms our recognition of the wreathed staters of Naxos as a memorial to the initial repulse of the Persians from the Aegean.

In conclusion we may review the hoards in which archaic Naxian staters have been found. They are five in number.[17] The Taranto hoard, buried about 490 B.C., and the Benha el-Asl hoard, which belongs to the 480's, contained only unwreathed staters.[18] Examples of the wreathed class have come from the Sakha hoard, which dates after 480, and the Demanhur hoard.[19] Recent estimates of the Demanhur hoard's date range from the last decade of the sixth century to about 490, contemporary with the Taranto hoard.[20] Save

[16] C. M. Kraay, *NC* (1956) 54–58. Others, Babelon, *Traité*, 2:1, 776–778, A. B. Brett, *AJN*, 53:3 (1924) 61–62, C. T. Seltman, *Athens, its History and Coinage* (Cambridge, 1924) 107, and J. Jonkees, *Mnemosyne* (1945) 110, argue for Marathon. Wishing to date the first wreathed tetradrachms before Marathon, F. Mainzer, *ZfN*, 36 (1926) 37–54, rejected the commemorative significance of the wreath, but in the light of Kraay's hoard analysis, Mainzer's arrangement seems unlikely. The Athenian decadrachm illustrated here, after C. T. Seltman, *Masterpieces of Greek Coinage* (Oxford, 1949) no. 11, is in the Berlin Cabinet.

In celebration of the victory of Himera, the obv. head of the Syracusan Demareteion and of the tetradrachms and fractions associated with it was also adorned with a leaf crown. However, this victory crown did not become a permanent element in Syracusan coin design.

[17] Two drachms were found in the Myt-Rahineh hoard, S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*[2] (*NNM* 78, New York, 1937) — hereafter referred to as Noe — no. 722, A. de Longpérier, *RN* (1861) 421.

[18] Taranto, Noe no. 1052, our catalogue no. 3. There is, of course, some question whether these coins were found together or in two separate parcels. Benha el-Asl, Noe no. 143, our catalogue no. 4.

[19] Sakha, Noe no. 888, our catalogue no. 24. Doubt has been expressed whether all the coins said to be from this hoard were actually found together (C. M. Kraay, *NC*, 1956, 49), but if the contents is accepted as published, the Cyrenaic material suggests that the hoard was buried after 480. Cf. *ZfN*, 22 (1900) pl. 8, 10 with *BMCat*, *Cyrenaica* (London, 1927) Period II, Group I. p. xxxviff. Demanhur, Noe no. 323, our catalogue no. 23. An unwreathed stater is also preserved from this hoard, catalogue no. 5a.

[20] W. L. Brown, *NC* (1950) 185, suggested the 490's, but C. M. Kraay, *NC* (1956) 48, has given it a date about 510.

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for generally earlier Corinthian pieces, its composition is similar to that of the Taranto hoard, and on the basis of the preceding argument, we may suggest that it was buried after 500 B.C.

The final hoard to be considered is the great find of archaic coins made on the island of Santorin (ancient Thera) in 1821.[21] Only two pieces from the hoard can now be identified with certainty,[22] but the following summary of the other coins may be derived from the list of the contents made by H. P. Borrell:[23]

> Aigina, 541; Naxos, 14; Siphnos (?), 3; Paros (?), 2; Thera(?), 23; other uncertain: boar's head *obv.*, 84; cock *obv.*, 1; one half horse *obv.*, 41; one half lion *obv.*, 48; large fish head *obv.*, 2.

In a previous note Borrell had stated that a wreathed stater was among the Naxian coins.[24] Its presence is of great importance. It has been natural to consider the Santorin hoard an early deposit belonging to the sixth century. However, its composition does not preclude a burial date of 500 or after, possibly during the Persian Wars. If the foregoing discussion of the wreathed staters of Naxos is correct, the Santorin hoard should be dated in the early fifth century.

CATALOGUE

(Each obverse die is numbered independently).

Obv. Kantharos alone.

1. Hirsch 32, 1912 (Philipsen) no. 517, Ciani, February 1956 (Hindamian) no. 501. PLATE I, 1. 12.20 gr.
   Obv. Kantharos, surmounted by an ivy leaf; below handles, l. and r., a pendant bunch of grapes.
2. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, 2 (Cambridge, 1926), no. 7270. Same reverse as no. 1. 11.70 gr.

[21] Noe no. 920.

[22] One is the stater in London with the head of a satyr on the obv., *NC* (1884) pl. 12, 17, Babelon, *Traité*, 2:1, pl. 62, 4. The coin is often attributed to Naxos, e.g. H. A. Cahn, *Die Münzen des Sikilischen Stadt Naxos* (Basel, 1944) 37, but the attribution is uncertain. The second coin is in Copenhagen, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Argolis-Aegean Islands* (1944) no. 628. Its obverse is just as described by Borrell, *NC* (1843–1844) 134, "Plain Vase, without handles." Finally, an unwreathed Naxian stater from the Weber Collection, our catalogue no. 6a, is identified as coming from the Santorin Find.

[23] *NC* (1843–1844) 133–134. A reconstruction of the contents was attempted by W. Wroth, *NC* (1884) 269–280.

[24] *NC* (1842–1843) 176–178.

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3.	Taranto Hoard. Babelon, *RN* (1912) 18, no. 5, pl. III. A second example, 11.80 gr., is not illustrated.	12.00 gr.
4.	London, British Museum. Benha el-Asl Hoard. Robinson, *NC* (1930) 100, no. 21, pl. 9.	12.09 gr.
5. a.	Demanhur Hoard. Hirsch, 2 June 1902, no. 324.	12.33 gr.
b.	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. A. B. Brett, *Catalogue of Greek Coins* (Boston, 1954), no. 1290.	12.50 gr.
6. a.	Santorin Hoard (?). L. Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, 2 (London, 1924), no. 4679, Schulman, 10 May 1926, no. 609, Ratto, 4 April 1927, no. 1646, Schulman, 5 June 1930, no. 108.	12.49 gr.
b.	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. J. Babelon, *Catalogue de la collection de Luynes*, 2 (Paris, 1925), no. 2377, E. Babelon, *Traité* 2:1, no. 1950, pl. 62, 5.	12.43 gr.
7.	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. Babelon, *Catalogue de la collection de Luynes*, no. 2376.	12.48 gr.
8.	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.	12.38 gr.
9.	London, British Museum. *BMCat, Crete and Aegean Islands*, p. 110, no. 4, *NC* (1884) pl. 12, 7.	12.38 gr.
10.	Copenhagen, Danish National Museum. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Argolis — Aegean Islands* (1944), no. 702.	12.33 gr.
11.	Schlesinger 13, 1935 (Hermitage duplicates), no. 1088, Münzhandlung Basel 4, 1935, no. 771.	14.40 gr.
12.	*Catalogue R. Jameson*, 1 (Paris, 1913), no. 1306.	12.08 gr.
13.	Egger, 1904 (Prowe), no. 840, Sotheby, April 1909 (White-King), no. 201, Merzbacher, 2 November 1909, no. 3043, Naville 7, 1924 (Bement 2), no. 1328, Rheims-Bourgey, 17–19 June 1959, no. 396.	11.99 gr.
14.	Hess, March 1906 (Berlin duplicates), no. 1145, Egger 40, 1912 (Prowe), no. 1215, E. S. G. Robinson, *Catalogue of Ancient Greek Coins Collected by Godfrey Locker-Lampson* (London, 1923) no. 247, Naville 12, 1926 (Bissen *et al.*), no. 1680. PLATE I, 2.	12.38 gr.
15.	Hirsch 21, 1908 (Weber), no. 2229, Hirsch 34, 1914, no. 460, Naville 4, 1922 (Grand Duke — Evans), no. 652, Naville 10, 1925, no. 624.	12.40 gr.
16.	Naville 1, 1921 (Pozzi), no. 2043, Naville 10, 1925, no. 625.	12.18 gr.
17.	Sotheby, 1896 (Montagu 1), no. 463, Sotheby, 1909 (Benson), no. 628.	11.88 gr.
18.	Feuardent Fr., 1913 (Burel), no. 239, Ciani, February 1956 (Hindamian), no. 500.	11.90 gr.
19.	Hirsch 30, 1911 (Barron), no. 550.	12.40 gr.

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20.	Helbing, 24 October 1927, no. 3032.	11.80 gr.
21.	Münzen und Medaillen 7, 1948, no. 459.	12.33 gr.
22.	Dorotheum, March 1957 (Zeno 3), no. 3913. *Obv.* Kantharos, surmounted by an ivy leaf; below handles, l. and r., a pendant bunch of grapes; on bowl, a wreath of ivy.	12.30 gr.
23.	Gotha. Demanhur Hoard. *ZfN*, 37 (1927) 60, no. 79.	11.86 gr.
24.	Sakha Hoard. *NC* (1899) 275, no. 11, Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, no. 4680, Florance-Ciani, *Collection de monnaies grecques H. de Nanteuil* (Paris, 1925), no. 997.	11.60 gr.
25. a.	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. Babelon, *Traité* 2:1, no. 1951, H. A. Cahn, *Die Münzen des Sikilischen Stadt Naxos* (Basel, 1944), pl. XI, S.	12.46 gr.
b.	Naville 14, 1929 (Churchill *et al.*), no. 289.	11.60 gr.
26. a.	London, British Museum. *BMCat, Crete and Aegean Islands*, p. 110, no. 1; B. V. Head, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Ancients* (London, 1881), pl. 6, 34, P. Gardner, *History of Ancient Coinage* (Oxford, 1918), pl. 2, 2.	12.11 gr.
b.	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection*, no. 7271, C. T. Seltman, *Greek Coins*,[2] (London, 1955), pl. 12, 13.	12.23 gr.
c.	Sotheby, 1911 (Sandeman), no. 233, Schlesinger, 1935 (Hermitage duplicates), no. 1087.	12.20 gr.
27.	London, British Museum, *BMCat, Crete and Aegean Islands*, p. 110, no. 2, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks* (1959), pl. 5, 44	12.34 gr.
28.	London, British Museum, *BMCat, Crete and Aegean Islands*, p. 110, no. 3.	12.24 gr.
29.	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.	12.07 gr.
30. a.	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.	11.57 gr.
b.	A. S. Dewing.	12.05 gr.
31.	Forrer, *Weber Collection*, no. 4681, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, 3 (Lockett Collection) part 4 (1945), no. 2616, Glendining, 27 May 1959 (Lockett), no. 2089.	12.32 gr.
32.	Sotheby, 1896 (Bunbury 1), no. 1249, Sotheby, 1908 (O'Hagan), no. 483, *Catalogue R. Jameson*, no. 1305.	12.21 gr.
33.	New York, American Numismatic Society. Hirsch 25, 1909 (Philipsen), no. 1582, Hirsch 33, 1913, no. 796.	12.30 gr.
34.	Grabow, 9 July 1930, no. 446. PLATE I, 3.	12.43 gr.

R. ROSS HOLLOWAY

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THE CORINTH HOARD OF 1938

(See Plates II–XII)

Sometime in 1938, possibly the year before, a hoard of 382 silver coins was unearthed at Corinth. These coins were found in a plain earthenware jar, unfortunately not preserved, a few centimeters beneath the surface, by workmen named Dritsas and Koutras while working on the property of the former. The location of the find is described as being about fifteen minutes west of New Corinth on the foot-and-wagon road that diagonals between New and Old Corinth, i.e., nearer New Corinth than Old. It is not certain that these 382 pieces comprised the entire hoard, but its size, more than usually extensive, gives this considerable probability. The coins were confiscated by the ministry, but in courtesy to the American School of Classical Studies, the right of publication was reserved to the School. This is recorded in note 1, p. 670 of the Επιτύμβιον Χρήστου Τσούντα, in a valuable article by Mme. Varoucha-Christodoulopolis, the distinguished successor of Svoronos as Curator of the National Numismatic Museum. Because of the second World War and its aftermath, the coins were placed for safe-keeping in the vaults of the Bank of Greece. During the winter of 1952–53, spent by the writer in Athens, after months of delay, they were transferred to the National Numismatic Museum, where for the few remaining weeks of my stay I was permitted to record them. Casts of the more important items were made and most of the Alexander-type drachms were photographed. Weights were obtained for all but the Athenian tetradrachms and some of the Ptolemaic issues. Cordial thanks are due to Mme. Varoucha for her patient persistence in having the coins transferred and for aid in having casts made, and to Miss Eva Brann of the American School for help in photographing and weighing. I am glad to express, most of all, my gratitude for a grant under the Fulbright Act which made possible this and other activities in Greece.

In a discussion of the Olympia Hoard (*NNM* 39, p. 19), Mr. Newell points out that Peloponnesian 'Alexanders' are "noticeably

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rare in hoards unearthed in that very district." Consequently, determining the mint sources of the Alexander-type pieces in this hoard, whether tetradrachms (20 in number) or, what proves more informing, drachms (90), has a bearing not alone confined to trying to discover the occasion for the burial, but to showing the currency of Corinth at that time or shortly before. Of the Alexander-type tetradrachms three are variations with unpublished symbols. For the period covered by this accumulation, our literary sources are notoriously weak, for which reason a sizable hoard found at Corinth and buried at a crucial time, promises much of significance.

It is extremely difficult to obtain a clear picture of the conditions which prevailed at Corinth in the years which immediately preceded the one in which this hoard must have been buried. These were indeed troubled years. We must rely heavily upon Polybius for anything approaching their history — the scrutiny which his record has received at the hands of scholars permits putting considerable reliance on his statements.

The death of Demetrius II (the son of Antigonos Gonatas) occurred in 229. Philip V was but a child and the army proceeded to crown Antigonos Doson. According to Tarn (*Hellenistic Civilization*, p. 17) by 228 the Achaean League had reached its zenith — among its cities were Megalopolis, Argos and Corinth. Aratus of Sicyon, in order to forestall the Aetolians who were allied with Sparta, entered into negotiations with Doson, promising Acrocorinth to him for his help. But the victory of Cleomenes at Hecatombaean in 227 gave him such prestige that city after city of the Achaean League surrendered to him, and among them Corinth. 'Ptolemy threw over the League and began to give financial support to Cleomenes with a view to setting him on to attack Antigonus as he hoped to be able to keep in check more effectually the projects of the Macedonian kings with the support of Lacedaemonians rather than that of the Achaeans.' (*Polyb.* II, 51).

Antigonos thereupon invaded the Peloponnesus by way of Euboea, and although Cleomenes was favorably placed at the Corinthian isthmus, the successful seizure of Argos by the Achaeans at a crucial moment alarmed him and he withdrew leaving Corinth in the possession of Antigonos. Pursuing Cleomenes, the battle of Sellasia was

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fought in 222 (some scholars favor 221), resulting in the utter defeat of the Spartan army and the capture of Sparta. The sudden death of Antigonos in 221/220 left Corinth in the possession of Philip V, — it remained Macedonian for many years.

From this very inadequate summary of the situation it will be seen that Corinth was controlled by the Spartans in 227, having previously been in the control of the Achaean League. The occupation by Cleomenes from 227 to shortly before 222 is unlikely to have been a pleasant one for the Corinthians, nor did the change when the Macedonians were given the upper hand markedly improve conditions from a local point of view. No garrison on Acrocorinth, Spartan or Macedonian, would have shown much consideration for Corinth, and plundering by the soldiery would have given abundant occasion for the secreting of valuables including such an accumulation as this hoard.

CATALOGUE OF THE HOARD

ATHENS

1–136. Head of Athena to r. in crested helmet decorated with three leaves and scroll; to r. AΘA.
Rev. Owl in incuse square, head facing, and with olive spray and waning moon on left, as on Svoronos' *Monnaies d'Athenes*, pl. 19.
Ar tetradrachms.

137. Head of Athena to r. in crested helmet with three leaves and scroll which differs in form from the preceding tetradrachms.
Rev. On a flat field, owl to r. with facing head; in l. field olive spray and crescent; to r. AΘA.
Ar drachm, 4.20. Cf. Svoronos, pl. 23, no. 15.

138. Similar.
Rev. Similar; but with gorgonaeion in l. field below leaf spray.
Ar drachm, 4.28. Cf. Svoronos, pl. 23, nos. 25–26.

139. Similar.
Rev. Similar; symbol in l. field, prow to r.
Ar drachm, 4.28. Cf. Svoronos, pl. 23, no. 30.

140–141. Similar.
Rev. Similar; in l. field trident to right.
Ar drachms, 4.27 and 4.31. Svoronos, pl. 23, no. 37.

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ALEXANDER-TYPE TETRADRACHMS

Obv. Head of beardless Heracles in lion skin.
Rev. Zeus, seated to l., holding eagle in r. and sceptre in l. hand. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ in r. field; varying symbols and/ or monograms in field or beneath throne.

Mint: Amphipolis, c. 328–327.

142. Symbol: Herm.
Wt. 16.57 gms. Newell, *NNM* 19 (Demanhur Hoard), 716; Müller, 366.
143. Symbol: Cock
16.51 gms. Newell, loc. cit. 717; Müller, 392.

Mint: Uncertain of Macedonia.

144. Symbol: Tripod; beneath throne B.
Müller, 146 (Philippi).

Mint: Sicyon.

145. Symbol: Athena Alkis l.; beneath cross-piece of throne ΘΕ. The uprights of throne-back have tiny Nikes as finials.
16.48 gms. *Num. Studies* VI, no. 60.4. Müller, 882.

Mint: Uncertain of Peloponnesus? — possibly Sicyon.

146. Symbol: Aphlaston; between heavy exergual line and rungs of throne, ΔΟ. Note thick ear and lentoid eye of lion-scalp. The form of symbol and overall style are in sharp contrast with other Sicyonian issues.
16.98 gms. Cf. *Num. Studies* VI, nos. 29.5–29.7.
147. Same reverse die as 146; the obverse from another die.
16.94 gms.
148–9. Symbol: Oversized cock to l. Throne with single rung, has ΔΟ beneath. Sceptre and upright of throne-back beaded. Style differs from that of 146–7 — note the badly proportioned figure of Zeus. Possibly from an Euboean mint; Müller suggests Salymbria (392).

Mint: Megalopolis.

150. Symbol: Syrinx above ΜΕ (ligatured); beneath single rung of very wide throne, Μ in wreath. Note foot-stool, throne without back and beaded sceptre.
16.96 gms. Müller — Cf. p. 79 for placement in a sequence of tetradrachms from this mint.

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Mint: Argos.

151. Symbol: Vertical club; beneath thick rung of throne APΓ. The back of the throne to r. of torso of Zeus terminates *beneath* his arm and shows two cross-pieces.
17.12 gms. Cf. p. 77 for placement in a sequence of tetradrachms from this mint.

Mint: Peloponnesus?

152. Symbol: Mirror or necklace? Beneath beaded rung of throneΓY. BAΣIΛEΩΣ in exergue. Throne-back and sceptre beaded; the inscription infringes upon exergual line.
16.81 gms. Symbol unpublished? Cf. Müller, 537 (Tricca).

Mint: Peloponnesus?

153. Symbol: Coiled serpent to r. Beneath beaded rung of throne EY; the beaded sceptre is not perpendicular and but one foot of Zeus is shown.
17.09 gms. Combination of symbol and letters unpublished; cf. Müller, 537 (Tricca).

Mint: Clazomenae.

154. Symbol: Forepart of winged boar to l. with HPOΔO beneath. The l. leg of the narrow throne is not continuous and the l. upright is out of line. The figure of Zeus is badly modelled.
16.82 gms. Unpublished.

Mint: Miletus.

155. Symbol beneath cushioned throne, bipennis; in l. field, monogram  . The beaded sceptre is bent.
16.85 gms.

Mint: Aradus.

156. Symbol lacking? Monogram beneath throne possibly  .
16.52 gms.

Mint: Ake.

157. In l. field Aramaic inscription in single line; the date therefore between 317 and 304. Cf. Newell, *The Dated Coinage of Sidon and Ake*.
16.76 gms.

Mint: Babylon. (after 317)

158. In l. field  in wreath; beneath throne MI. BAΣIΛEΩΣ in exergue.
16.80 gms. Newell, *NNM* 21 (Andritsaena), p. 15. Müller, 734.

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159. Similar, but in l. field MI; beneath throne monogram of 158 in wreath.
16.98 gms. Newell, *NNM* 21, p. 15.

160. Above cross-piece of throne, ΛΥ. These letters occur on tetradrachms of both Alexander and Philip and consequently are datable c. 323.
Badly worn.

Mint: Cyrene.

161. *Obv.* Head of Heracles in lion skin facing left.
Rev. Without symbol or monogram.
16.92 gms. Same obverse die as *BMC Cyrenaiea*, pl. xxviii, 3–4.
Another specimen from same combination of dies in Turin Royal Collection.

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ALEXANDER-TYPE DRACHMS

No.	*Wt.*	*Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Beneath Throne*	*Notanda*	*Condition*
			Lampsacus			
162	3.91		Artemis facing	?	Zeus' legs not crossed	V. worn
163	4.16		☡ & ?		Do. — small letters	V. worn
164	4.12			A	ΦΛΙΓΠΟΥ	Worn
165*	4.08	Head small in scale	Wine amphora	ME	Thick throne leg	Uncleaned
166*	4.05		☡	crescent AE	Zeus with crossed legs	Worn
167*	4.30		☡ & Δ	AI	Throne without rung	Sharp
168	4.07		Half Pegasus l.	AI	Over-sized eagle	Uncleaned
169*	4.10		Do.	Artemis	Throne high & narrow	Slight wear
170*	4.02	Beaded border	Do. & Ivy leaf	N ⋀	Zeus' hand distinctive	Slight wear
			Abydus			
171*	4.03		Bearded head r.	Leaf		Worn
172	4.05	Linear border	M			Sharp
173	4.11	Linear border	M	Leaf		Sharp
174*	4.12	Linear border	M	Leaf, long stem	Slanting exergual line	Slight wear
175	4.13	Linear ? border	M ?	Leaf		Sharp
176	4.25	Head small			Footstool distinctive	Worn
177	4.09		M	cantharos	Wide throne	Worn
178	4.30		M			Sharp
179*	4.08	Ear in sunken area	M & prow	?	Caduceus in r. field	Slight wear
180*	4.15		⋈ & prow		Do.; heavily beaded rung	Slight wear
181	4.11			Leaf	Wide throne; footstool	Uncleaned
182	4.18		ME	Leaf ?		Sharp
			Miletus			
183	4.08				Zeus' legs not crossed	Worn
184*	4.18	Beaded border	Crest	Bipennis	Zeus' legs crossed	Slight wear

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No.	*Wt.*	*Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Beneath Throne*	*Notanda*	*Condition*
				Sardes		
185	4.00	Beaded border	?		Φ Zeus' legs not crossed	Worn
186*	4.02	Beaded border			ΦΙΛΙΡΡΟΥ-Do.	V. worn
187	4.00		Bee?		ΦΙΛΙΡΡΟΥ-Do.	V. worn
188	4.00		Torch?		ΦΙΛΙΡΡΟΥ-Do.	V. worn
189	4.12	Beaded border	?		ΦΙΛΙΡΡΟΥ-Do.	Worn
190	4.19		Torch		ΦΙΛΙΡΡΟΥ-Do.	Worn
191	4.00	Beaded border	Torch		ΑΛΕΞΑΝ. ... High throne	V. worn
192*	4.10	Beaded border	?	Cornucopia	Throne without back	Worn
193*	4.24	Coarse style	NK & bee?		Throne without rung	Sharp
194	4.01		Torch		ΦΙΛΙΡΡΟΥ	Worn
				Euboea		
195*	4.01	Damaged	Aplustre		Throne low & wide	Worn
196*	4.03	Beaded border	Aplustre		Throne with rung	Slight wear
				Magnesia		
197	4.02	Beaded border	Thyrsus	—	ΦΙΛΙΡΡΟΥ Sceptre remote from throne	Worn
198	3.99	Beaded border	Thyrsus	—	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Worn
199	4.15	Beaded border	Thyrsus	—	Narrow throne	
200	4.08	Beaded border			B in r. field	Slight wear
201	4.08	Beaded border	Thyrsus	—	Arm of Zeus bent	Slight wear
202	4.05	Beaded border			Head of Zeus oversized.	Slight wear
203*	4.02	Beaded border	Seal, with head up.		?	Slight wear
204	4.28	Beaded border	Lion charging l.	(A)		Slight wear
205*	4.10	Beaded border	Lion charging l.	(A)		Slight wear
206	4.08	Beaded border				Slight wear
207*	4.04	Beaded border	AN above E		A Y betw. feet — legs of Zeus uncr.	Sharp
208*	4.22	Flan 20 mm.; style broad	Ⓐ above ♠		Meander in exergue	Sharp

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No.	*Wt.*	*Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Beneath Throne*	*Notanda*	*Condition*
				Side		
209*	4.12	Beaded border	Pomegranate	ΓΥ	Wide throne without back	Sharp
				Teos		
210*	3.96	Beaded border	Griffin l.	?	Beaded border	Worn
211	3.81		Griffin r.			Worn
				Chios		
212*	4.18	Beaded border	Grape-cluster		Throne with back in outline	Sharp
213*	4.17	Do.; flan 17 mm.	Grape-cluster below circled		Do.	Sharp
214*	4.19	Do.; flan 19 mm.	Grape-cluster below		No back to throne	Sharp
215*	3.98	Do.; flan 20 mm.	Grape-cluster below		Throne with back in outline	Sharp
				Babylon		
216*	4.03	Beaded border	M	—	ΦΙΛΙΓΓΟΥ	V. worn
217*	4.00	Beaded border	?	?	Zeus with legs uncrossed	V. worn
				Uncertain Mint		
218*	4.17	Beaded border	—	—	Wide throne	Worn

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No.	*Wt.*	*Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Beneath Throne*	*Notanda*	*Condition*
				Colophon		
219*	4.13	All w. beaded borders	Star	?	Spear in r. field	V. worn
220*	4.14		?	—	Spear	V. worn
221	4.05		?	—	Spear	V. worn
222	4.09		?	—	Spear	Uncleaned
223	4.04		Barley grain	—	Spear; throne tilted	Uncleaned
224	4.05		Cythera	A		Worn
225	3.94		Large cythera	B	High footstool	Worn
226*	4.06		Cythera			Worn
227	4.15		Fish; head up.		Spear	Worn
228	3.89		Fish; head up.		Spear	Worn
229	4.20		?	Φ		Worn
230	4.16		K	Crescent		Worn
231	4.24		N	B		Slight wear
232	4.25		N	B		Slight wear
233	4.26		N	A ?		Slight wear
234	3.81		Φ or crescent.			Worn
235	4.03		Φ			Worn
236*	4.03				Throne high & narrow.	Sharp
237*	4.33			Φ		Sharp
238	3.95		Cresc. & lion head.			Worn
239	4.07		Cresc. & lion head.			Worn
240*	4.12		B above lion head.		Footstool	Sharp
241	3.96		Forep't lion & Pentalpha ?			Slight wear
242*	4.20		Cresc. above half-lion	Pentalpha ?		Slight wear
243	4.01		Lion-head & Φ	Pentalpha ?		Slight wear
244*	4.19		Forep't lion above Φ	Pentalpha ?		Slight wear

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No.	*Wt.*	*Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Beneath Throne*	*Notanda*	*Condition*
			Colophon			
			— with Alexander's type but ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ			
245*	4.12		Forep't lion & Φ	Pentalpha		Slight wear
246*	4.10		Forep't Pegasus & lion.	Torch		Sharp
			Colophon			
			— Lysimachus with his own types			
247	4.05	Head Zeus Ammon to r.	ΛΥΣ (ΙΜΑΧΟΥ)			V. worn
248	4.10	Do.	ΛΥΣ Arrow downward	A		
249*	4.03	Do.	ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ — sq.-based lyre	A		V. worn
			Uncertain Mint — Antigonos			
250*	3.92	Wreathed head to r.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ Athena Alkis to l. in l. field, TI in r. field		Helmet in center f.	F. d. c.
			Indeterminate (Barbarian?)			
251	4.03		?	ΑΛΕ		Much worn
252	4.11		Lobster claw	ΚΗ?		worn
253	4.03		Torch?	?		Much worn
254	4.08	Beaded	?	ΠΡ		Much worn
255	4.05	Beaded	Ω?	ΕΥ		Worn
256	4.02	Beaded	Ω?	ΕΥ?		Worn
257	4.05	Beaded	Ω	—	*Rev.* has beaded border	Worn

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AETOLIAN LEAGUE

Obv. Head of youthful Heracles to r. in lions-pelt headdress.
Rev. Aetolia seated to r. on a mound of shields, wearing *kausia, chiton, chlamys* and *andromides*, holding sword in l. and perpendicular spear in r. A Gaulish trumpet (*carnyx*) constitutes the exergual line; the shields are of the Macedonian and Gaulish types.

258. Monograms: ΑΙ above ΙΗ.
Æ Attic tetradrachm, 16.73 gms.
259. Monograms Α above Σ (E)
Æ tetradrachm, 16.77 gms.
260. Α in r. field, Ι in exergue. Specimen from same pair of dies in Sophikon Hoard.
Æ tetradrachm, 16.75 gms.
261–264. Single monogram, ΑΙ, larger in scale than those preceding.
Æ tetradrachm, 16.92, 16.84, 17.06, 16.70 gms. Nos. 261 and 264 illustrated on plate.

EPHESUS

265. Bee with Ε to l. and Φ to r.
Rev. Forepart of stag to r. with head reverted; in l. field, palm tree; in r. field Χ?] ΑΙΡΙΜΕΝΗ
Tetradrachm, worn.
266. Similar.
Rev. Magistrate's name ΔΙΟΝΥ...
Tetradrachm, much worn.

RHODES

267–8. Facing head of Helios.
Rev. Rhodian rose; no symbol or name visible.
Didrachms, as are numbers following up to and including 284. Worn.
269. Similar.
Rev. In r. field Φ.
270–3. Similar to *BMC* 27, pl. xxxvi, 8.
Weight of 271, 6.64 gms.
274–5. Similar to *BMC* 31.
Rev. Symbol, grape cluster hanging from stalk attached to rose.
276. Similar to *BMC* 34, pl. xxxvi, 9.
Rev. Symbol, grape cluster.
277. Similar to 270–273 without grape cluster.

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278–80.* Similar to *BMC* 47.
Rev. Symbol helmet; magistrate ΕΡ] ΑΣΙΚΛΗΣ. Wt. of 279, 6.71 gms.
281–2. Similar to *BMC* 45.
Rev. Symbol prow; magistrate ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΜΟΣ.
283–4. Cf. *BMC* 43.
Rev. Ear of corn; magistrate ΑΝΤ] ΙΓΑΤΡΟΣ.

SELEUCID ISSUES

Mint: Uncertain of Cappodocia or Northern Syria.

285. (On PLATE II) Type of Alexander — head of Heracles to r.
Rev. Seated Zeus. In r. field ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ; in l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In inner l. field Ξ; beneath throne M encircled.
17.10 gms. *WSM* 1342, pl. Lii, 7.

Mint: Seleucia on the Tigris.

286. Laureate head of Zeus to r. with long locks of hair, in a circle of dots.
Rev. In exergue ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, on l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Helmeted and draped Athena holding shield in outstretched l. and brandishing javelin in r., standing in chariot drawn by four horned elephants to r. Beneath Athena, Θ; beneath shield A.
16.93 gms. *ESM* 84, pl. x, 3, (dated 288–287).
287. Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. in circle of dots.
Rev. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l.; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. Apollo seated l. on omphalos, in a circle of dots. In outer l. field Π; in outer r. field Ⱶ? 16.98 gms. *ESM* 140–149, cf. pl. xiii, 8 (dated 278–274).
288. Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. within circle of dots.
Rev. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l.; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. Apollo seated to l. on omphalos. In outer l. field ⋈P; in outer r. field Π.
16.84 gms. *ESM* 189, pl. xvi, 10 (in series dated 255–246).
289. Diademed head of Seleucus II to r.
Rev. ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. Apollo standing to l. beside tripod. In outer field ΠP?; in outer r. field M.
16.90 gms. Cf. *WSM* p. 20, no. 210a for obv. and one of monograms on rev.

Mint: Smyrna?

290. Diademed head of Antiochus II to r.
Rev. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l.; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. Apollo seated to l. on omphalos. Monograms off-flan.
17.00 gms. Cf. *WSM* 1499 for apparently identical obverse.

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Mint: Ephesus

291. Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. (in circle of dots?).
Rev. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l.; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. Apollo seated to l. on omphalos holding bow in r. hand. In exergue, monogram in circle.
17.05 gms. *WSM* 1487, pl. xiv, 2.

Mint: Seleucia on the Tigris.

292. Diademed head of Seleucus III to r. with fluttering diadem ends; circle of dots.
Rev. ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. Apollo seated l. on omphalos holding arrow in r. hand. In outer l. field ⋈; in outer r. ⋈.
16.62 gms. *ESM* 215–217, pl. xvii, 15–17 (dated by reign, 226/5–223/2).

PTOLEMAIC ISSUES

Obv. Head of Ptolemy I wearing diadem and facing to r.
Rev. Eagle to l. on large fulmen; two or more letters or monograms.

	Svoronos	*Svoronos*	*Weight*	*Date*
		PTOLEMY I		
Nos.	Nos.	Plate Nos.		
293–4	205	XI 18		
295	245	VIII 25		
296	247	IX 1		
297	248	IX 2		
298*–9	252	IX 8	13.48	
300*–1	254	IX 10	13.76	
302–4*–8	255	IX 12	13.84	
309–11*–13	256	IX 11	13.95	
314–17	257	IX 3		
318	259	IX 13		
319	263	IX 17		
320*	264	IX 16	13.85	
		PTOLEMY II		
321	355	——		
322–3	358	XI 2		
324*	362	XI 8	13.95	
325*–6	365	IX 24	14.15	

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Nos.	*Svoronos* Nos.	*Svoronos* Plate Nos.	*Weight*	*Date*
327–9	366	XI 11		
330–1	368	VIII 27		
332	371	IX 19		
333	373	XI 25		
334	374	XI 5		
335	525	XII 1		
336–7	527			
338–40	528	XII 2		
341*	529	XII 3		
342–3	530	XII 4		
344	542	XII 12		
345	544	XII 14		
346	538	XII 9		
347–8	548	XIV 2		
349–50	552	XIV 6		
		Tyre		
351–5	637	XIX 9		Year H–279
356	640	XIX 11		Θ–271
357–8	644	XIX 14		c. 267
359–61	646	XIX 16		ΚΑ–265
362–4	649	XIX 19		ΚΔ–262
365		(Sidon?)		
		Sidon		
366*	713	XXI 2	13.87	Cstpd Byzantium
367–74	713	XXI 2		
375	719			
376	722–5?	XXI 8?		ΚΕ–261
377	723?	XXI 9		ΚΕ–261
378*	725		13.65	ΚΕ–261
379	732?	XXI 14		Λ–256
380	739	XXI 17		ΛΒ–254
381	751	XXII 4		ΛΙ–249
		Gaza		
382*	828	XXIV 8	14.06	ΛΑ–255

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COMMENTARY ON THE HOARD

ATHENS

The 136 Athenian tetradrachms of the Fourth Century form the largest section of this hoard numerically. I was unable to observe anything distinctive about these coins except their proportionate predominance, and the circumstance that there were no tetradrachms of the issue represented by the five drachms (nos. 137–141). Since this hoard is to be preserved intact at the National Numismatic Museum at Athens, should some way of distinguishing varieties among these Fourth Century issues be found practicable in future, we shall have a group suitable for testing.

The five Athenian drachms in this hoard (nos. 137–141) far outweigh the tetradrachms in their importance. Four, bearing symbols, are fresh and uncirculated — the fifth, without symbol, is worn and must be of an earlier issue. Svoronos illustrates drachms having the symbols which occur on these four pieces on pl. 23 of his 'Monnaies d'Athenes' — nos. 25, 26, 30 and 37 (2). These symbols are: prow, a facing head (Helios?), and trident (two specimens). He places these drachms and their cognate tetradrachms just before the New Style coinage, dating them 255–229, the latter date being the accepted one for the beginning of the New Style coinage at the time his work was done. He lists three tetradrachms which parallel the drachms in stylistic details as well as in their symbols. Since similar symbols appear consistently throughout the New Style coinage but do not occur earlier except on this series of tetradrachms and drachms, Svoronos implies that the interval between them and the New Style coinage was inconsiderable.

If we could arrive at an acceptable dating for these Athens drachms in the Corinth Hoard we should achieve a long step forward. Starting with Miss Thompson's convincing conclusion that the New Style format was initiated in 196 and with the generally accepted assumption that the Macedonians did not permit coinage while in control at Athens, we have the years between 229 and 196 as the period within which these drachms and their related tetradrachms may have been struck. The relatively slight wear on the pieces in the Corinth find is supporting evidence. So, too, is the status of Athens during its control

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by Eurycleides and Micion, during which there was a slow return to prosperity incidental to these years of peace and to the successful side-stepping of involvement in the Social War (217–215). In 222, after Sellasia, there was added relief in the removal of fear of Spartan invasion and improved relations with Boeotia provided a buffer state to the north. Coupled with the civic betterment was the help received from Egypt whose favor had been transferred from Sparta and the Achaean League to Athens.

The absence of all but one of the exclusively Macedonian issues (no. 250) from the Corinth Hoard can hardly be without significance, and its meaning is susceptible to several interpretations. The coinage bearing Alexander's types had by this time taken on the nature of an international currency and many of the tetradrachms in this hoard as well as most of the drachms were struck in mints of Asia Minor cities and are not to be thought of as Macedonian. The Aetolian, Ptolemaic and Seleucid segments of the hoard all represented antagonists of the Macedonians. None of the tetradrachms bearing the name 'Antigonos' which for long have evaded separation into issues by Gonatas or Doson are present. But there is in this hoard (no. 250) a drachm inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ which is an important member. It bears on its obverse a head with a wreath which remotely resembles that worn by Poseidon, but its reverse, Athena Alkidemos, is the same as the reverse of the Pan-head tetradrachm and its initial letters ΤΙ also occur on some of these tetradrachms.[1]

Judged from its condition alone, this drachm would rank as a late addition to the hoard — in this regard it quite parallels the Athenian drachms. The initiation of neither can have taken place many years before that of the burial of the hoard. The series of Athenian drachms such as those in this hoard is not an extended one, and like the Macedonian drachm they are not common. Even the large national collections do not have many specimens and neither issue gives indication of having been large or extended. Svoronos dates the Athenian drachms before 229 because he believed the New Style coinage began in that year, but we have seen that Miss Thompson

[1] For a thorough discussion of this problem, consult I. L. Merker, "The Silver Coinage of Antigonos Gonatas and Antigonos Doson," *ANSMN* IX, pp. 39–52, where this drachm is assigned to Gonatas, with a consequent dating before 239.

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has shown better reasons for thinking 196 their beginning date (*ANSMN* V, 25ff.). Since this Macedonian drachm must have been struck between 229 and 220 if we accept it as an issue of Doson's, its unworn condition is quite in accord with a dating for this hoard's burial based on no. 292.

THE ALEXANDER-TYPE TETRADRACHMS

This group, although not large, is an interesting segment of this hoard. Two tetradrachms of Amphipolis dispute with three of Babylon the distinction of being the earliest Alexander issues in the find. And as is to be expected, all five pieces show considerable wear. The Amphipolis pieces are dated by Mr. Newell 328–327 B.C Those struck at Babylon would have come a few years before 323. There are two further pieces from this mint among the drachms. No. 144 with a tripod as symbol, is attributed by Mr. Newell to an uncertain mint of Northern Greece.

The representation for the Peloponnesus is strong even though we cannot be certain of the identification of all of the mints. No. 145 is certainly Sicyon. Nos. 146 and 147 bear an aphlaston as symbol as well as the initials of a magistrate also found in the Alexander-type coinage for Sicyon, and although these same initials also occur on nos. 148 and 149, further resemblance is entirely lacking. Both obverse dies of nos. 146 and 147 differ radically from any assigned to Sicyon — in their relief, in the manner in which the knotted paws are treated and in the modelling of the ear of Heracles. The reverse common to these two obverses depicts a more than usually substantial throne having two struts instead of the single one customary at Sicyon. The workmanship, however, is excellent. The reverse of nos. 148 and 149, with the cock to left as symbol and also with ΔO, is unlike either the foregoing die or any others assigned to Sicyon. The very wide throne bears a long-thighed Zeus with a short torso, and both symbol and eagle are unduly large in scale. The obverse may have been recut. The cock, as symbol, carries a suggestion of Carystus. The Alexander-type tetradrachms of Euboea are nearly as scarce as those of the Peloponnesus — this one shows closer resemblance in style to Alexanders from other Euboean mints than to those of

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Amphipolis which also bear a cock as symbol. Both this symbol and the aphlaston appear on Alexanders from an unidentified mint in Euboea.

No. 152 shows as symbol a mirror or necklace in the left field. Two further specimens with this symbol, and both from the same reverse die, which, however, differs from the reverse of this piece, were picked up in the Athenian coin market. The identification of the symbol as a mirror is made by Dr. Macdonald in the *Hunter Catalogue* (I, 304, no. 80). Müller's mint-assignment is to Tricca (M. 538). In style there is no marked difference from other varieties having ΓΥ for magistrate which have occurred in the Olympia and Patras Hoards.[2]

No. 153 with a coiled serpent as symbol and ΕΥ plus a possible third letter under the throne, does not qualify as Peloponnesian without objection, but its definite assignment elsewhere is equally open to question. Müller gives it as well as no. 152 to those mints. Epidaurus and Euboea seem possibilities, although we have no other Alexanders attributable to the former. The stringy locks and the well-defined eye of the lion's scalp should be distinctive, but they are unlike any other die represented in the hoard. The reverse with but one of Zeus' feet showing, with Alexander's name in small letters and with the sceptre slanting have not been found combined in counterparts. The serpent occurs as symbol on certain Alexander staters struck in Asia Minor — perhaps this coin like no. 154, will ultimately be found to have had its origin there.

On the reverse of no. 154, the five-letter name of the magistrate and the strange symbol demonstrate that other new varieties of Alexanders may still be expected. What is the symbol? No acceptable attribution was found until after having tried to trace the name. This was obviously to be completed as Herodotos. Checking in the invaluable list of Münsterberg disclosed two mints whose coins bore this name — both in Asia Minor. Of these, the one for Teos showed not only the name, but what could be the same symbol. But with the limitation to Asia Minor determined, the not too convincing resemblance of the symbol to the forepart of the winged boar makes attribution to Clazomenae a preferable alternative. Other Alexanders with this symbol are known, although they are far from common. The back of the throne is much wider than the heavier seat; this makes the

[2] *Bibliography*, nos. 954 and 795.

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throne unduly high and the leg of Zeus has been lengthened to compensate for this condition. The head of the obverse is in high relief and there is a beaded border; both details are foreign to the style of the Peloponnesian issues.

No. 150 with ΜΕ and with a syrinx for symbol — the syrinx occurs on other issues for this city — has been recognized since Müller's day as an issue struck at Megalopolis. Confirmation has been provided by a hoard discovered there, and published by Dr. D. M. Robinson (*ANSMN* IV, 13) — it contained three of these tetradrachms. The die-sequences are shown on PLATE XI and in connection with other hoards there will be a discussion of their dating.

The inscription ΑΡΓ beneath the throne on no. 151 leaves no room for doubt of its attribution to Argos. The sequential arrangement of the known dies for this mint is presented on PLATES IX and X, giving this piece an important placement.

No. 155, struck at Miletus, coupled with 154 already mentioned, and nos. 152–3 which are not certainly from Asia Minor afford this region a maximum representation of four which is in contrast with the preponderance of the Asia Minor mints among the drachms in the hoard. Of the further mints for the tetradrachms in this hoard, one each were struck at Aradus and Ake and three in Babylon. The last of the Alexander-type tetradrachms comes from far-away Cyrene.

ALEXANDER-TYPE DRACHMS

This tabulation of the mints represented by the drachms of the Corinth Hoard is based on the identifications carefully worked out for the Batnae Hoard by Miss Thompson and Professor Bellinger, which utilized data available in Mr. Newell's ticketing of the coins and casts in his collection and on a meticulous study of die-combinations.

Euboea	2	Babylon	2
Lampsacus	9	Chios	4
Sardes	10	Teos	2
Colophon	28	Side	1
Magnesia	12	Uncertain	1
Abydus	12	Indeterminate	7
Miletus	2	Total	92

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Most of these drachms are from Asia Minor mints, and this preponderance is true not only of the Corinth and Batnae hoards, but of that from Sophikon and of other hoards of drachms, several of which (unpublished) were available in Mr. Newell's collection. Babylon is the only exception unless the barbaric (indeterminate) and uncertain pieces are from mints outside Asia Minor. Moreover the numerical predominance of the issues of five mints of this list is common to both hoards as well as to all the unpublished hoards previously mentioned and the Sophikon hoard although this last is not completely recorded. The table on p. 30 of the monograph describing the Batnae hoard shows the drachm coinage to have been very heavy after 311 when Antigonos Monopthalamus proclaimed the freedom of these Greek cities.[3] This coinage of drachms seems to have stopped as soon as Lysimachus began to coin with his own types (Zeus Ammon obverse, seated Athena reverse) — about 297, according to Mr. Newell (*Portrait Coins*, 19) after which a heavy coinage of tetradrachms took place without cognate drachms. This change in the denominations favored by Lysimachus may have significance for economists.

The Corinth and Sophikon hoards show that these Asia Minor drachms survived in circulation for nearly a century not only in the district for which they originated, but in the Peloponnesus as well. The Batnae hoard demonstrates a similar condition for Syria. They seem to have been favored by Antigonos Monopthalamus during whose domination (311–301) few tetradrachms were struck at these mints. The heavy coinage of drachms and their continuance in circulation for a century demonstrates their popularity. Further, the coinage of drachms by Lysimachus is largely confined to the period of transition from his use of Alexander's types to his own, with these, in turn, struck in relatively small numbers for a brief period after 297.

There is one exception to this dating for the Alexander-type drachms in this hoard — the four issues for Chios. A like condition prevails for the Sophikon Hoard, in which there were at least three Chios drachms, and for the Batnae find where there were fifteen. This exceptional group has for its symbol a grape-cluster plus a monogram which also occurs on Chios tetradrachms, and a distinctive

[3] C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, p. 3.

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form to the throne. These drachms are struck on a spread flan, which because of its enlarged format is thinner than the other drachms in the hoards. Miss Thompson and Professor Bellinger date the group as "almost certainly not earlier than 274–270 and maybe half a century later." Their presence in the Corinth Hoard supports the later placement.

THE AETOLIAN LEAGUE TETRADRACHMS

The presence of seven tetradrachms of the Aetolian League in this hoard made a re-examination of what had been written about this coinage necessary. The difference in circulation wear was so slight that any deduction as to precedence was not possible. The reverse type of these tetradrachms depicts the figure of Aetolia seated on a mound of shields, some of which are of the Macedonian form. Such shields frame the obverse coin-types of both Antigonos and Philip V — Pan in the one instance and Perseus on the tetradrachms of Philip. A fragmentary statue of marble, similar in subject, was found at Delphi and this has been published by A. Reinach (illustrated in *JIAN* xiii, 1911, 177ff.). Head (*HN*², 334) sees the coin type as a derivative of the statue, and in both "a distinct allusion to the repulse both of the Macedonians and the Gauls by the Aetolians."

It was possible to assemble (coins, casts and illustrations) some forty examples of these tetradrachms and to observe that they were struck from only seven obverse dies. As the pieces from this hoard show, two monograms occur on the reverse of each of these dies with two (possibly three) exceptions. If, as generally interpreted, these represent monetary magistrates, the procedure at this mint seems to have followed the formula in which Magistrates A and B were followed by Magistrates B and C and they in turn by C and D. This involves the replacing of one of the magistrates while the second continued in office, being in turn replaced by a third individual. Unfortunately we have no way of knowing whether these terms were of equal length, but it seems certain that this coinage did not extend beyond the period represented by the life of seven obverse dies. The entire question, along with that of the relation between the didrachms and the gold staters of the Aetolian League will have to be re-considered. Head's dating

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(279–168) would seem to require considerable constriction, and a lowering of his upper limit to one nearer the burial-date for this Corinth hoard.

SELEUCID ISSUES

The latest coin in the Corinth Hoard which we are able to date is a tetradrachm of Seleucus III (*ESM* 216, pl. xvii. 16), our no. 292. This ruler's short reign lasted only from 226/5 to 223/2 and this piece was struck in faraway Seleucia. How long would its migration to Corinth have taken? And what was the occasion for this and for the other Seleucid issues to have made the journey? The coin shows but slight evidence of having been in circulation — could it have come in company with the other Seleucid tetradrachms (and most of the Alexander-type drachms) among the possessions of some mercenary just returned from Asia Minor? The two coins of Ephesus and possibly the Rhodian drachms support such a suggestion.

Of the eight Seleucid tetradrachms in this hoard, five are from the mint of Seleucia, one from Antioch, one from Ephesus and one from an uncertain mint. Of the twenty tetradrachms with Alexander's types, at least four are from Seleucid territory (Babylon 2, Aradus, Ake) and one from Miletus. Although these coins may have wandered from the city of their minting in the course of circulation it is surprising to find them at Corinth, accompanied as they are by such a heavy proportion of both drachms and tetradrachms from Asia Minor with the types of Alexander. Is there not the possibility that we may have here evidence of a coin-subsidy from Antiochus III analogus with those which Ptolemy II sent to Byzantium and Ptolemy III sent to Greece?

PTOLEMAIC ISSUES

The Ptolemaic tetradrachms were ninety in number. Of these the lastest (no. 381) was struck at Sidon in 249. From that mint there are also issues for 254 and 256 and there is one from Gaza in 255 B.C. These coins show some evidence of circulation — but less wear than the other Ptolemaic pieces. No. 366 bears the counterstamp of Byzantium. Few are free from the tiny signets of bankers, usually

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interpreted as the indication of a guarantee by the owners of the marks. These also occur on coins from hoards found in Egypt and are therefore not necessarily affixed solely in Greek territory. Svoronos suggests (*Ta Nomismata* etc. IV, 441) that the Byzantine monogram was applied to the large donation of coin made to Byzantium by Ptolemy II in 252 B.C. The hoard found at Megalopolis (*ANSMN* IV) also contained a heavy proportion of Ptolemaic coins, including one piece datable 229 B.C. A very valuable contribution by Mme. Varoucha (Επιτύμβιον Χρήστου Τσούντα, 1941, pp. 68ff.) lists and discusses hoards found in Greece[4] which contained these Egyptian pieces. Another condition which distinguished the Corinth Hoard is that a considerable number of the Ptolemaic coins bear graffiti, the recording of which was not possible within the time at my disposal.

Among the parallels to the Corinth Hoard, others of which will be considered, that found at Sparta in 190 (*Noe*, 1004) and reported in the *Annual* of the British School at Athens for 1907–8, must be given pre-eminence. It affords an interesting illustration of the profit that may lie in restudying such hoards, especially when during the interval since publication (fifty years in this instance) some of its components may have received expert re-classification. Both the Corinth and Sparta hoards contained tetradrachms of Alexander, Athens, the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. That found at Sparta has added significance because it is an intact hoard and also because of the Lacedaemonian issues (7) in fine condition, which it contained. Mr. Wace in describing the find gives an account of the mistaken attributions which these Spartan coins had previously received. He did not have Mr. Newell's *WSM* (published in 1941) to aid him in classifying the Seleucid tetradrachms of the hoard. Had this been available, he would have been spared a mistaken conclusion concerning a pivotal coin upon which he relied for dating the secretion of the hoard. For

[4] This list includes six hoards cited in the *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards* (nos. 74, 189, 199, 262, 263 and 289). There are three additions: the Corinth Hoard with which we are concerned herein (through an error the Athenian tetradrachms are given as 36 instead of 136 and the two tetradrachms of Ephesus are omitted); a hoard from Eretria found in 1937 (see discussion by Prof. W. Wallace in *NNM* 134, 47) and the Koskina Hoard of 1923/4 also cited by Prof. Wallace (loc. cit., 49). To these should be added Dr. D. M. Robinson's Megalopolis Hoard (*ANSMN* IV, 13ff.).

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the tetradrachm which he identifies as having been struck during the reign of Antiochus III (beginning 222) is shown by Mr. Newell to belong rather to Antiochus II (*WSM*, pl. xxxiv, 4) and to have been struck c. 246, i.e., more than twenty years before the third Antiochus came to the throne. A second Seleucid tetradrachm, (no. 1) struck at Alexandria Troas is to be dated about 234. Consequently, on the evidence of the Seleucid issues in the hoard, its burial is to be dated after c. 234 rather than sometime during the reign of Antiochus III, and so after 222. There are no issues of Seleucus II or III in the Sparta hoard. This pushes into prominence a condition noted by Mr. Wace, the significance of which deserves greater emphasis than it was given. The seven Lacedaemonian coins are among the freshest struck pieces in the find; they show the least circulation wear. And fear of the loss of these "savings" is the most probable cause of their having been secreted. After 234 (the date for the Alexandria Troas tetradrachm in this hoard) the most probable (because it was the first) occasion for fear to have caused a citizen of Sparta such fear would have been the defeat of Cleomenes at Sellasia in (222 or 221) with the resultant occupation of Sparta by the Macedonians. The consequences of that battle may have been the reason the owner of the hoard did not return to his secreted savings. Do not all these conditions point to the Spartan coins in this hoard having been the output of Cleomenes between 227 and 222? I believe they do. Sparta would not have been in a position to issue a heavy coinage after Sellasia. The great rarity of these coins is an indication that they were never struck in large numbers and that they did not have wide circulation or great popularity. There is one further indication which Mr. Wace suspected but did not pursue to its logical conclusion. The die combinations shown[5] point to a stepped-up coinage such as would have been demanded by the plans of Cleomenes — two pairs of dies could have been in use at the same time. There may also be significance in that the weight standard seems to be a slight (and deliberate?) reduction from the Attic, although a greater number of coins and re-examination of the ones from this hoard for possible accretions is desirable before a definitive conclusion may be reached, since the recorded weights are those of the coins before cleaning.

[5] The numbers are those of the original publication. 68 $\overline{64}$ 65 & 70 67 $\overline{69}$ 66.

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Another hoard, found at Sophikon near Epidaurus in 1893, was published by Svoronos (*JIAN* 1907, 35–46, pl. 1). It shows many parallels with the Corinth Hoard. It is dated by Mr. Newell 230–220 (*ESM*, p. 76). If the previous assignment of the Lacedaemonian issues to Cleomenes is correct, since there was one of these pieces from the same obverse die as nos. 67 and 69 of the Sparta Hoard in the Sophikon find, it must have been secreted after c. 222. Support for this is to be seen from its inclusion of a drachm of Seleucus II (242–226). There is a similar wide distribution of mints for the Alexander tetradrachms, including one from the mint of Megalopolis which we have seen is to be dated after 250, and the distribution of the drachm mints for both hoards is very much alike. There are three of the unusual drachms of 'Antigonus' as well as one of the Aetolian tetradrachms. Both hoards contain Rhodian drachms as well as Alexander-type drachms of Chios. The Athenian tetradrachms match the ones in the Corinth hoard in style and lateness. In consequence there is no good reason for taking exception to a date of 220 for the burial of the Sophikon hoard.

The Olympia hoard was published by Mr. Newell in 1929 (*NNM* 39) and its burial is dated by him 235–225. It is important for its contrast with the hoards we have been considering rather than for its analogies. As with the other hoards, the Ptolemaic pieces present are issues which stop just before (or just after) 250. There is the same wide distribution of the Alexander tetradrachms and drachms, although the proportion of drachms in the Olympia heard is much smaller and the proportion of Peloponnesian tetradrachms is greater, while the Seleucids are not represented at all. The heavy preponderance of Elis coins is to have been expected—these are not found at all in either the Corinth, Sparta or Sophikon hoards.

Another Peloponnesian hoard, published by Dr. D. M. Robinson (*ANSMN* IV, 13) is said to have been found at Megalopolis—a statement which is practically confirmed by the presence of three tetradrachms of Alexander with the syrinx badge of that city. Ptolemaic issues form a considerable part. Since this hoard must have been buried within or shortly after the brief period during which the Macedonians were in control of the city, its burial date can hardly be very far distant from those of the preceding hoards.

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My attempt to find an explanation for the dating and for the circumstances of the burial of this hoard are indecisive. I submit, however, a listing of some of the conditions which the content of the hoard imposes on any such effort.

The heavy proportion of pieces coined in Asia should have significance, it seems to me — seven Alexander-type tetradrachms out of twenty as compared with six for the Peloponnesus with two more which may belong to either category, and with an additional 88 out of 96 drachms. When the Seleucid tetradrachms are added (8), the two pieces of Ephesus and the Rhodian didrachms (18), the presence of such a large share of Asiatic issues in a hoard found at Corinth claims attention, the more so that most of these (Seleucids partly excepted) were much worn from circulation for nearly a century in most cases and possibly more in others. Did the owner accumulate these coins in Asia Minor where they circulated freely or were they brought to Corinth in the course of trade? A like proportion in the Sophikon Hoard shows that this is not an isolated occurrence.

The presence of the Ptolemaic coins finds a parallel in other hoards from the Peloponnesus (Sparta, Sophikon, Olympia, Megalopolis) confirming the belief that subsidies in the form of coined currency were part of the strategy of Egypt, with c. 249 (cf. no. 381) providing a date after which the practice was discontinued. Some day we shall have determined whether or not the countermarking of these coins took place before they came to Greece; the considerable number of pieces marked with graffiti may play a part in answering this question.

Three weight systems are represented — Attic, Ptolemaic and Rhodian. The absence of purely Macedonian issues is noteworthy. There is a single drachm of 'Antigonos' and this isolated drachm, coupled with the presence of seven tetradrachms of the Aetolian League implies an anti-Macedonian attitude on the part of the hoarder. Since they occur mixed with Alexander-type pieces it seems possible that they may have had a propaganda objective from their beginning — certainly they are found in the Sophikon and Sparta hoards as well as at Corinth.

The absence of coins of Antiochus III and Philip V has a bearing on the dating.

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A condition which must be given consideration in attempting an evaluation of the evidence of this hoard, is the absence of any staters of Corinth or of its colonies. One of the strangest phenomena which the study of hoards has produced is a like absence of such staters in any of the hoards recorded as having come from Greece proper. Italy and Sicily are rich in such finds — in the Peloponnesus there is but a single one (594) with an imperfect and inadequate summary. This is susceptible to a variety of interpretations: (1) for some reason the hoarders in all these accumulations we have been considering have esteemed the Corinthian staters less desirable security than the other components; (2) if any, the coinage at Corinth at the time of this hoard's burial may have been confined to the small denominations (drachms) and these would have been rejected because of their smaller bullion value; (3) coinage for Corinth may have been restricted to mints in the colonies. Macedonian or other control would probably, as at Athens, have stopped coining at Corinth.

DATING THE BURIAL OF THE CORINTH HOARD

In attempting to fix the date of the burial of this hoard, prominence must be given to the tetradrachm with the name of Seleucus III (no. 292), whose short reign extended from 226/5 to 223/2. Since this piece was struck in Seleucia on the Tigris, some time-allowance must be made for its long journey to Corinth. If it had been struck in the last year of the reign of Seleucus, as it may have been, its arrival in Corinth would have been later than 222 by the extent of whatever time is allowed for its journey. We can hardly suppose that this hoard was committed to the earth immediately after no. 292 was added or that the little degree of wear this piece shows was entirely due to circulation during its journey from Mesopotamia. Any estimate for this wear is a matter of opinion, nor is there any way of determining whether there was an interval between its addition and the hoard's secretion. For the transit to Corinth, one year seems a reasonable minimum. To this we may add two or three years to cover the circulation wear and another two or three years to cover the second interval suggested. Thus six years would not be an excessive allowance. On the basis of this piece alone, c. 216 would be reached as the burial

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date assuming that the piece was struck in 222 and c. 220 if the upper limit of the reign of Seleucus III was taken.

And this reasoning finds support from the Antigonos drachm (no. 250). For if this drachm was struck in or about 228 as has been suggested, the slight wear which it, too, shows would be accounted for. Since the death of Antigonos (220) is the latest possible date for its striking, a small allowance for circulation-wear before it was added to the hoard brings it satisfactorily close to the dates considered above.

The fresh condition of the seven Aetolian tetradrachms in this hoard calls for noting. We have seen that the tetradrachms of Cleomenes in the Sparta Hoard are to be interpreted as preparation for the campaign which closed at Sellasia — may not these seven tetradrachms be explained as part of an issue in preparation for the Social War of 217–215?

There remain the Athenian drachms. Their great rarity, shared by the tetradrachms with the same symbols, marks their coinage as having been a brief one as well as having been small in quantity. Svoronos records ten symbols for the drachms and the number for the tetradrachms is even smaller (3). In this hoard there are three drachms with differing symbols and one without symbol. Since the symbols may be accepted as indicating annual issues, their placement somewhere between 229 and 216 would account for their very small evidence of circulation.

In view of all these considerations, I believe that c. 215 is the date which best meets the conditions.

ADDENDUM

ALEXANDER-TYPE TETRADRACHMS OF ARGOS

Of the fourteen varieties of Alexander tetradrachms presented on PLATES IX and X the one with the harpa for symbol had been assigned to Argos by Mr. Newell on the tickets in his trays. Two (A-3 and D-11) are relatively recent additions to the ANS's collection. A-2 is from the Corinth hoard. The letters APΓ beneath the throne on the first three pieces on the plate leave little room for doubting this attribution and the splendid profiles of A-2 and B-4, along with the harpa symbol

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connecting B-7 and B-8 with the C, D and E pieces, leave only the wolf of the F reverse open to exception — a challenge that would not find much support. The large flans (31–32 mm.) and the fine style are in the tradition of Argive artistic excellence. The obverse border of heavy dots is not found on the reverse dies. There the figure of Zeus has the customary frontal torso with the head in profile, both effectively modelled. The wide throne with its back carefully indicated on the first three coins is a very substantial seat — one which makes B-5 seem weak and insecure.

We have then, in fourteen die-combinations, six obverse dies and four magistrate's symbols representing what must have been a brief coinage of marked homogeneity of style. This coinage must be placed during years in which Argos was in sympathy with Macedon or under its control. If the monogram Ⱥ, which elsewhere is associated with Antigonos is to be interpreted as having that significance here, it would seem that it must have come before 229 when the Achaean League gained control of Argos to the dismay of Cleomenes, causing his withdrawal from Acrocorinth.

And if the coinage with Alexander's types stopped at Megalopolis in 235 as has been proposed, this coinage at Argos would fit admirably into these intervening years. The coinage would have been by the two (or more?) respective cities with indirect control (if any) by Macedon. There is no uniformity between them except the heavily beaded border of both coinages.

ARGOS

Obv. Rev.	*Left Field*	*Beneath throne*	*Reference to known specimens.*
A–1	Bucranium	Λ/ APΓ	a. The Hague; b. Paris.
A–2	Club	APΓ	a. Athens (Corinth Hoard 151).
A–3	,,	APΓ	a. ANS, 17.12.
B–4	,,	ΦI	a. Athens; b. ANS-ETN, 16.47; c. Patras Hoard.
B–5	,,	IΦ	a. ANS-ETN, 16.75.
B–6	,,	—	a. Athens; b. Patras Hoard.
B–7	Harpa	—	a. ANS-ETN, 16.05.
B–8	,,	—	a. The Hague.
C–9	,,	Ⱥ	a. ANS-ETN ex Sir. H. Weber 2097, 16.85; Commerce 16.60.

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Obv. Rev.	*Left Field*	*Beneath throne*	*Reference to known specimens.*
C–10	Harpa	A/A	a. ANS-ETN ex Gr.-Duke Alexander Mich., 16.90.
D–11	,,	A	a. ANS-ETN, 16.60.
E–12	Harpa and KTH	—	a. Prof. Seyrig.
F–13	Wolf to l.	A	a. Munich.
F–14	Wolf to l.	A	a. Paris ex Latakia Hoard, 155.

ALEXANDER-TYPE TETRADRACHMS OF MEGALOPOLIS

The tabulation of the Megalopolis tetradrachms with Alexander's types records the varieties known to me. It is certainly incomplete, but since six of the nine tetradrachms listed are in the collection of the ANS (three believed to be unpublished) there is a considerable addition to the known issues of this mint.

The syrinx symbol is common to all eight varieties. It is accompanied by ME — an abbreviation for Megalopolis — and these letters vary in their relation to the symbol or to the further letters which are taken to be the initials of monetary magistrates. Like the syrinx, ME occurs on each reverse die. Since the syrinx as emblematic of Pan occurs on the coinage for Arcadia in general, including some issues under the Achaean League, it may follow that such is its significance here and that these tetradrachms struck at Megalopolis were intended for circulation throughout the neighboring district. Magistrates' initials or monograms are usually placed under the throne.

Die B follows die A because ME occurs below the syrinx on all but B–4. Dies C and D, with two magistrates now, follow rather than precede, because in the hoard found at Megalopolis (*ANSMN* IV, 13) both C–8 and A–1 were represented and C–8 was the sharper of the two. Even without this indication, the pieces with a single magistrate would have been presumed to be the earlier. D–9, for which there was not room on the plate, and whose obverse is in such poor condition as to make reproduction of little value, was published by Dr. Robinson (*ANSMN* IV, Pl. II, 9). We have, then, four obverse and eight reverse dies at present known to us. Unless other varieties, with symbols not yet recognized as belonging to this city are to be added, this tetradrachm coinage took place within an interval not greater

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than the life of these four obverse dies. The *HN* (p. 450) assigns the triobols with Zeus Lykaeos and Pan (reverse) to the period which terminated with the death of the tyrant Aristodemus in 251. In 244 another tyrant, Lydiadas seized control and according to Head, issued triobols similar to those previously described. It is tempting to place the coinage with Alexander's types in the years between these two tryannies, since the coins are fresh or unworn in three of the hoards in which they occur — Sophikon, Megalopolis and the present hoard. The alternative would involve placing them after the coming into control of Lydiadas, assuming that he had Macedonian support and that the idea he resumed the coining of the earlier types of Aristodemus was mistaken. The number of dies listed would reasonably have met the needs of the six or seven intervening years.

MEGALOPOLIS

Obv. Rev.	*Left Field*	*Beneath Throne*	*Reference to known specimens.*
A–1	Syrinx above ME	—	a. ANS-ETN, 16.26; b. D. M. Robinson Coll. ex, Megalopolis Hoard, ANSMN IV, p. 16, No. 7.
A–2	,, ,, ME	ΛΥΣ	a. Berlin, Prokesch-Österen 289.
B–3	,, ,, ME	Wreathed Μ	a. ANS (found Corinth) 16.90; b. ANS-R. Storrs, 16.90; c. Athens (Corinth H. 150, 16.96; d. Hirsch XIII, Rhousopoulos 1120, 16.88.
B–4	ME above syrinx	Μ Wreathed	a. Berlin.
C–5	ΓΥ above syrinx above ME	NI	a. ANS, 16.65; b. Prof. Seyrig.
C–6	ΓΥ ,, ,, ,, ME	⋈	a. ANS (in hoard said to be from Thracian Coast), 16.62

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Obv. Rev.	*Left Field*	*Beneath Throne*	*Reference to known specimens.*
C–7	ΓΥ ,, ,, ,, ME	M A	a. ANS, 16.62.
C–8	TI ,, ,, ,, ME	ΑΡΙ	a. ANS-ETN, 15.99; b. ANS-R. Storrs, 16.23; c. Gotha; d. Athens; e. Paris; f. D. M. Robinson Coll. ex Megalopolis Hoard, ANSMN IV, p. 16, No. 8.
D–9	Syrinx above ME above TE	—	a. D. M. Robinson Coll., ANSMN IV, p. 16, No. 9.

SYDNEY P. NOE

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THE BOSTON COLLEGE HOARD

(See Plate XIII)

Through the courtesy of Boston College, and particularly Father Leo P. McCauley, I have been allowed to study a hoard of coins acquired many years ago in Beit Jibrin, Palestine, the ancient Eleutheropolis. Its limits are the same as those of Noe 381, also from Eleutheropolis, but the contents are so different that they cannot have been originally part of the same hoard except on the unlikely theory that someone had selected out these 80 tetradrachms, leaving 39 similar ones of quite as much interest. The original body may, of course, have been larger, but what we have is consistent enough to give me opportunity for revising my earlier opinion on a question of attribution. The list of the hoard is as follows.

Nero

1,2. ΝΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ Bust r. laur. with aegis
Rev. Eagle on thunderbolt. In field l. palm. To r. $_{H}{}^{9}{}_{P}$
59/60 Wruck 37

3–6. Same
Rev. Similar but to r. $_{\theta}{}^{Z}{}_{P}$
60/1 Wruck 38

7–10. Same
Rev. Similar but to r. $_{I}{}^{H}{}_{P}$
61/2 Wruck 39

11, 12. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Same bust
Rev. Eagle r. on thunderbolt. In field r. pellet and palm. To l. ΑΙΡ · Θ In ex. ΕΤΟΥΣ
61/2 Wruck 42

13. Same inscription. Head l. laur.
Rev. Eagle l. on club. To l. palm. To r. ΕΤΟΥC In ex. ΑΙΡ
62/3 Wruck 44

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14. Same inscription. Bust r. laur. with aegis.
Rev. Eagle r. on thunderbolt. To r. pellet and palm. To r. BIP · I In ex. ETOYΣ
63 Wruck 46

15–21. Same
Rev. Same without pellets
63 Wruck 47

Otho

22, 23. AYTOKPATΩP MAPKOΣ OΘΩN KAIC[AP CЄBACT]OC Head r. laur.
Rev. Eagle l. on laurel branch, wreath in beak. To l. palm. In ex. ETOYC A
69 Wruck 62

Vespasian

24. AYTOKPATΩPKAICAP CЄBACTOC OYЄCΠACIANOC Head r. laur.
Rev. Eagle l. on club, wreath in beak. To l. palm. In ex. ETOYC IЄPOY A
69 Wruck 72

25. AYTOKPAT KAIΣA OYЄΣΠAΣIANOY Bust r. laur. with aegis.
Rev. Eagle r. on thunderbolt. To r. palm. To l. NЄOY IЄPOY. To r. B̄ In ex. ETOYΣ
69/70 Wruck 75a

26, 27. AYTOKPAOYЄCΠACIANOC KAICAP CЄBACTOC Head r. laur.
Rev. Eagle l. on club, wreath in beak. To l. palm. To r. NЄOY IЄPOY. To r. B̄ In ex. ETOYC
69/70 Wruck 76

28. AYTOKPAKAICA OYЄCΠACIANOY Head r.
Rev. Same
69/70 Wruck 77

29–31. Same
Rev. Similar but ETOYΣ Δ IЄPOY
71/2 Wruck 87

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32. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΟΥΕCΠΑCΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CЄΒΑ Head r. laur.
Rev. Eagle l. looking r. on altar, caduceus in beak ЄΤΟΥC ΝЄΟΥ ΙЄΡΟΥ Є
72/3 Wruck 89

33. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ ΚΑΙΣΑ ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. Head r. laur.
Rev. Eagle l. on club. To l. palm ЄΤΟΥC Ē ΙЄΡΟΥ
72/3 Wruck 90

Domitian

34. ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡΜ Head r. laur. with aegis.
Rev. Eagle r. on thunderbolt. To r. palm. To l. ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ To r. H̄ In ex. ΕΤΟΥΣ
87/8 Wruck 108

35. 36. ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡΜ Head r. laur. with aegis.
Rev. Eagle l. on thunderbolt, looking r., wreath in beak. In field l. palm. Beginning upper r. ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ
90/1 Wruck 110

Nerva

37–39. ΑΥΤΝΕΡΟΥΑΣ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒ Head r. laur. with aegis.
Rev. Eagle r. on thunderbolt. In field l. palm. To l. ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ To r. Ā In ex. ΕΤΟΥΣ
96 Wruck 124

Trajan

40. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣΝΕΡ ΤΡΑΙΑ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡΜ Head r. laur.
Rev. Eagle r. on thunderbolt. In field r. palm. To l. ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ To r. Ā In ex. ΕΤΟΥΣ (upside down)
98 PLATE XIII, 1

In *YCS* XII (1951) p. 263, I published early Trajan tetradrachms from Antioch with a portrait whose long neck showed that it had been modified from that of Nerva before an official portrait of the new ruler was available. In all those cases the reverse was of the type of Nerva's second year: the eagle r. on thunderbolt with the date B. In the case of the Boston piece the

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long neck is again like Nerva, the features modified perhaps with more success than in the other cases. The reverse, however, is not only the type of Nerva, but the year A. Perhaps some official ferreted it out as more appropriate to the new ruler's first year, but it adds one more item to the complication of the tetradrachms of Antioch between the two reigns.

41–45. AYTOKPKAICNЄPTPAIANOC CЄB ΓЄPMΔAK Head r. laur.
Rev. ΔHMAPX ЄΞYΠΠATЄ Spread eagle, head l. on club
Jan. 1, 103–Nov. 12, 109 (Nov. 12, 107?) Wruck 149

46–53. Same inscription. Head r. laur. Beneath head, eagle r. In field r. club
Rev. Same inscription. Head of Heracles r. laur., lion's skin tied around neck
Same date Wruck 150

54. Same inscription and type but club behind head
Rev. Same
Same date Wruck 151

55. 56. Same inscription and type
Rev. Same inscription. Tyche of Antioch seated r., at her feet river-god Orontes
Same date Wruck 153

57–60. Same inscription. Head r. laur.
Rev. ΔHMAPX ЄΞIЄ YΠΠATЄ Spread eagle, head l. on club
110/1 Wruck 158

61–65. Same inscription and type as No. 54
Rev. Same inscription. Heracles head as No. 54
Same date Wruck 159

66–68. Same inscription and type
Rev. Same inscription. Tyche seated as Nos. 55, 56
Same date Wruck 160

69–73. Same inscription. Head r. laur.
Rev. ΔHMAPX ЄΞIϚYΠΠATϚ Spread eagle, head l. on club
111/2 Wruck 161

74. Same inscription and type as No. 54
Rev. ΔHMAPX ЄΞIZYΠΠATϚ Heracles head as No. 54
112/3 Wruck 165

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75. Same
Rev. ΔHMAPX ЄΞIHYΠATϛ Same type
113/4 Wruck 168

76. Same
Rev. Same type. Date obscure
Wruck 162, 165 or 168

77, 78. Same
Rev. Same inscription as No. 75. Tyche seated as Nos. 55, 56
113/4 Wruck 169

Hadrian

79. AYTKAICTPAIAΔPIANOCAPIЄBГЄPMΔAKΠAPΘ Bust r. in cuirass seen from in front
Rev. ΔHMAPX ЄΞOYCIAC Spread eagle head l. on club. Palm in field r.
117 PLATE XIII, 2

The obverse inscription with its borrowing of Trajan's honorary titles belongs to Hadrian's first year, as does the reverse inscription with no mention of the consulship.

80. AYTKAIΘЄTPAΠAPYIΘЄNЄPYITPAIAΔPIANOC CЄB Similar bust
Rev. ΔHMAPX ЄΞYΠATB Spread eagle l. on leg and thigh
118 PLATE XIII, 3

The year of the second consulship. The earlier obverse inscription has been discarded for one displaying Hadrian's official geneology: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ Υἱὸς Θεοῦ Νέρουα Ὑιωνὸς Τραιανὸς Ἁδριανὸς Σεβαστός.

This is the commonest of Hadrian's tetradrachms: *BMC* No. 304, *RN* 1929, p. 15, Pl. IV. 3. There is one at the ANS, two at Yale and I have one more.

Between our Nos. 79 and 80 should come the tetradrachm in the ANS with the reverse of No. 79 but the obverse of No. 80. PLATE XIII, 4. Another in Paris is published, *RN* 1909, p. 171, No. 10. There is also a piece in Paris with the reverse inscription of our No. 79, the obverse of No. 80 but with different types. The bust is smaller and beneath it is an eagle r. on a leg and thigh while the reverse type is the Tyche

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of Antioch r. *RN* 1929, p. 15, No. 1, Pl. II,1. (It may be recalled that Hadrian used the Tyche of Antioch on coins struck at Rome. Alexander Magnaguti, *Hadrianus in Nummis*, pp. 74f.)

Hadrian's last issue is *BMC* No. 305 with the same obverse inscription but ΔHMAPX ЄΞYΠATΓ on the reverse. There are two specimens in the ANS PLATE XIII, 5. Hadrian held the consulship for the third time in 119, resigning it on April 30. The coins then will have been struck at the beginning of the year.

The contents of the hoard do not bear out my suggestion as to the mint in *ANSMN* V (1952) pp. 58–60. I there recorded the fact that Newell had attributed Wruck 139, 140 and 148 to Caesarea in Cappadocia, and pointed out that the stylistic criteria would also apply to Wruck 141, 142, 143 and 146. (Nos. 144 and 145 are tridrachm and didrachm respectively, denominations usually assumed to be Cappadocian. No. 147 is a single tetradrachm from Paris which I have not seen). Against this attribution I urged, first, that the head of Heracles of Wruck 142–144, 146–148 was appropriate to Syria and not to Cappadocia; second, and more important, that the proposed rearrangement would leave Antioch with no silver from the first use of Nerva's modified dies in 98 to the 5th consulship of Trajan which began in 103. Would a major mint have been allowed to lie idle so long?

I succeeded in convincing some colleagues, but I received from Henri Seyrig a dissent so interesting that I venture to quote it. "On the question of the attribution of the tetradrachms of Trajan to Antioch or to Caesarea, the arrangement of my own trays happens to have been the same as Newell's for several years (even adding W. 150 to the series I give to Caesarea), and I remain inclined to consider it as the more probable. It seems to me that the mint of Antioch was closed almost immediately after Trajan's accession, and reopened under his 5th consulate. Not only the style changes. The type of lettering, which had been so poor under Nerva and on the few early Trajans studied by you, suddenly becomes excellent, air penetrates between the letters, and the whole takes an easy grace. And when the mint reopens under the 5th consulate, it characteristically reverts to its old, crude, angular, incompetent lettering. What the reasons were I do not know, but the material evidence seems to me to suggest a change. You will also observe that Caesarea, by the wide choice of

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her types, has all the appearance of a mint designed to supply the whole East: Artemis of Ephesus and of Perge, "Armenian" Zeus and Hera, Arabia, and the very mysterious (I agree) Zeus Ammon. The Trajanic silver of Caesarea is not at all rare on Syrian and Arabian markets, and I believe it to have been quite usual there in old days. A find recently made near Bethlehem contained a lot of it."

The present hoard tends to confirm Seyrig's opinion. There is the anomolous Trajan struck before the autumn of 98 and then nothing further until the 5th consulship when the issues are found in the hoard with fair regularity. The numbers are not large enough for entire safety in applying the argumentum ex silentio. Comparison of the numbers cited by Wruck will show that there is no strict parallel, and the tetradrachms earlier than the 5th consulship, Wruck 140–147, are scarce enough so that one must be cautious. Still, so far as it goes, this hoard supports the theory that between 98 and 103 the eastern silver was issued at Caesarea and not at Antioch.

The theory is further supported by a technical detail. From Nero through Nerva the dies of the tetradrachms are adjusted ↑. So also are the dies of the coins modified from Nerva to Trajan. But all the rest of the Trajan dies are ↓. It is hard to see why such a change should have been made at Antioch for Trajan in the fall of 98. But the normal arrangement of dies for silver of Caesarea is ↓. If Antioch was not coining from 98 to 103 it is easy to see how, with a resumption of operations, the mint might have adopted the practice of the northern city which had been working in the interval.

It may be worth while to summarize the contents of Noe 381 from Svoronos' publication in *Journal international d'Archéologie numismatique*, 1907. There are 39 tetradrachms: Nero 12, Galba 2, Otho 2, Vespasian 12, Nerva 1, Trajan 10. Trajan's contribution consists of 6 with eagle on club, Wruck 158 (4), 177 (2); 2 with Heracles' head, Wruck 159, 162; 1 with Heracles' head struck at Alexandria, Newell, *Miscellanea Numismatica: Cyrene to India*, pp. 75–82; 1 with eagle on palm, head l., Wruck 140. This last is one of the varieties which Newell and Seyrig would give to Caesarea. Its presence here cannot be held against that attribution for there are 66 coins of Trajan which certainly come from the northern mint, to wit, 14 tridrachms: bust of Zeus, Arabia (5), temple (3), sheaf of wheat, legionary eagle

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and two standards (4); 20 didrachms: eagle (4), Arabia (11), camel (5); 32 drachms: Arabia. With this large representation from Caesarea there is not cause for surprise that one Caesarean tetradrachm is included in a Palestinian hoard. One tetradrachm of Ptolemy XIV from Ascalon is a stray, and there is one of the Lycian drachms struck by Trajan (*BMC Lycia*, Pl. IX, 11). The rest of the hoard is 6 Roman republican denarii and 171 denarii of the empire: Nero 1, Otho 1, Vitellius 3, Vespasian 39, Titus 5, Domitian 21, Nerva 4, Trajan 59, Hadrian 38.

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THE COINS FROM THE TREASURE OF THE OXUS

Having recently had occasion to study the coins reported to have come from the Treasure of the Oxus, discovered in 1877, I was surprised to find how many pieces can be precisely identified, in spite of the not very systematic fashion of recording and the disappearance of a large part of the find. Since it is a matter of some complexity to work through the material, it occurred to me that numismatists might find it convenient to have a more orderly account of what can now be listed, with identifications which have been made possible by scholars working since the time of the discovery.

The first report appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1879, "New Coins from Bactria" by Percy Gardner, pp. 1–12, publishing and illustrating 6 coins and mentioning a number of others as part of the find. A second article, "Coins from Central Asia" by the same author appeared in the *Chronicle* for 1881, pp. 8–12, illustrating 9 more pieces presumably from the same source.

In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1881, General Sir Alexander Cunningham published, pp. 151–186, "Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver, and Copper," an extensive account of all the objects that had come to his attention; his "Description of the Coins" goes from p. 169 to p. 182. He had seen 64 gold coins and 459 silver — a total of 523, but he conjectured that "the whole number found cannot have been less than 150 gold and 1,000 or 12,000 silver coins, mostly tetradrachms." On p. 186 is a supplementary list of 15 silver, 1 nickel and 16 copper pieces which came to him after the main account was written; with them had been 7 gold staters and 11 tetradrachms which were taken possession of by the customs office at Kabul. In the same Journal for 1883 on pp. 64–67 the General had a second notice with the same title, with a summary of 14 gold and 76 silver coins found since his first article. The third notice, including 19 more coins, is in the same volume of the Journal, pp. 258–260.

There is no complete republication of this material. O. M. Dalton in *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London, 1905, gave a brief note to the coins (pp. 5f.) expressing his opinion that "there are reasons for as-

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signing the greater part to the fourth century; and the later coins seem to have only an adventitious connection with them." The theory of contamination was accepted by Regling, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1928, p. 26, but without any independent analysis. Three portions of the material, however, have had close attention. In 1922 G. F. Hill brought out the *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins* for Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia and dealt with characteristic thoroughness with some of the problems raised. In 1938 E. T. Newell's *Eastern Seleucid Mints* listed such of the Seleucid coins as were still to be found. Finally, in 1953, Daniel Schlumberger came to the defense of the unity of the hoard in a very important article "L'Argent grec dans l'Empire achéménide" which forms part of Volume IX of the *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*. In Appendix II, pp. 46–49, he records, with the help of Messrs. Robinson and Jenkins of the British Museum, the pre-Hellenistic coins from the Oxus, so far as they can now be discovered.

In the accompanying list I have used running numbers for each subdivision, succeeded, in parentheses, by the numbers in Cunningham's major list, or by "81.186," "83.64," "83.258" to signify the supplements, or by "*NC* 79," "*NC* 81" for Gardner's articles. When the actual piece can be identified it is marked "this coin;" in other instances it is only sure that the piece had belonged to General Cunningham, in which case it is marked "Cunningham."

GREEK CITIES

Acanthus

500–490 B. C.

		Number of specimens
1(28)	Tetradrachm. Lion devouring bull/ Incuse J. Desneux *Tétradrachmes d'Akanthos*, Brussels, 1949, p. 76, No. 67, p. 79, No. 83: these coins. Schlumberger pp. 48f.	2
2(83.64)	Tetradrachm undescribed	1

Athens

Before 406 B. C.

1(30)	Tetradrachm. Archaic head of Pallas/ Owl Schlumberger p. 49	1
2(81.186)	Archaic tetradrachm	1
3(83.64)	Archaic tetradrachms	1+

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	Byzantium	Number of specimens
	416–357 B. C.	
1(36)	Cow l. on dolphin/ Mill-sail incuse Babelon *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, Part II, Vol. IV, p. 979, No. 1531. This coin in BM. Schlumberger p. 48	2
	Celenderis	
	End of 5th or 4th century	
1(37)	Silver stater "of the common type" Cf. *BMC Lycaonia* p. 52, Nos. 5–11 or p. 54, Nos. 19–27. Schlumberger p. 49	1
	Aspendus	
	400–300 B. C.	
1(29)	Silver stater. Wrestlers/ Slinger Cf. *BMC Lycia* Pls. XX, XXI. Schlumberger p. 49	6+
	ROYAL PERSIAN	
	After ca. 486	
1(7)	Daric. King with bow and spear/ Incuse *BMC Arabia* pp. 148–162, Series I. For the date, E. S. G. Robinson, "The Beginnings of Achemenid Coinage," *NC* 1958, pp. 187–193	1
2(83.258)	Daric "of the old Persian mint"	1
	4th Century?	
3(2)	Daric. King with bow and dagger/ Incuse *BMC Arabia* pp. 163–172, Series II. As Cunningham likens this to his double daric (No. 1), it may be a late issue, perhaps *BMC* p. 171, No. 170: Cunningham	1
4(83.64)	Darics undescribed	5
	Before ca. 486 B. C.	
5(15)	Siglos. King shooting/ Incuse Probably *BMC Arabia* p. 174, No. 193: Cunningham. For the date, Robinson, op. cit. p. 188. Schlumberger p. 48	1

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After ca. 486 B. C. Number of specimens

6(13)	Siglos. King with bow and dagger/ Incuse Probably *BMC Arabia* p. 167, No. 139: Cunningham. Schlumberger p. 48	1
7(12)	Siglos. Similar. Omitted by Schlumberger	1
8(83.258)	Siglos "of the old Persian mint"	1
9(81.186)	Sigloi undescribed	2
10(14)	"Two thirds of a siglos" King/ Incuse Becker forgery. *BMC Arabia* p. cxxii	1

SUBSIDIARY PERSIAN

Imitations of Athens

4th century

1(31)	Tetradrachm. Head of Pallas/ Owl Cf. *BMC Attica* p. 26, No. 270, Svoronos *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich, 1926, Pl. CIX. 2. Schlumberger p. 48	2
2(32)	Tetradrachm. Same types with monogram ⋈ on obverse; grapes on reverse Cunningham refers to *NC*, 1879, p. 10, Pl. I. 7, Head *NC* 1906, p. 6. Schlumberger p. 48	1
3(34)	Tetradrachm with ΑΙΓ Cf. *BMC Attica* p. 26, No. 271, Svoronos, Pl. CIX. 4. Head *NC* 1906, pp. 6f. This coin in the Ashmolean Museum. Schlumberger p. 48	2
4(33)	Didrachm. Same types *NC*, 1879, Pl. I. 7. Schlumberger p. 48	1
5(35)	Drachm. Same types Perhaps *BMC Attica* p. 26, No. 275. Schlumberger p. 48	1

Ephesus?

Memnon 334 B. C.

1(10)	Tetradrachm ("Phoenician" weight) King with bow and spear/ Incuse Cunningham refers to his Pl. XII. 5, but the coin illustrated there is the obverse of his No. 11, Pl. XVII. 2. This one may be *BMC Ionia* p. 324, No. 6: Cunningham	1
2(11)	Tetradrachm ("Phoenician" weight) King with bow and spear ΔΗ/ Incuse *BMC Ionia* p. 323, No. 2: this coin. Schlumberger p. 48. Head, *BMC*, loc. cit. classes these	1

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Number of specimens

among the "Satrapal coins of the West Coast of Asia Minor, etc." Ernest Babelon, in *R. N.* 1892, p. 414 gave the conclusion of J. P. Six that they were struck at Ephesus by the Persian admiral Memnon, and in *Les Perses achéménides*, Paris, 1893, pp. LXXVII–LXXIX, 56f., Nos. 381–385, he includes them among the satrapal coinage. He would connect with them the gold daric with a prow on the reverse (p. 15, No. 124), an issue of Memnon from Caria. In *NC* 1906, pp. 5f., Head changed his mind and, on the basis of provenance, attributed these with other types to an eastern mint and therefore dated them of necessity to a period after 326. Lastly Schlumberger, pp. 58–62, makes the suggestion that the whole group of "Phoenician" weight coins are early issues of Alexander himself. His essay has proved that the evidence from provenance may not be as weighty as Head believed, but his solution depends on the acceptance of the theory of Gerhard Kleiner, *Alexanders Reichmünzen*, Berlin, 1949, that Alexander did not begin to use his own types at the beginning of his reign. Indeed, Schlumberger goes further than Kleiner, for he holds that the gap between Alexander's accession and the appearance of his types is to be filled, not merely by a continuation of his father's types, but also by a group of issues which have no common denominator except weight. I find Kleiner's theory unproven, and therefore still prefer Babelon's attribution of these coins

Caria

Pixodarus 340–334 B. C.

1(45) Gold Hecte. Head of Apollo r./ Zeus r. 1
BMC Caria p. 184, No. 2

Tarsus

Tiribazus 386–380 B. C.

1(16) Silver stater. Baal l./ Ahura Mazda on solar disk 1
BMC Lycaonia p. 164, No. 12. Schlumberger p. 48

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Pharnabazus 379–374 B. C. Number of specimens

2(17) Silver stater. Female head ¾ l./ Bearded, helmeted head r. 1
ibid. pp. 164f., Nos. 13f. Schlumberger omits

Datames 378–372 B. C.

3(18) Silver stater. Similar types 1
ibid. p. 167, No. 29: this coin. Schlumberger p. 48

4(19) Silver stater. Baal seated r./ Satrap seated r. 1
ibid. p. 167, No. 32: Cunningham. Schlumberger p. 48

Mazaeus 361–333 B. C.

5(39) Silver stater. Baal seated l./ Lion l. attacking stag 2
ibid. p. 169, No. 39. Schlumberger p. 49

6(38) Silver stater. Baal seated l./ Lion l. attacking bull 1
ibid. p. 172, No. 56. Schlumberger p. 49

7(40) Silver stater. Baal seated l./ Lion l. 1
ibid. p. 173, No. 61. Schlumberger p. 49

Sidon

Bodashtart? ca. 384–370 B. C.

1(8) Double shekel. War galley l./ King l. in chariot 1
BMC Phoenicia p. 144, No. 24: this coin. Schlumberger p. 49

Straton I ca. 370–358

2(9) Double shekel. Similar types 1
BMC Phoenicia p. 145, No. 29: this coin? Schlumberger

IMITATIONS OF PERSIA

331–300 B. C.

1(1) Double daric. King with bow and dagger/ Incuse 1
BMC Arabia p. 176, No. 1; this coin. The attribution of the double darics to Alexander and the Successors, first proposed by Head, *NC*, 1906, p. 4, is now generally accepted. Schlumberger p. 60. Hill suggests the mint of Babylon

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		Number of specimens
2(3)	Double daric. King with bow and spear/ Incuse with wavy lines Cf. *BMC* pp. 176f., Nos. 2–5	1
3(5)	Double daric. Same type with ΦΛ/ Incuse with more regular pattern Cf. *BMC* p. 177, No. 7	1
4(4)	Double daric. Same type with ΦΛ and wreath/ Similar Cf. *BMC* p. 178, No. 10. Hill suggests a mint farther east than Babylon for this and the next	1
5(6)	Double daric. Same type with Φ and 𐤌/ Similar Cf. *BMC* p. 179, No. 13	1
6(83.64)	"Inscribed double daric"	1

MACEDONIAN KINGS

Philip II 359–336 B. C.

1(81.186)	"Philip of Macedon, large silver"	1

Alexander III 336–323 B. C.

1(25)	Tetradrachms undescribed	±100
2(83.64)	Tetradrachms? It is implied that these were tetradrachms and that there were more than one. As the total number of silver coins was 76 and as 6 other types are specified, the total of Alexanders was less than 70	1+
3(25)	Drachms undescribed	±100
4(81.186)	Drachm undescribed	1

Lysimachus 323–281 B. C.

1(46)	Tetradrachm "of the usual size and in good condition"	1

Seleucus I 312–280 B. C.

Seleucia-on-the-Tigris

290–289 B. C.

1(*NC* 81)	Tetradrachm. Head of Zeus r./ Athena in quadriga of elephants. Above 𐤀 Cf. *ESM* pp. 29f., Group K	1

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	Babylon	Number of specimens
	306–281 B. C.	
2(42)	Lion stater. Baal seated l./ Lion walking l. Anchor, Γ, crescent, ♋ *ESM* p. 102, No. 272: Cunningham	1
3(41)	Lion stater. Similar types, Γ Cf. *ESM* pp. 102f., Nos. 272–277	1
	Susa	
	298–280 B. C.	
4(50.51)	Drachms. Head of Zeus r./ Athena in quadriga of elephants, ♋, anchor, Ⓝ *ESM* p. 120, No. 339α: Cunningham	2
	Ecbatana	
	311–303 B. C.	
5(25)	Tetradrachm. Head of Heracles r./ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Zeus seated l. Forepart of feeding horse, 𐤔 ♓ *ESM* p. 166, No. 454: Cunningham. This is the only one of the "Alexanders" that is described under Cunningham's No. 25	1
	303–293 B. C.	
6(24)	Double daric. Head of Alexander r. in elephant-skin headdress/ Nike l. Horned head of horse, ΔΙ *ESM*, p. 171, No. 460	1
7(43)	Lion stater. Baal seated l./ Lion walking l. Anchor, ΔΙ *ESM* p. 171, No. 461: Cunningham	1
8(44)	Lion Hemidrachm. Similar types *ESM* p. 171, No. 462: Cunningham	1
9(83.64)	Double daric undescribed	1
	Bactra	
	312–285 B. C.	
10(49)	Tetradrachm. Head of Zeus r. ♈/ Athena in quadriga of elephants *ESM* p. 229, No. 657: Cunningham	1
	285–280 B. C.	
11(55–58)	Drachm. Similar types ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ *ESM* p. 231, No. 664β–ε: these coins	4

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		Number of specimens
12(81.186)	Drachm. Same inscription	1
13(53.54)	Tetradrachms. Similar types ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ *ESM* p. 232, No. 665 ε is one of these, but *F* Pl. L. 12 said to be from the Cunningham Collection is the same piece as *NC* 1879, pp. 10f., Pl. I. 4, which is *not* one of Cunningham's (See his comment, p. 177)	2
14(*NC* 79)	Tetradrachm. Same	1
15(81.186)	Tetradrachm. "Seleucus and Antiochus," elephant chariot	1
16(83.64)	Tetradrachm? "Seleucus and Antiochus"	?
17(52)	Hemidrachm. Similar types *ESM* p. 232, No. 669: this coin	1
18(59.60)	Obol. Similar types. No inscription *ESM* p. 232, No. 671: these coins	2

Uncertain Mint

19(47)	Tetradrachms. Head of Heracles r./ Zeus seated l. These are compared to *BMC Seleucids* Pl. I. 3 (which is Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, *ESM* p. 14, No. 9) and I. 4 (which is Sardes, *WSM* p. 242, No. 1350). There is no reason to believe that any of these pieces belongs to either mint; the *BMC* illustrations were simply chosen *exempli gratia*	5
20(83.64)	Tetradrachm? undescribed	?
21(48)	Tetradrachm. Head of Zeus r. / Athena in elephant quadriga	1
22(81.186)	Drachm. Similar types	1

Antiochus I 281–261 B.C.

Carrhae

After 279 B.C.

1(66)	Drachm. Head of Antiochus r. horned / Head of horned horse r. *WSM* p. 48, No 788β. Comparison of Cunningham's Pl. XVIII. 13 with Newell's Pl. VI. 6 makes it appear that they show the same coin. Newell's comment "From Cunningham, but thought to be a cast"	1

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	Bactra	Number of specimens
	280–268 B.C.	
2(79)	Drachm. Similar types. No monogram *ESM* p. 236, No. 678: this coin	1
3(67)	Stater. Similar types ΔI *ESM* p. 237, No. 683α: this coin	1
4 (*NC* 81)	Stater. Similar types ΔI loc. cit.	1
5 (*NC* 81)	Stater. Similar types Ⓐ *ESM* p. 237, No. 684; this coin	1
6(*NC* 79)	Drachm. Similar types *ESM* p. 237, No. 685: this coin	1
7(68–70)	Tetradrachm. Similar types Ⓐ *ESM* p. 237, No. 686: one of these	3
8(71.72)	Tetradrachm. Similar but horse's head larger *ESM* p. 238, No. 689δ: Cunningham	2
9(81.186)	Tetradrachm. "Horse's head"	2
10(*NC* 79)	Drachm. Similar types Ⓐ *ESM* p. 238, No. 688β: this coin	1
11(74–76)	Drachm. Similar types Ⓐ *ESM* p. 238, No. 688γ: Cunningham, No. 690α, η: Cunningham	3
12(81.186)	Drachm. "Horse's head"	2
13(77.78)	Hemidrachm. Similar types *ESM* p. 238, No. 691α: Cunningham	2
14(73)	Tetradrachm. Similar types ABIΔ *ESM* p. 239, No. 694β: this coin	1
	268–261 B.C.	
15 (*NC* 81)	Head r. diad. / Apollo seated l. o *ESM* p. 241, No. 695	1
16(80)	Tetradrachm. Similar types Ⓐ *ESM* p. 241, No. 696β, γ: these coins	2
17(*NC* 81)	Stater. Similar types Δ *ESM* p. 242, No. 704	1
18(61.62)	Staters. Same loc. cit. ζ, η: Cunningham	2
	Uncertain Mint	
19(83.64)	"Staters of Antiochus"	1+
20(81.186)	Tetradrachm. "Seated Apollo"	2
21(83.258)	Tetradrachm. "Of Antiochus Soter"	1
22(83.258)	"Four drachmas of Antiochus Soter"	4

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		Number of specimens
23(81.186)	Copper. "Antiochus I. Helmeted head"	1
24(81.186)	Copper. "Do. Bad coins"(!)	2
25(81.186)	The Antiochus I drachm "King's head with helmet and cheek pieces. *Rev.* Victory and Trophy" must be a mistake. It is the only type struck at Persepolis; it also occurs at Susa, *ESM* Pl. XXIII. 6–9, but it is always a type of Seleucus I. Either this piece was misread or it was a forgery	1

Antiochus II 261–246 B.C.

Bactra

261–256 B.C.

1(88)	Stater. Head of Antiochus II r. / Apollo seated on omphalos *ESM* p. 243, No. 706: Cunningham	1
2(63)	Stater. Similar / Similar. Star, Δ, lyre *ESM* p. 244, No. 707 β: Cunningham	1
3(87)	Stater. Similar / Similar *ESM* p. 244, No. 709	1

Diodotus under Antiochus II

Bactra

256–246 B.C.

1(82)	Stater. Head of Diodotus r. diad. / Zeus l. *ESM* p. 246, No. 713 α: Cunningham	1
2(84)	Stater. Similar types *ESM* p. 246, No. 714 β: Cunningham	1
3(83)	Tetradrachm. Similar types 𐡀 on rev. *ESM* p. 247, No. 717 η: Cunningham	2+
4(86)	Drachm. Similar types Δ on rev. *ESM* p. 247, No. 721: Cunningham	1
5(81)	Stater. Similar types, wreath on rev. *ESM* p. 248, No. 723 β: Cunningham	1
6(85)	Drachm. Similar types *ESM* p. 248, No. 725: Cunningham	1

BACTRIAN

Diodotus circ. 245 B.C.

The generally accepted chronology for affairs in Bactria has been challenged by Josef Wolski,

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"L'Effondrement de la Domination des Séleucids en Iran au IIIe Siècle av. J. C." *Bulletin international de l'Académie polonaise des Science et des Lettres, No. Supplémentaire 5*, Cracow, 1947, pp. 13–70. Relying on the texts of Strabo and Justin against Arrian, he concludes that Diodotus assumed the title of king in 239 B.C. under Seleucus II instead of Antiochus II. It is impossible to reargue here the whole question, which embraces far more than does our present investigation, but its effect on the numismatic evidence must not be ignored. The first question to be asked is "If Wolski's new dating is right, where are the coins of Seleucus II from Bactria?" Newell's Nos. 706–711 are certainly coins of Antiochus II: they bear his name and portrait and the traditional reverse type of Apollo on the omphalos. With No. 712 a new reverse is introduced: Zeus with a thunderbolt, but the name and portrait are still those of Antiochus, and No. 712 shares an obverse die with No. 709, so that the new type must have succeeded the old at once. It is continued on Nos. 713–726, still with the name of Antiochus but now with the portrait of Diodotus replacing that of Antiochus. Here again the connection is close, for No. 713 shares a reverse die with No. 712. Finally there are the coins, such as No. 1 below, repeating the same types but substituting the name of Diodotus for that of Antiochus as king. According to Wolski this is to be dated not earlier than 239 B.C. Newell is extremely guarded: "Nos. 713–726 with the types of Diodotus but the name of Antiochus fall about 255–246 B.C. or later." Apparently Newell believed that the appearance of Diodotus' portrait was a phenomenon so remarkable that it can only be understood as a sign of practical independence. If, then, the combination: Diodotus portrait / Antiochus inscription was recognized as the money of Diodotus it might have been continued for a time even after Antiochus' death. But this is on the assumption that real independence begins with the portrait

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Number of specimens

and does not wait for the inscription. Wolski, however, while he appears to welcome the numismatic evidence for the intermediate state, (p. 43 "Diodote mettait en évidence ses aspirations et ne reconnaissait que nominalement la suzeraineté des Séleucides") later declares that it is unreliable because used only to support a mistaken chronology (p. 46 "Son interprétation toute superficielle a amené des conclusions erronées"). For him, Bactrian independence does not come until 239 (p. 45 "La monarchie des Séleucides—occupa entre 255 et 250 une position assez forte pour faire échouer toute tentative de révolte de la parte des satrapes, au cas où ceux-ci en manifesteraient l'intention"). This must mean either that the use of Diodotus' portrait was consistent with the entire loyalty of a subordinate, or that it occurred only at the moment of revolt. In either case, where are the coins with the name of Seleucus II? He was king from 246 to 226 and, according to Wolski, Diodotus' suzerain from 246 to 239. We ought to have evidence of it or adequate explanation for the lack of evidence. As I can find neither, I adhere to Newell's chronology, tentative though it is

1(89) Stater. Head of Diodotus r. diad. / ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ Zeus l., wreath (same type as Antiochus II No. 5). Percy Gardner *British Museum. The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London, 1886, p. 3, Nos. 1, 2 — 1

2(91) Stater. Same types but N on rev.
This reverse is that of Diodotus under Antiochus II, No. 1. If Cunningham's reading of the inscription is right, this is either an otherwise unknown variety for Diodotus independent or a forgery. In view of the doubtful character of the next two this also is to be regarded with suspicion — 1

3(92) Stater. Same types, but on the reverse eagle and wreath, star above. The star is found on coins of Antiochus II (e.g. No. 2 above) but not combined with eagle and wreath. This piece is even more doubtful than the preceding — 1

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		Number of specimens
4(90)	Stater. Same types but on reverse spear head. Forgery, according to Vincent A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Oxford, 1906, p. 7, note 2 and *BMC Greek and Scythic Kings*, p. 3, note	1
5(83.64)	Staters. Undescribed	2
6(83.258)	Stater. Undescribed	1
7(93)	Tetradrachm. Similar types. Variety of rev. not described Cf. *BMC Greek and Scythic Kings* p. 3, Nos. 3–5	2
8(95)	Tetradrachm. Same types but wreath on rev. ibid. p. 3, No. 3	2
9(97)	Drachm. Similar types, but eagle and crescent on rev. Like the rev. of the tetradrachm, ibid. p. 3, No. 4 but the drachm does not appear to be published	1
10(94.96)	Drachms. Similar types, rev. not described	3
11(96)	Drachm. Similar types but rev. "has a monogram forming ΠΥΡΗ with Γ below." *BMC* p. 3, No. 6 has a monogram, though not this one. The variety is apparently unpublished. Cf. *Indian Museum Calcutta* and R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Oxford, 1914, p. 10, No. 3	1
12(81.186)	Bronze. "New type — Demeter in search of her daughter." This may be Artemis running r. with torch *BMC* p. 3, No. 7	3
13(83.258)	"Copper coins of Diodotus of two different types" Presumably one type is that of No. 12; the other, Pallas facing with spear and shield. *Punjab Museum, Lahore*, p. 10, Nos. 4f.	3

Euthydemus Circ. 220 B. C.

1(98)	Stater. Head r. diad./ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ Heracles seated l. In field ⊓ *BMC* p. 4, No. 1	1
2(99)	Stater. Same types but on rev. "Heracles rather smaller. Club on four rocks with the top pointed towards forehead." I know of no published stater except that cited under No. 1	1

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		Number of specimens
3(100.101)	Tetradrachms. "Coins of Euthydemus of all the well known types. Several in good preservation; but many in very poor condition." Cf. *BMC* pp. 4f., Nos. 2–13	2+
4(83.64)	Tetradrachm. Undescribed	1+?
5(83.258)	Tetradrachm. Undescribed	1
6(83.258)	Obol. "The silver obolus of Euthydemus is of the standing Heracles type, and is I believe unique." The type is evidently Heracles facing crowning himself. Such obols are published for Demetrius (*BMC* p. 6, Nos. 9–11) but not for Euthydemus	1
7(81.186)	Bronze. "Usual types — galloping horse" This would be Head of Heracles or of Zeus/ Free horse r. *BMC* p. 5, Nos. 15–18	3
8(83.64)	"A few copper coins" Undescribed	1+
9(83.258)	"Copper coin" Undescribed	1
	Pantaleon Circ. 190 B. C.	
1(81.186)	Copper. "Square, usual types" i.e. Female figure l./ Maneless lion r. *BMC* p. 9, Nos. 3–5	1
	Agathocles Circ. 185 B. C.	
1(83.258)	Drachm. Undescribed. Presumably Bust r. diad./ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ Zeus facing, holding Hecate *BMC* p. 10, No. 5; *Punjab Museum, Lahore* p. 17, No. 42	1
2(81.186)	Nickel. "Usual type — ΦΙ in field" i.e. Bust of Dionysus r./ Panther r. *BMC* p. 11, Nos. 6, 7; *Punjab Museum, Lahore* p. 17, Nos. 43f.	1
3(83.64)	Nickel. Undescribed	1
4(83.258)	Nickel. Undescribed	1
5(81.186)	Copper. "Square, usual types" i.e. Female figure l./ Maneless lion r. *BMC* p. 11, Nos. 9–14	2
6(83.64)	"A few copper coins" Undescribed	1+
	Antimachus Circ. 190 B. C.?	
1(83.64)	Tetradrachm. Undescribed. i.e. Bust r. in kausia/ Poseidon facing with trident and palm *BMC* p. 12, Nos. 1–6	1
2(83.258)	Tetradrachm. Undescribed	3

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	Unknown King	Number of specimens
1(81.186)	Copper. "Indian coins, square, Lion and Elephant" I do not know what these are. The animals do not appear combined on the same square coin, so far as I can find. Square coins with a lion are as early as Pantaleon (No. 1 above); the earliest elephant on a square coin that I find is Heliocles, circ. 150–125 (*BMC* p. 24, Nos. 28f.). But this would compromise the date of burial not later than 170 B. C. which rests, as Cunningham more than once insists, on the absence of coins of Mithridates I of Parthia and Eucratides of Bactria, the predecessor of Heliocles. One may be permitted to wonder whether the copper coins really had anything to do with the hoard. Certainly so vague a reference as this cannot be used to upset the date of burial.	4

KINGS OF UNKNOWN REALMS

Andragoras. Late fourth, early third centuries B. C.

1(26)	Stater. Bearded head r./ ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ King and Nike in quadriga r. *BMC Arabia* p. 193, No. 1: "from the Oxus Find" Published also in *BMC Greek and Scythic Kings* p. 1, No. 1. *NC* 1879 Pl. I. 1, No. 2: Cunningham, who said (p. 173) that he had a third. These and the three succeeding numbers are exhaustively studied, *BMC Arabia* pp. cxlviii–clx. Josef Wolski "Le Problème d'Andragoras" *Ephemeridis Instituti Archaelogici Bulgarici* XVI, 1950, pp. 111–114, dates the revolt of Andragoras in 245 B. C. He believes that the tradition of an earlier Andragoras was a Parthian invention to make it appear that their power went back to the time of Alexander. He finds no adequate reason for connecting the coins of Andragoras with those of Vaḫšuvar (?) below	3
2(27)	Tetradrachm. Turreted female head r./ ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ Athena l. *BMC Arabia* p. 193, No. 2: "from the Oxus Find" Published also in *BMC Greek and Scythic Kings* p. 1, No. 2. *NC* 1881 p. 8, No. 4: Cunningham	2

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	Vaḫšuvar (?)	Number of specimens
	Late fourth, early third centuries B. C.	
1(22)	Stater. Barbarous head of Athena. Aramaic inscription/ Nike l. Aramaic inscriptions *BMC Arabia* p. 194, No. 1: this coin	1
2(21)	Stater. Male bust in kyrbasia r. Aramaic inscription/ Man in kyrbasia in quadriga r. Aramaic inscription *BMC Arabia* p. 194, No. 2: this coin	1
3(23)	Distater. Head of Alexander r. in elephant skin headdress/ Nike l. Aramaic inscription like that on rev. of No. 2. Only a paper impression seen. *BMC Arabia* pp. clvi f. If this be genuine, as Hill believes, it would certainly seem to date the king to a time not long after the phenomenon of Alexander's double darics made its brief appearance.	1

For the sake of completeness it may be well to add that there are a few coins in the British Museum, not included in the foregoing list, which there is some reason to believe may have come from the Oxus Hoard. They were acquired from a dealer, Chanda Mall of Rawal Pindi, and Sir Henry Howorth reports them (*NC* 1904, p. 12) as probably from that find. He was very doubtful of their authenticity (ibid. pp. 14f.); with the exception noted, Hill accepted them as genuine. There are 6 gold and one silver, as follows: double darics, Alexander. *BMC Arabia* p. 177, Nos. 6, 7; p. 178, Nos. 10, 11 ("authenticity doubtful"); p. 179, Nos. 12, 13. Lion stater, Seleucus "Of Oriental workmanship." ibid. p. 188, No. 42.

Undoubtedly other coins which came to the British Museum from General Cunningham originated in the Oxus Treasure, but since his collection was by no means confined to that one source, there is no way of distinguishing them now.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

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AN UNPUBLISHED COIN PORTRAIT OF PTOLEMY VI PHILOMETOR

(See Plate XIV)

Among the fine collection of ancient coins given to the American Numismatic Society in 1959 by Burton Y. Berry is the following silver tetradrachm:[1]

Obv. Diademed head to r., with aegis. Six-pointed star in field, lower l. Border of dots.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ (Β)ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle, with wings closed, standing l. on thunderbolt; head probably reverted.[2] Six-pointed star in field, upper r. Monogram ⊓ in field, lower l. Border of dots. (Plate XIV, 1).

No other example of this most interesting coin is known to me, just as no other Ptolemaic coin portrait corresponds to this one, and it will be the main purpose of this paper to place it within the Ptolemaic series.

Although the Berry coin is quite unknown, the identity of its portrait has actually been much discussed ever since 1900 when Furtwängler, in his monumental work on ancient gems, first published two gold finger rings in the Louvre[3] (Plate XIV, 2, 3). For these evidently bear portraits of the same king that appears on the Berry coin. On one ring in a rectangular field, is a striking image of the Greek king in Egypt, wearing the double crown of Upper and

[1] I take this opportunity to thank Miss M. Thompson for directing my attention to this coin during the 1960 Summer Seminar.

[2] The head has been largely obliterated, but several indications point to this posture. There does not seem sufficient space to the right of the Υ of ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ for the head were it facing left, whereas on the other side, after allowing room for the Β of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, a comfortable gap still remains. Also, the metal of the flan alongside the Υ is raised in such a way as to suggest the continuous curve of the back of the head rather than the line of a beak. Finally, the beginnings of neck feathers show a series of arcs which if extended would sweep from lower right to upper left, representing the twisting back of the neck.

[3] A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1900), pl. XXXI, 25, 26. See also A. de Ridder, *Catalogue ... bijoux* (Paris, 1924), nos. 1092–3.

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Lower Egypt,[4] together with the multiple necklace or collar, while on the oval ring he wears simply a diadem[5] and a cloak fastened at the shoulder. Despite the differences in costume, the two portraits are undoubtedly of the same king, and in fact are stylistically so similar that one can begin to speak of their execution by the same artist. Furtwängler thought they must represent one of the Ptolemaic kings for whom no coin portrait existed, but Sieveking[6] believed he had discovered the same face on the obverse of a rare tetradrachm of Kamnaskires I of Elymais[7], and that this was none other than Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), who in 171/0 B.C. responded to the ill-advised attack by the regents of the boy-king Ptolemy VI Philometor by invading Egypt and being crowned at Memphis. Until Sieveking's attribution the only evidence for Antiochus' coronation had been a fragment of Porphyry,[8] and though Bouché-Leclercq[9] was skeptical, more recent historians have somewhat eagerly accepted such apparent confirmation of the literary source. In the most thorough study of the reign of Ptolemy VI, and therefore of an important sector of Hellenistic history of the first half of the 2nd century B.C., Otto[10] followed Sieveking's view, not without admitting, as Sieveking himself had, that the ring portraits did not agree with the known coin portraits of Antiochus IV.[11] Similarly, in his review of Otto's work, the distinguished papyrologist P. Jouguet[12]

[4] The base and projecting spiral ornament constitute the red crown of Lower Egypt. The rounded upper part, here reduced to fit into the space, is the white crown of Upper Egypt. See H. Schaefer, "Die Doppelkrone der Pharaonen, ihr Bild und ihr Sinn," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 35 (1932) 697–704.

[5] On the rectangular ring, notice the ends of the diadem flowing out from under the double crown, as well as the smaller fillet tied around the red crown.

[6] J. Sieveking, "Portraits d'Antiochus IV Épiphane," *Revue Archéologique* 1 (1903) 343–346.

[7] Ibid., pl. VIII, 3, 4. For an example in Paris showing much less resemblance to the ring portraits, see A. de la Fuye, *Revue Numismatique* 6, 1902, pl. V, 1.

[8] Jacoby, *FGH*, frag. 49a: "... ascendit Memphim et ibi ex more Aegypti regnum accipiens ..." Quoted by Jerome (Dan. 11.21).

[9] A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides* II (Paris, 1904), p. 16, n. 1.

[10] W. Otto, "Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss.* 11 (Munich, 1934).

[11] Ibid., p. 55.

[12] P. Jouguet, "Les débuts du regne de Ptolémée Philométor et la sixième guerre Syrienne," *Revue de Philologie* 11 (1937) 193–238. See also his subsequent article, "Eulaeos et Lenaeos: observations sur la sixième guerre Syrienne," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 19 (1937) 157–174.

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considered the rings as proof of the coronation, mentioning also the bronze coinage struck by Antiochus in Egypt.[13] Swain[14] did not mention the rings, but seemed to think there were "... coins picturing Antiochus as king of Egypt ..."[15] However most archaeologists tended to agree with Furtwängler. The only question was which Ptolemy? Schreiber[16] briefly noted his attribution of Ptolemy V. Svoronos[17] remarked on the possibility of Ptolemy VI, but was inclined to accept the Antiochus IV identification. Because of the obvious differences between the ring portraits and those on the coins of Antiochus IV, Blum[18] rejected Sieveking's conclusion, proposing instead Ptolemy VI (180–145 B.C.), who was in turn accepted by Lippold[19], de Ridder,[20] and Watzinger.[21] When Pfuhl,[22] on the other hand, pronounced the attribution as "... ikonographisch unmöglich ..." he must have had in mind the rather unsatisfactory comparison between the rings and the one known coin portrait of Philometor[23] (PLATE XIV, 5), which had after all been Blum's main

[13] Jouguet, *Rev. de Phil.*, p. 230. But see E. T. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch* (New York, 1918), pp. 24–27.

[14] J. W. Swain, "Antiochus Epiphanes and Egypt," *Classical Philology* 39 (1944) 73–94.

[15] Ibid., p. 83.

[16] T. Schreiber, "Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders des Großen", *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesell. der Wiss.* 21, 1903, p. 136.

[17] J. N. Svoronos, *Die Münzen der Ptolemäer* IV (Athens, 1908), p. 301.

[18] G. Blum, "Princes hellénistiques," *Bulletin de corréspondance hellénique* 39 (1915) 17–32, esp. 23–26. Blum thought the portrait on the Kamnaskires coin to be, if a Seleucid at all, more likely Antiochus V.

[19] G. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1922), pl. 70, 2 and 5.

[20] *Catal. ... bijoux*, p. 97.

[21] C. Watzinger, *Expedition von Sieglin* II, 1B (Leipzig, 1927), pl. 13.

[22] E. Pfuhl, "Ikonographische Beiträge zur Stilgeschichte der hellenistischen Kunst," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 45, 1930, p. 24, n. 7.

[23] ℞ tetradrachm struck at Ake-Ptolemais. Svoronos lists two examples, one in Paris, another in The Hague (No. 1486; pl. 48, 19–20). Miss M. Thompson has pointed out to me the absolute identity of these two illustrations in Svoronos, as well as the low weight of the Hague piece (12.68 g.). Since casts of the two specimens have confirmed their identity, the Hague example may be a copy of the one in Paris. For other illustrations, see Blum, *BCH*, pl. I, 6; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen* (Leipzig, 1885), pl. VIII, 13; R. S. Poole, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Ptolemies* (London, 1883), pl. XXXII, 8; A. Adriani, "Contributi all'iconografia dei Tolomei," *Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie* 10, 1938–9, fig. 11; C. Küthmann, "Münzen als Denkmale seleukidischer Geschichte ...," *Blätter*

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evidence. Pfuhl pointed out instead the similarity between the rings and one of the Ptolemaic seal impressions published by Milne.[24] Adriani,[25] using the Ake-Ptolemais coin portrait to identify two sculptured heads[26] both as Philometor, said in a footnote[27] regarding the Louvre rings that he was attracted by Schreiber's old idea of Ptolemy V. Most recently, while offering a new interpretation of the Tazza Farnese, Charbonneaux[28] thought the Louvre rings to be "... vraisemblablement Philometor ...",[29] and referred to the work of Vollenweider,[30] who has made a special study of Hellenistic rings. Miss Vollenweider, from whose article I have taken my PLATE XIV, 4,[31] dated the Louvre examples on stylistic grounds to the first half of the 2nd century B.C.,[32] for all practical purposes agreeing with Coche de la Ferte's alternatives of Ptolemy V and VI.[33]

für Münzfreunde und Münzforschung 78, 1954, pl. I, 11; M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, (New York, 1955), fig. 360. I will return to this coin later.

[24] J. G. Milne, "Ptolemaic Seal Impressions," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 36, 1916, pl. V, 162, whose broad diadem belongs to the later Ptolemies, according to Pfuhl, p. 25.

[25] A. Adriani, *Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie* 10 (1938–9) 77–111, esp. 97ff.

[26] One head, Adriani, pls. X–XII, seems to be quite similar to the coin. See also Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, figs. 361–363, and pp. 93–94 for a discussion of the iconography of Ptolemy VI, to which perhaps may be added a head in Providence (Museum of Rhode Island School of Design) illustrated by C. Vermeule, *BMFA* 58, 1960, figs. 4 and 5, in the course of considering Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy VI and Mark Antony, as the person originally represented by the colossal Boston head, said to be from Memphis and remade as Severus Alexander. For the interesting suggestion that a fragment of a diademed boy's head found at the Memphis Serapeum represents the youthful Philometor, see F. Matz, *Gnomon* 29, 1957, p. 91.

[27] Adriani, p. 102, n. 1.

[28] J. Charbonneaux, "Sur la signification et la date de la Tasse Farnese," *Monuments Piot*, 50 (1958) 85–103. Charbonneaux dates it 181–173 B.C., and would see in the sphinx the dead Ptolemy V-Osiris; in Euthenia, Cleopatra I-Isis; in Triptolemus, the living king Philometor-Horus.

[29] Ibid., p. 97.

[30] M.-L. Vollenweider, "Das Bildnis des Scipio Africanus," *Museum Helveticum* 15 (1958) 27–45, esp. 29–30.

[31] Ibid., pl. II, 2, is of course the same ring as illustrated in Furtwängler (my PLATE XIV, 3), but is a fine photograph of the intaglio itself, rather than of a cast made from it.

[32] Ibid., p. 29.

[33] E. Coche de la Ferté, *Les bijoux antiques* (Paris, 1956), p. 69, and pl. 26, 3 and 4.

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A candidate about a century later had been offered by Küthmann,[34] namely Ptolemy XIII Neos Dionysos-Auletes (80–51 B.C.), father of Cleopatra VII. The basis for this identification was a silver drachm[35] (PLATE XIV, 6) bearing the portrait of this last of the Ptolemaic kings, who is possibly also represented on the seal impression that Pfuhl[36] had compared to the rings. Granted the general similarity of profile, though this is less so in the case of another drachm in the same issue (PLATE XIV, 7)[37] which Küthmann did not illustrate, and which shows the strongly hooked nose—apparently a characteristic of Auletes and his celebrated daughter—I do not think the ring portraits can be dated so late as the second quarter of the 1st century B.C. In the rest of this paper I support an attribution by more positive evidence that would implicitly exclude Küthmann's view.

I believe the portrait on the Berry coin, the existence of which was not known to any of the scholars whose opinions I have briefly reviewed, should definitely be grouped with the Louvre ring portraits, and that by using the evidence of the reverse I can give additional support to the identification of all three as Ptolemy VI Philometor. While at first sight the Berry reverse appears to be the ordinary type on the standard[38] Soter tetradrachms, it actually contains some rather individual characteristics. I have already remarked on the uncommon, but seemingly unhelpful, posture of the eagle's head, a parallel to which on Ptolemaic silver can only be found

[34] C. Küthmann, "2 Goldringe des Louvre mit Portrait Ptolemaios XIII," *Blätter für Münzfreunde und Münzforschung* 6 (1934–1936) 481–483.

[35] Ibid., pl. 25, 8. On the attribution to Ptolemy XIII, see K. Regling, Review of Svoronos, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 25, 1906, pp. 393–4.

[36] See above, n. 24.

[37] American Numismatic Society, illustration from E. T. Newell, *Royal Greek Portrait Coins* (New York, 1937), p. 91, fig. 13. Because of their small scale, these drachm portraits are not very good comparative material. Neither was the bronze coin of Ptolemy VI adduced by Blum, *BCH*, pl. I, 7 (Svoronos, pl. XLVIII, 21–23, nos. 1487–1488.

[38] Throughout the Ptolemaic period silver tetradrachms were issued with the obverse portrait of Ptolemy I Soter and the eagle on thunderbolt on the reverse. See E. T. Newell, "Standard Ptolemaic Silver," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, October, 1939, pp. 83–98. An attempt to trace their stylistic development has been made by H. W. Smith, "Sculptural Style on Ptolemaic Portrait Coins," *Berytus* 10 (1950–1) 21–36.

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on the reverses of the well-known issue generally attributed to Ptolemy IV with jugate busts of Serapis and Isis on the obverse.[39] More helpful is the distinctive way in which the eagle's legs are rendered, with dominant sweeping strokes balanced by less prominent oppositely-curving lines that start from the ends of the former. The body and wing feathers are represented by wedge-shaped or triangular forms, and there is a single collar-like row of feathers at the base of the neck. I have also noticed some peculiarities in the legend, namely, the gap between the Ω and Σ of (B)ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, the form of the same Ω with a nearly vertical left branch from which the right slopes down, and the solid dots[40] that represent the O's in ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ. On the reverses of four standard silver tetradrachms (PLATE XIV, 8–11) in the collections of the American Numismatic Society attributed to Ptolemy VI[41] I have found the same general kind of eagle legs,[42] combined with the same peculiarities of legend as occur on the Berry reverse. As for the monogram on the reverse, I would refer to

[39] Svoronos, pl. XXXVI, 13–16. The cornucopia behind the eagle is not present on the Berry reverse. On bronze the reverted head occurs more frequently, e.g., Svoronos, pl. XXXVII, 7.

[40] These probably cannot be accounted for by a worn die.

[41] E. T. Newell, "Two Recent Egyptian Hoards," *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 33 (1927) 14–31. For illustrations of ten other tetradrachms from the Keneh (Upper Egypt) Hoard, in addition to the three which Newell illustrates (pl. II, 4, 5; pl. III, 1) see *Florange and Ciani Sale Catalogue*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, Oct. 16, 1923, pl. IV, 73–82. Newell, pp. 27–28, states that "... all of the one hundred and fifty-five tetradrachms from our hoard actually seen in Cairo, as well as those sold in Paris, were more or less identical ..." One of the four tetradrachms, my PLATE XIV, 9, is from the Keneh Hoard.

[42] That the comparison here is not perfect can be seen in the leg to the left, whose principal feather-strokes on the Berry reverse are closer to being perpendicular, rather than parallel to the direction of those of the leg on the right. See *Florange and Ciani Sale Catalogue*, pl. IV, 74, 75, for further comparisons with the Berry eagle, without, however, the corresponding similarities in legend. In general, the standard type of eagle legs before our type seems to have feathers that only cover the upper part of the leg and are parted in the middle, while that after our type has many more lines or feathers on each leg, all of them being more or less horizontal and parallel, and forming a neat, even front edge on the leg to the left. My four comparative tetradrachms and the published examples from the Keneh Hoard all tend toward this "later type," and since Newell, pp. 30–31, considered the unsettled years immediately following Philometor's death in 145 B.C. as a likely date for the burial of the hoard, these may well date from the latest years of Philometor's reign. The Berry reverse might then be put in the range 165–155 B.C.

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the similar one, similarly placed in the field at lower left, on the reverses of a bronze issue that has been attributed by Svoronos[43] to the time of Ptolemy VI. In fact it is the monogram which relates Svoronos no. 1384 to no. 1383 (pl. 47, 10) and no. 1386 (pl. 47, 14). These in turn are related both by type and monogram to Svoronos no. 1380–1 (pl. 47, 9 and 13), bearing in addition to the usual reverse legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ the obverse legend ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ, which can only refer to the regency of Cleopatra I[44] for her son Philometor. As this brief period can be dated to 180–176 B.C.,[45] the same dating can be given to Svoronos no. 1380, but because no. 1384 does not have the obverse Cleopatra legend, it should be dated after 176 B.C.[46] If the Berry monogram is the same, and is the mark of a moneyer rather than a mint,[47] it can be placed not too far from no. 1384, though a twenty-year period of activity for the moneyer is entirely possible. The date of Philometor's coronation at Memphis is not known, and it is very difficult to judge his age on the ring portraits by inspection. It may be noted that the ring portraits have a very short beard, while the Berry coin portrait, which cannot be many years distant, seems to have sideburns. The six-pointed star on the Berry obverse does not occur, so far as I know, on the obverse of any Ptolemaic portrait coin,[48] and though it may be Philometor's numismatic innovation, it is too general a symbol of divinity to yield more detailed information.[49]

[43] No. 1384 (pl. 47, 11). The American Numismatic Society has nineteen examples, of which I illustrate one in PLATE XIV, 12.

[44] As Regling, *ZfN*, p. 378, points out, the only other possibility of Cleopatra VII is excluded on grounds of style.

[45] T.C. Skeat, "The Reigns of the Ptolemies," *Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung u. antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 39, 1954, p. 34.

[46] This is the opinion of Regling, *ZfN*, p. 378.

[47] Regling, *ZfN*, p. 378, remarks that Svoronos' interpretation of it as the mintmark of Paphos is hypothetical. According to Newell, the tetradrachms from the Keneh Hoard were pretty surely struck at Alexandria.

[48] See Milne, *JHS*, pl. IV, 40, for an eight-pointed star above the middle of three jugate busts on a Ptolemaic seal impression. The six-pointed star can of course be found on the reverses of well-known Ptolemaic issues, such as the Arsinoe gold octadrachms (Svoronos, pl. 51, 17–24). Obverse stars at the ends of the diadem and above the head can be found on the issue of Antiochus IV commemorating his victory in Egypt (Newell, *Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, p. 24).

[49] See, however, the reference to a papyrus dated 156 B.C., mentioning Ptolemy VI as Helios, in J. Tondriau, "Rois lagides comparés ou identifiés à des

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If the Louvre rings and the Berry coin constitute the official likeness of Ptolemy VI, then we are obliged to account somehow for the difference between it and the Ake-Ptolemais coin (PLATE XIV, 5). This rare tetradrachm, irrefutably inscribed on the reverse with the name ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ, should be seen, I think, as a portrait of Philometor which has assimilated such characteristic features of Alexander I Balas[50] (151–146 B.C.) as the high-bridged nose almost continuous with the brow ridge, and the heavy jaw (PLATE XIV, 13). This usurper of the Seleucid throne owed to Philometor his initial success, when in the 160th year of the Seleucid Era,[51] 154/3 B.C., he captured Ptolemais[52] and declared himself king of Syria. In the 162nd year (152/1 B.C.) Philometor had personally conducted his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemais to be given Alexander in marriage.[53] In the 167th year (147/6 B.C.) Demetrius II, who had returned from Crete to Syria two years earlier, and to whom Ptolemy had shifted his support and his daughter, became king following the rout of Alexander Balas by Ptolemy.[54] In the context of these events the Ake-Ptolemais coin may have been struck by Alexander before his break with Philometor. It is now displaced as the coin portrait of Ptolemy VI by the Berry coin, which together with the Louvre rings form a most impressive trio in the iconography of the later Ptolemies.

DAWSON KIANG

divinités," *Chronique d'Égypte* 23, 1948, p. 136; also cited in Otto, *Bayer. Abhdl.*, p. 95, n. 7.

[50] For his coin portraits see, for example, P. Gardner, *BMC Greek Coins: Seleucid Kings of Syria* (London, 1878), pl. 15, of which no. 4 struck at Tyre is here reproduced.

[51] See the useful discussion of Seleucid chronology by S. Zeitlin in S. Tedesche (trans.), *The First Book of Maccabees* (Dropsie College Edition, Jewish Apocryphal Literature), New York 1950, Appendix C.

[52] I Macc., 10. 1.

[53] I Macc., 10. 57.

[54] I Macc., 11. 15–19. After his break with Alexander, according to I Macc., 11. 13, Philometor put on the Syrian diadem at Antioch, and R. S. Poole, *Numismatic Chronicle* 5, 1865, pp. 330f., saw the Ptolemais coin portrait as a depiction of Philometor, King of Syria.

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A PTOLEMAIC CONTRIBUTION BOX IN BOSTON

(See Plates XV–XVI)

In 1960 the Department of Classical Art of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Mass.) acquired a bronze moneybox containing ten bronze coins (Plate XV, 1, 2; XVI, 1).[1] When cleaned, one of the coins proved to be Ptolemaic, with head of Zeus diademed, or wreathed, and bearded on one side and the twin eagles facing to the left between the usual inscription on the reverse. At least three of the other coins appear to be of the same type, and it is very likely that the remaining coins, although quite corroded, are of the same period. Their shape gives every indication of being Ptolemaic. The cleaned coin belongs in the small group identified by Svoronos as products of the middle of the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–146 B.C.).[2]

The lid of the box is inscribed, ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕ or "Be of Good Health" (less politely, "Get Healthy"), a clear implication that contributors to the cause of health involved could hope for favors from Asklepios

[1] Museum accession number 61.102. Theodora Wilbour Collection in Memory of Zoe Wilbour. I wish to thank Mr. George Phippen, my colleague Dr. William Stevenson Smith, Mr. T. G. H. James and Prof. A. Andrewes for helpful comments. Dr. Smith has provided information about the Egyptian parallels and has kindly allowed illustration of the bronze snakebox in his Department. The photographs are by Mr. Edward J. Moore, Museum Photographer.

The moneybox was published in detail, before one of the coins was cleaned, by G. Michailidis, "Casette d'un prêtre quêteur d'Asclepios-Imhotep," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 55 (1958) 191–197. The references, literary and epigraphic, to ancient fund drives are very helpful.

[2] See B. V. Head, et al., *Historia Numorum*, Oxford 1911, p. 856; J. N. Svoronos, Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, Athens 1904, Catalogue nos. 1423–1428, especially no. 1424, pl. XLVIII, no. 10 (the, roughly, 30 gramme size). These coins were thought by Svoronos to symbolize, in their double-eagle reverse, the joint rule of Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII in 169 B.C. The cleaned specimen from the moneybox weighs 25.90 grammes. For an outline of the events which produced these coins in the years after 170–169 B.C. and an indication that their value varied considerably owing to inflation, see M. Thompson, "A Ptolemaic Bronze Hoard from Corinth," *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 355–367. Whatever was the value assigned to these bronzes when they were deposited in the box, each piece must have represented a day's wages for the common laborer.

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or Hygeia. The box and its contents are unique enough as artifacts of Greek and Roman daily life, but the medical connotations have led me to suggest, only partly in jest, that this is an early manifestation of one of the health protection plans, such as National Health (United Kingdom) or the equally widely patronized Blue Cross — Blue Shield program (United States). The box no doubt stood on a table in some temple or shrine to the god and goddess of health. It was found in the region of Memphis where Asklepios-Imhotep was especially venerated.

The box, heavily patinated a not unpleasing yellowish green, is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high (0.094 m.) and nearly 4 inches in width (0.10 m.). The appliqué on the front, taking the form of a face not unlike "The Man in the Moon," is no doubt intended as a head of Hygeia. The beard of Asklepios and the snaky locks of the Gorgon Medusa are missing. The style of the head makes it a good representative of folk-art in Hellenistic Egypt, the type of face or mask found on utilitarian objects of secondary artistic importance. It is not, however, without a certain arresting quaintness. Above the mask, and on the lid (when viewed in the closed position), can be seen three holes for wires which must have formed part of the box's lock or sealing device.

The top contains, at the front, the large slot for inserting contributions. The handle at the top center is of the typical Greek "bucket" type, an arched rod set at its bases in two lugs rising from the cast lid. Similar lugs on lid and body, at the back, are transversed by their original pins to form the hinges for opening and closing. The Egyptian origin of this box, suggested by the coins, is confirmed by the device soldered and riveted on the lid between slot and handles. This is a snake curled up in the form of a Figure-8. The snake is the well-known medical attribute of Asklepios and Hygeia, appearing around the staff of the former and in the arms of the latter in Greek painting and sculpture, but the form of the Figure-8 device is one traditional to Egyptian art in the centuries before the influence of Greeks in the Delta and Macedonian conquests of the civilization along the Nile.

The Egyptian bronze boxes with Figure-8 snakes on top were made and sold at shrines to be offerings containing the embalmed or preserved remains of snakes. Other such boxes, with appropriate representations on top, contained the remains of cats, lizards,

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mongooses, small rodents and birds. A close parallel, in the Museum of Fine Arts, was found at Naukratis in the Delta, probably as part of a group of bronzes in a house on the south of the town (PLATE XVI, 2).[3] Sir Flinders Petrie mentions fifteen such boxes with figures of snakes on top in the find and a number of additional boxes for the remains of other creatures.[4]

Unfortunately, the bronzes were found in illicit digging, and no stratified context is mentioned. From parallels and from the Egyptian inscriptions on some of these boxes, it is evident the series begins before the Greeks reached the Nile Delta, continued through Persian and Hellenistic times, and passed into the Egyptian survivals in the Graeco-Roman world.[5] The fabric and rough details of the box illustrated here are enough like the Ptolemaic moneybox to suggest that it and its companions from Naukratis could well be dated in the Hellenistic period, at the time when the moneybox was in use. The notion of the Greeks taking over an Egyptian symbol and using it for votive purposes of a sort different from its original employment is fully in keeping with many other examples of union in Ptolemaic Egypt between traditional Egyptian iconography and materials and the artistic demands imported with the Greeks after 330 B.C.[6]

[3] Accession number 86.265. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1886. H. (max.): 3 in. (0.075 m.). L. (max.): 4½ in. (0.115 m.). Another box in the group (86.281) has a snake with head raised, the older Egyptian iconographic type. Boston no. 94.235, perhaps from the same find, has three lizards on top.

[4] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Naukratis* Part I, 1884–5, Third Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund, London 1886, p. 41.

[5] See the examples collected by G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Band VI, Berlin 1956, pp. 385 ff., pl. 55, figs. 558 ff.

[6] On the subject of offering-boxes or "banks" in the Hellenistic world, see H. Graeven, "Die thönerne Sparbüchse im Altertum," *JdI* 16 (1901) 160–189; T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin 1904, p. 465, no. 234, fig. 571. They are usually made of terracotta and are often in the shape of temples or small shrines with the divinity represented (in relief) as enthroned inside. These parallels were pointed out to me by Mrs. Dorothy B. Thompson. Miss Clairève Grandjouan has kindly indicated Roman examples in Ostia, Trier and St. Germain.

The grandest of all offering boxes is perhaps the one in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis. It is fashioned out of the natural rock and was one of the few reminders of the ancient cult visible throughout the Middle Ages (K. Kourouniotis, *Eleusis. A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*, Athens 1936, pp. 25, 52 f., fig. 5).

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The most pleasing feature of this rare ensemble, moneybox and coins, is evident in the photographs. The box is in perfect condition. The handle and hinges work, and one can drop the coins in and remove them as was done in antiquity. The Museum does not contemplate cleaning the remaining coins, for their patina as well as their imprints on the bottom of the box remove all doubts whether these were the actual coins lying inside at the time the box was discovered. The phenomenon of preservation in workable condition is so often characteristic of objects in all materials rediscovered in the dry soil of Egypt.

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE

PLATE XV, 1. Ptolemaic Moneybox. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
2. View of Lid of Moneybox, Showing Handle, Snake, Slot and Inscription

PLATE XVI, 1. Moneybox with Lid Open, Ptolemaic Coins Inside
2. Bronze Votive Box with Snake's Remains Inside. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. From Naukratis

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THE NEW BRONZE COINAGE OF THEOPHILUS AND THE GROWTH OF THE BALKAN THEMES*

(See Plates XVII–XXII)

The mark of value M, which had occupied the reverse of the Byzantine follis for over three hundred years, disappeared during the reign of Theophilus (829–842), when it was replaced by an inscription in four lines. The new design, borrowed from the silver coinage, was to serve as the model for later issues for nearly two hundred years. The bronze coinage on which it was first used starts a new chapter in Byzantine numismatic history not only because of the alteration in the traditional type, but also because it was the first really large issue of petty coinage, other than in the western provinces, since the time of Constans II. The monetary economy in the provinces of the east Mediterranean world, if one is to judge from the petty coinage itself, had been largely disrupted since that reign. Among the causes of the disruption were the plague, which had depleted the population, the *Völkerwanderungen* in the Balkans, and the Arab expansion, which deprived the Byzantine Empire permanently of the rich lands of Egypt and the East[1]. The new folles

* I am indebted to Mr. C. E. Blunt, Mr. P. Grierson, and especially Mr. P. D. Whitting, who made coins in their own collections freely available to me, and to all the keepers of public collections who so readily supplied casts or photographs of coins of Theophilus. National collections are referred to in the footnotes as Paris, Vienna, Sofia, etc. The following abbreviations are used: ANS, American Numismatic Society's Collection; Ashm., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; BM, BMC, British Museum, British Museum Catalogue (W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, 2 vols., 1908); Fitzw., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; PDW, Mr. Whitting's collection; Ratto, R. Ratto, *Monnaies Byzantines* (sale catalogue of 9 Dec. 1930, Lugano); Schl., the Schlumberger collection, now in the Paris cabinet; Tolstoi, J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies Byzantines*, St. Petersburg, 1913–1914.

[1] The scarcity of bronze coinage in the provinces during the period 668–867, in contrast with the earlier and later periods, is very clearly illustrated by site-finds; see D. M. Metcalf, "The Currency of Byzantine Coins in Syrmia and Slavonia," *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* XIV (1960), 429–444. For the causes of the disruption, see R. S. Lopez, "The Role of Trade in the Economic Readjustment of Byzantium in the Seventh Century," *Dumbarton*

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mark the beginnings of the recovery in monetary circulation, during the ninth century, on the coastlands of the Aegean.[2] They provide clear evidence of changes in mint organization, amounting to a major reform, for, although they are not inscribed with the name of any mint and although the elements in their design differ scarcely at all from one coin to another, they show a degree of variation in style that is understandable only if one supposes that they were produced at more than one mint. The reform in mint organization may have had its origins in the reign of Michael II or even earlier, but it would seem to have become fully effective only under Theophilus.[3] The dogma that all the bronze coinage from the later period, bearing no mint-signature, was the work of the Constantinople mint has been sufficiently challenged[4] for this suggestion not to be too novel. It still requires, however, to be carefully substantiated for a date as early as the reign of Theophilus, especially because of the implication that the lines of later policy were traced out at that time. The only conclusive way in which this might be done, namely by identifying certain stylistic groups of coins and demonstrating

Oaks Papers XIII (1959), 67–85, especially p. 71 and note 5: "The coming of the Arabs [did not have] catastrophic consequences for trade" — but one should not overlook the obvious fact that the mints of Alexandria and especially Antioch, which had struck so much coinage in the sixth century, were no longer contributing to Byzantine monetary affairs.

[2] The hoards of Cleja, 1930, and Urluia, 1936, (E. I. Dimian, "Cîteva Descoperiri Monetare Bizantine pe Teritoriul R.P.R.," *Studii şi Cercetări de Numismatică*, I (1957), 189–214), which are very mixed in their composition, are an indication of the sluggish state of monetary affairs and of the need for reform. The fact that Michael III (842–867) struck virtually no petty coinage in the east suggests that Theophilus's reform was made somewhat in advance of the recovery in the monetary economy.

[3] Cf. BMC Michael II 7–10, 6, 20–21, 24–27. These coins are very sparsely represented among site-finds.

[4] The question was raised, for the scyphate bronze coinage of the twelfth century, by Margaret Thompson, in *The Athenian Agora*, vol. II, *Coins*, 1954, p. 7, and has been taken up again by other writers. The localized occurrence of certain types is argued by A. R. Bellinger and D. M. Metcalf, in "A Hoard of Byzantine Scyphate Bronze Coins from Arcadia," *Numismatic Chronicle* 6. XIX (1959), 155–164, and by D. M. Metcalf, in "Byzantine Scyphate Bronze Coinage in Greece," *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* LVI (1961), (in press). For evidence of earlier localization, see D. M. Metcalf, "Provincial Issues among the Byzantine Bronze Coinage of the Eleventh Century," *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* XV (1961), 25–32.

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from the evidence of finds that each was localized in its occurrence, is made difficult by the lack of specimens to which provenances attach. Virtually no hoards have been recorded and there are very few site-finds, except from Corinth. One must depend for the present chiefly on an examination of the coins themselves. A survey reveals that almost all specimens fall quite clearly into one or another of seven stylistic groups, some of which are perhaps related to each other. The arrangement of the new bronze coins of Theophilus into these seven groups and a study of the variation that occurs within each group are the first steps towards a fuller understanding of the organization that lay behind their issue. Besides preparing the way for adequate find-reports in the future, a classification into varieties permits immediately a re-examination of the metrology of the coins, and of the view that they include a half-follis denomination,[5] which is here questioned. It also offers some small clues to the meaning of the curious pattern of dots that appears in various forms on the *tufa*, the emperor's headdress.[6]

Coins in the easily recognized group listed in the summary below as Group B are distinguished from all other specimens by the form of the loros.[7] Instead of being ornamented with panels, the free end is represented merely by three parallel lines; it terminates in a fringe of four dots.[8] The mark on the tufa is ·· · ·· (PLATE XIX, 24–26), · ⁘ · (PLATE XIX, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23), ⁘ ⁘ (PLATE XIX, 21),

[5] See BMC, Vol. II, p. 424. A description of the types of the follis of Theophilus will be found at the same place.

[6] The representation of the τοῦφα without the rest of the military costume to which it belongs is quite exceptional. Its introduction onto the coinage probably followed the incident recorded by Leo Grammaticus (Migne, P. G. CVIII, p. 1060): the golden tufa of the equestrian statue of Justinian in the Augusteum fell off, and was replaced only with difficulty. The emphasis of the coin-type (SV NICAS) is on the military glories of the past. See J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople; Recueil d'Etudes d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 1951, II, p. 68 and the references cited there.

[7] For notes on the loros and other garments of the imperial dress, see G. P. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of the Imperial Byzantine Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," *Museum Notes* VIII (1958), 99–117, and J. D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II (685–695, 705–711 A. D.)*, (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 144) 1959, pp. 32 ff.

[8] The form is not invariable. There are only two lines and three dots on PLATE XIX, 18. That the dots represent a fringe is best shown by PLATE XIX, 24.

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or · ⁘ · (PLATE XIX, 19). The varieties are shown to be associated with each other by their having in common one or two trivial details that cannot be matched in any other group. The most significant is that the fold of the loros from the emperor's left shoulder to his right hip is ornamented by panels which are always diamond-shaped instead of square. Another feature is that the shape of the contraction mark after ΘЄOFIL and ƀASIL on the obverse is drawn out, elegant in form, and joined to the letter L. Three unusual specimens (PLATE XIX, 17, 18, 20), one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, another in Mr. P. D. Whitting's collection, and the third in the Fitzwilliam Museum, read ƀASILЄ instead of ƀASIL. (On these the contraction mark is joined to the Є.) They are so similar that one has to compare them quite closely to make sure that they are not die-duplicates. Such "near-duplicates" were presumably struck within a short time of each other. The mark on the tufa is indistinct on the first two coins, but is clearly · ⁘ · on the third. The Paris coin probably has · ⁘ · , while Mr. Whitting's seems to be marked ⁘ . If so, it provides an interesting link between the two varieties. The mark · ⁘ · is clear only on two coins in the Vienna cabinet. The mark · ⁘ · , in exactly the same form as on the Fitzwilliam coin (PLATE XIX, 20), can be studied on a sharply-struck specimen in the Berlin cabinet (PLATE XIX, 22). The free end of the loros and the pendants of the labarum are lacking from it. Another coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum lacks the free end of the loros and reads ƀASILЄ; it is in poor condition and the mark in the tufa is indistinct. A "normal" coin of the variety · ⁘ · is shown on PLATE XIX, 23. There is a strong family resemblance between all these specimens. A coin in the Society's collection, marked ⁘ (PLATE XIX, 21), has a tufa of the same shape as those found on the varieties · ⁘ · and ⁘ ; these three varieties are a sub-group in distinction from the variety ·· ⁘ ·· , which has a tufa of a quite different shape.

Clearly, the obverse dies of all four varieties were produced in the same mint or by the same workmen. The interpretation of the marks on the tufa turns on the difficult question whether the two sub-groups were issued concurrently or successively. The same question will arise in the consideration of Groups A and S. The simplest explanation of the incomplete loros and the reading ƀASILЄ is that

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they are early forms that were soon suppressed. This would suggest that the three varieties · ⁝ · , . ˙ . and .·⁝·. are earlier than ·· ⁝ ··

The reverse dies, on the other hand, serve to associate the sub-groups closely with each other. Those of the coins shown on PLATE XIX, 19 and 25 are "near-duplicates." They show a close resemblance also to the reverses of PLATE XIX, 17 and 18. Another pair of coins that provide a link between the sub-groups is noted below.

Most of the "better" coins of Group B are of the variety ·· ⁝ ··. The drapery of the divitision, for example, is sometimes a little more elaborately drawn than usual (PLATE XIX, 24). Exactly the same distinction between the varieties ·· ⁝ ·· and · ⁝ · exists in Group A. While it would be rash to draw any conclusions without the guidance of hoard material, one can say that the evidence of Group B leans towards the view that the most carefully engraved pieces, marked ·· ⁝ ·· , were not, as one might have anticipated, those with which the new coinage was introduced.[9]

Among the coins on which the free end of the loros is ornamented with panels, there are some specimens, mostly large and of fine workmanship, listed as Group Γ, of which the characteristic features, apart from their size, are that the fingers of the hand holding the

[9] Group B. Variety · ⁝ · with ϐASILE and incomplete loros. Schl. 3027, 6.96 (PLATE XIX, 17); Fitzw. 1, 7.89; (tufa mark indistinct on both coins). Variety · ⁝ · with incomplete loros only. Berlin 3, 8.82 (PLATE XIX, 22). Variety · ⁝ · with ϐASILE only. Fitzw. 6, 7.78; Fitzw. 10, 8.15 (PLATE XIX,20). Variety · ⁝ · , normal coins. Fitzw. 5, 8.20 (PLATE XIX, 23)(?) Variety . ˙ . with ϐASILE. PDW 4, 7.85 (PLATE XIX, 18); Variety . ˙ . , normal coins. Vienna 1, 8.49 (PLATE XIX, 19); Vienna 3, 5.55 — the obv. is similar to Vienna 1 and the reverse is a near-duplicate of PDW 4. Variety .·⁝·. . ANS 1, 6.24 (PLATE XIX, 21). Variety uncertain. A coin of erratic workmanship, with five dots unequally arranged in the tufa, clearly belongs to one or other of the foregoing varieties. The reverse is very similar to PDW 7, and the coin is thus a valuable link: Munich 3, 6.712. Variety ·· ⁝ ·· . Berlin 6, 7.58; Berlin 7, 5.99; Berlin 6 is a near-duplicate of Schl. 3026, and Berlin 7 is again very similar, especially the obv.; BM (BMC –), 7.296 (PLATE XIX, 26); BMC 25, 8.261, very similar to PDW 7; BMC 26, 8.734; Fitzw. 14, 6.40, pierced; PDW 7, 8.00 (PLATE XIX, 24); Schl. 3026, 8.43 (PLATE XIX, 25).

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globus cruciger point inwards, instead of being more or less vertical (PLATE XVIII, 15, 16), the dots ornamenting the central part of the loros are large, and the flans are often appreciably larger than the dies. The headdress is marked ••⁝•• . Coins in Group Γ vary in quality. On the best specimens (PLATE XVIII, 15) the lines of the loros, the outline of the tufa, the staff of the labarum, and other parts of the obverse design are engraved in rows of dots instead of solid lines. The characteristic form of the letter C in NICAS, on the reverse, is the same on the better and the poorer coins, and provides a reason for assigning them to the same group.[10]

Group A, the most plentiful variety, is also the most complex. The coins are of medium size and good workmanship. The free end of the loros is rectangular and ornamented with panels. None of the other features by which coins of the group can be recognized is invariably found. The most characteristic trait is that the emperor has a round jaw, very different from the pointed chin of some other varieties, and that the whole head is usually of a broad and well-rounded shape (PLATE XVIII, 9). The eyes are round, and the arms of the cross in the labarum, like other parts of the obverse design, are marked by neat dots. The tip of the nose is rounded or bulbous (PLATE XVIII, 9). The head is set on a long neck, engraved in outline. The left arm, holding the orb, is more carefully indicated than usual. The central part of the loros, which in most varieties is ornamented with four or five pairs of dots, may have as many as $6\frac{1}{2}$ or even $7\frac{1}{2}$ pairs (PLATE XVIII, 11). The end of the loros that falls to the emperor's feet is often wider at the bottom than the top. The panels on the free end of the loros sometimes contain dots (PLATE XVII, 6), and the end is sometimes fringed. The ornament on the tufa is almost always either ••⁝•• or •⁝• .[11]

[10] Group Γ. Fitzw. 16, 8.60 (PLATE XVIII, 15); this coin has an unusual light brown patination and a pale green clay incrustation, and is matched by another coin of exactly the same colour, PLATE XXI, 39; they are both part of the Sherborn bequest and are almost certainly from a single discovery; Schl. 3025, 8.98, worn, very similar to Fitzw. 16; PDW 9, 7.03 (PLATE XVIII, 16).

[11] Group A. Variety •⁝• . Ashm. 2, 7.08, very similar to BMC 23; Bern 132, 8.334 (PLATE XVIII, 9); BMC 20, 8.385, cf. Bern 132; Cardiff 4, 7.91 (PLATE XXVII, 5); Museum für hamburgische Geschichte, inv. no. 5007, 9.10

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Group A was a large issue. Any evidence permitting a subdivision of it would be valuable. The National Museum of Wales has recently acquired five coins in a lot, all of which belong to Group A (PLATE XVII, 1–5).[12] How they reached the London market is not known, but there can be little doubt that they are a parcel from a hoard, or at least are of related provenance. The best of them, PLATE XVII, 1, illustrates Group A at its most characteristic. The whole of the loros and the divitision are in the dotted style. There is a row of dots along the outer edge of the free end of the loros. Although the next coins, PLATE XVII, 2 and 3, are not so well preserved, one can see that they are extremely similar to the first, and, as such, reveal the kind of variation, in the small detail of dies intended to be the same, that is probably of no significance. PLATE XVII, 3, on which the fringe of the loros can be distinguished, shows signs of wear. In PLATE XVII, 4 the mark ⁘ on the tufa is bolder, and the drapery of the divitision at the lower right is less elaborate. The fifth coin, PLATE XVII, 5, is smaller and in a more simplified style. It is marked ∴ . The preponderance of the variety ⁘ in the Wales parcel would fit in with the theory that it was the later issue, but this is a slender piece of evidence.

Whereas many of the coins of the variety ⁘ show the features that have been noted as characteristic of Group A, on most of the coins of the variety ∴ they are not conspicuous. The specimen illustrated on PLATE XVIII, 11, because of its closeness in style to the "better" coinage, puts a difficulty in the way of supposing that

(PLATE XVIII, 10); PDW 8, 6.84 (PLATE XVIII, 14), tufa apparently ∴ but reverse is a near-duplicate of PLATE XVII, 6, with obv. ⁘ ; Schl. 3023, 6.71 (PLATE XVIII, 11); Vienna 2, 8.67, similar to Bern 132; Vienna 4, 6.62. Variety ⁘ . ANS 8, 7.98; Ashm. 5, 6.81, cf. Cardiff 3; Berlin 2, 8.61, similar to Cardiff 2; BMC 23, 7.568 (PLATE XVII, 6), cf. reverse of PLATE XVIII, 14; Cardiff 2, 8.03 (PLATE XVII, 1); Cardiff 5, 7.28 (PLATE XVII, 2); Cardiff 1, 8.74 (PLATE XVII, 3, obv. only); Cardiff 3, 8.00, the pendants are lacking (PLATE XVII, 4); Paris 826, 7.22, very similar to Cardiff 2; Tolstoi 25, 7.9 (illustrated); Tolstoi 26, 5.4 (illustrated). Variety indistinct: Sofia 1, 7.70 (PLATE XVIII, 12); Sofia 2, 8.29 (PLATE XVIII, 13). Variety ∴ . ANS 3, 7.08 (PLATE XVII, 7). Variety ∴ . Grierson, 7.89 (PLATE XVII, 8).

[12] Glendining, 27 November 1958, lot 236.

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the varieties were straightforwardly successive. Also, the stylistic group shown by PLATES XVII, 6, and XVIII, 10, 13, and 14 (note the folds of the divitision at the lower right), provides the same kind of link between the two varieties as that noted in Group B.

On two important coins, one in the Society's collection, and the other in the collection of Mr. P. Grierson, the arrangements of dots in the tufa are quite distinctly ·⁘· and ·⁝⁝·⁝· (PLATE XVII, 7 and 8). The style of both coins is that of Group A; on Mr. Grierson's coin, the central part of the loros has 6½ pairs of dots. The ornaments are especially interesting, since the standard forms, on all varieties, make quite a short list (··⁘··, ·⁘·, ·˙·, ˙·˙, ···). Some of the other forms that occur should probably be regarded as merely due to carelessness: thus both ·⁘·, which occurs in Group A, and ˙⁘˙, which occurs in Group Z, may have been meant for ·⁘·. The two unusual coins of Group A each have 9 dots, and it seems possible that the marks were intended to be the same. Scarce varieties such as this point towards a complex policy in the regulation of the work of the mints.

Groups A, B and Γ all have an average weight of roughly 8 grammes, and were probably struck on the same weight-standard. The amount of variation from one coin to another seems to have been kept within reasonable limits, except that, as is not uncommon among Byzantine bronze coinages, there is a small proportion of coins that are seriously under-weight. The lop-sidedness in the metrological distribution of the coins is reflected in means that are lower than medians. The averages for the coins listed in the footnotes are:

Group	*Median*	*Mean*	*Standard Deviation*	*No. of Coins*
A	7.9	7.71	0.83	(23)
B	7.86	7.55	0.97	(19)
Γ	8.60	8.20	0.84	(3)

If the coins weighing less than 6½ grammes are excluded, the averages for the main groups become:

A	(7.91)	7.81	0.69	(22)
B	8.01	7.95	0.76	(15)

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The most likely figure for the weight-standard to which the coins were struck is 40 to the pound. Reckoning the pound at 327 grammes, the full nominal weight of such coins would be 8.175 grammes.

Group Δ consists of small coins, which have been interpreted as half-folles. The tufa, on all the best specimens, is ornamented • • • (PLATE XX, 27—29). The free end of the loros is markedly triangular in shape. The drapery of the divitision at the lower right is a distinguishing feature: the vertical lines run together at the hip in a way that is easier to recognize than to describe (see PLATE XX, 27, 28). To the lower left, the divitision flares out in a full-skirted effect. The figure has high, square shoulders. The reverse inscription regularly has long Є's and narrow V's. The details of this variety do not correspond with those of any of the larger varieties in a manner that would show that it was a related fractional issue. Much less can each of the larger varieties be matched by a half-follis in the same style! Coins of Group Δ have an average weight of 4.3–4.4 grammes, that is, about the same weight as the solidus and distinctly more than half the weight of the other varieties.[13]

The best coins of Group Δ were extensively copied by unskilled workmen. Usually, the copies show a "mirror image" of the loros, which is draped from the emperor's right shoulder to his left hip, instead of the other way round (PLATE XX, 31—34). On nearly all the copies, the pendants of the labarum are set right at the edges of the square; the cross is often indicated by four dots, • ⁘ • . Some coins have a cross in the lower right of the field (PLATE XX, 31, 32). Since the copies are plentiful, and fairly regular in style and weight, they can hardly be the work of isolated forgers.[14] The fact that there

[13] Group Δ. ANS 2, 4.63 (PLATE XX, 27); ANS 4, 4.24; Berlin 8, 3.845; Blunt, 4.01, reverse near-duplicate of Stockholm 2; Fitzw. 17, 4.43; Munich 2, 4.890; PDW 1, 3.45; Schl. 3030, 4.29; Schl. 3033, 3.15; Schl. 3034, 5.04 (PLATE XX, 28); Sofia 4, 4.50 (PLATE XX, 29); Stockholm 2, 4.68; Zurich 49, 4.00 (without pendants); Tolstoi 28, 4.8 (only 2 dots in tufa?); PDW 2, 4.70 (only 1 dot in tufa? but Є and V as usual). Mean, 4.33, standard deviation, 0.53; median (4.47).

[14] Group Δ, copies. (a) Coins with the loros reversed and with cross in field. BMC 30, 4.049 (PLATE XX, 31); PDW 3, 4.18 (PLATE XX, 32); Vienna 5, 5.40, near-duplicate of BMC 30, corroded. (b) Coins with the loros reversed. Ashm. 6, 4.86 (PLATE XX, 33); BMC 28, 3.316 (PLATE XX, 34); Ratto 1827; Schl. 3031, 4.64; Schl. 3035, 4.32; Sofia 3, 3.12; Vienna 6, 3.05. (c) Other varieties. BMC 27, 3.536, with • ⁘ • in tufa and free end of loros dotted; Schl. 1.94.

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are so many of them, while there are no copies, so far as can be seen, of Groups A, B or Γ, suggests, as does the stylistic individuality of Group Δ, that the series belongs to some particular region within the Empire, and is the work of a provincial mint.

A coin in the British Museum (PLATE XX, 30), and another in the Ratto catalogue, clearly belong with the better coins of Group Δ, but are marked, either by design or accident, • • • • .[15]

A small group of coins, not unlike those of Group Δ in their general style, but easily distinguished from all other varieties by the squat figure of the emperor, and the wide band of parallel straight lines to the right, representing the folds of the divitision, is listed as Group Є. It includes the only instance of die-duplication and the only instance of die-linkage that I have found among the new bronze coins of Theophilus. A coin in the Society's collection (PLATE XX, 37) is duplicated by one in the Fitzwilliam Museum, and the two are linked by their obverse die with another in the Bibliothèque Nationale (PLATE XX, 36). A fourth coin, at Stockholm, is a "near-duplicate," the reverse being particularly similar to that of the Paris coin. The tufa is marked • ⁝ • .[16]

Coins in Groups Ϛ and Z differ greatly in style from Groups A—Δ, being of bolder and rougher workmanship. They include many pieces which are very much lighter than the normal issues. There are usually no pendants to the labarum on either variety. Coins are to be found which are clearly associated with the better specimens of Groups Ϛ or Z by certain details of style, but which are struck from such crude dies that one might have been tempted to regard them as poor forgeries, and not the work of an imperial mint (PLATE XXII, 50).[17]

A characteristic feature of the better coins of Group Ϛ is that the fingers of the hand holding the globus cruciger end in dots (PLATE XXI, 39, 41). The upper and lower eyelids are shown by straight lines parallel to each other, giving to the whole face an inscrutable look. The free end of the loros is sometimes dotted at the inter-

[15] Group Δ, • • • • . BMC 29, 4.412 (PLATE XX, 30); Ratto 1826.
[16] Group Є. ANS 5, 7.59 (PLATE XX, 37); Fitzw. 2, 5.83; Paris 827, 7.07 (PLATE XX, 36); Stockholm 3, 5.129. Mean, 6.40.
[17] Berlin 4, 6.00; Schl. 3028, 5.50. Both probably belong with Group Ϛ. See also Berlin 5, PLATE XXII, 50.

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sections of the lines that mark out the panels. The tip of the nose is indicated by a dot, and the nostrils by two small lines. Almost the whole of the obverse design may be in the dotted style (see especially PLATE XXI, 38). The lettering on the reverse is formed from swelling strokes that are fatter in the middle; the letters C and S are narrow and ill-formed. The tufa is ornamented · ⁚ · or ·· ⁚ ·· . On the variety ·· ⁚ ·· the labarum has pendants (PLATE XXI, 42, 41). A specimen in the British Museum marked · . · may in fact be merely a blundered coin of the variety · ⁚ · (PLATE XXI, 43). The obverse die shows the closest similarities with that of PLATE XXI, 44, of which the reverse die is in turn a "near-duplicate" of PLATE XXI, 40.[18]

The weight of similar specimens in good style of Group Ϛ, · ⁚ · varies from as little as four to as much as nine grammes, so that, even although the weight of most coins is around six grammes, it might appear that the mint controlled the standard of its output less rigorously than that striking, say, Group Δ. The occurrence of light and heavy coins, however, is unequal among the varieties. The same is true of Group Z. Thus, coins of Group Ϛ, · ⁚ · with the loros dotted, and of Group Z, · ⁚ · without pendants, are mostly light, whereas the remaining varieties, in both groups, include a larger proportion of heavy coins. This suggests that two weight-standards may have been used, namely, one of about 6 grammes, and the usual one of about 8 grammes. The natural explanation is that the lower standard was used initially, and that later the mint was brought into line with the standard of the Constantinople mint, and an attempt was made

[18] Group Ϛ. Variety · ⁚ · with the free end of the loros dotted. Berlin 1, 6.41; Fitzw. 3, 8.89 (but the free end of the loros is indistinct); Fitzw. 4, 6.59 (PLATE XXI, 39); Fitzw. 8, 7.95 (but the mark in the tufa is uncertain); Metcalf, 4.01 (PLATE XXI, 38); Paris 825, 5.31. Variety · ⁚ · with the free end of the loros not dotted. ANS 6, 7.58 (illustrated in *Museum Notes* VIII (1958), Pl. XXVIII, 24); Bern 131, 7.482 (PLATE XXI, 40), near-duplicate of PLATE XXI, 44; BMC 19, 7.626 (PLATE XXI, 44), near-duplicate; PDW 5, 6.02; Schl. 3029, 5.61 (PLATE XXI, 41), tufa uncertain, perhaps ·· ⁚ ·· . Variety · ⁚ · with pendants to labarum. Fitzw. 11, 8.16. Variety · . · . BMC 18, 7.918 (PLATE XXI, 43), similar to PLATE XXI, 44. Variety ·· ⁚ ·· with pendants to labarum. BMC 24, 6.868 (PLATE XXI, 42); Schl. 3024, 7.11.

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to enforce the standard design (with pendants). The variety ·· ⁝ ·· may thus again be later than · ⁝ · in Groups S and Z.

Coins of Group Z are very similar in the general syle of the obverse and in the lettering of the reverse to those of Group S. Their engraving, however, is even bolder, and is less careful, and the figure of the emperor is not so slender (PLATE XXII, 45—48). The detail by which coins of Group Z may be distinguished from the poorer specimens of Group S is the b of bASIL on the obverse. The letter slopes backwards, and its upright stroke is in consequence usually roughly parallel with the vertical axis of the design; in Group S, the letter b is more accurately aligned. This small difference allows a specimen from the Athenian Agora (PLATE XXII, 51) to be associated with Group Z. It is a coin that one might have been inclined to put on one side as an irregular issue, since it is in very crude style. The particular interest of the piece lies in its close stylistic similarity to a coin in the Berlin cabinet (PLATE XXII, 50). Both have a boldly dotted border on the obverse. On both, the arms of the cross on the globus have points projecting beyond the line of the serif; this detail is not common. The emperor's right hand is fat and coarse. His face is pronouncedly triangular in shape. The grouping of dots in the tufa of the Berlin specimen is blundered. It should, nevertheless, be assigned to Group Z.[19]

Out of more than a hundred coins studied, all but two clearly belong to one or another of the seven groups that have been described. Tolstoi 27 is not easy to assign, but probably belongs in fact to Group A. Another coin, with the triangular loros of Group Δ, but of greater size and weight, and without other characteristics of the group, has the mark ⁘ (PLATE XX, 35).[20]

The evidence of a classification based on style points clearly to the operation of at least three mints in the issue of Theophilus's new follis: Groups A—Γ, Δ—Є, and S—Z are quite distinct from

[19] Group Z. Variety without pendants. ANS 7, 5.73 (PLATE XXII, 45); Hague, Inv. no. 13728, 5. 78 (PLATE XXII, 46); Metcalf, 9.9 (PLATE XXII, 47); PDW 6, 6.47; Stockholm 1, 6.66. Variety with pendants. Ashm. 3, 6.36 (PLATE XXII, 49); BMC 21, 8.942 (PLATE XXII, 48); Munich 1, 7.400 (Schl. 3028, 5.50). Variety with blundered tufa. Berlin 5, 6.22 (PLATE XXII, 50). Near-duplicate, with normal tufa-mark, from Athenian Agora excavations, PLATE XXII, 51.

[20] Tolstoi 27, 7.6; BMC 22, 7.141 (PLATE XX, 35).

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each other. It is inadvisable to multiply mints unnecessarily without documentary evidence, but given that coins of identical design, and bearing no mint-signature, were struck at three mints, there is no great additional difficulty in supposing, as the evidence suggests, a larger number of mints, and giving at least Groups B and Є to separate mints. The site of each mint can only be guessed, since there are so few provenances. Group A may be provisionally assigned to the Constantinople mint, on the grounds that one cannot imagine that there was not an active mint there, that the coins of this group are in good style, plentiful, include rare varieties of the marks on the tufa, and show a good deal of minor variation such as one might expect among the extensive output of an important mint; and that the other possible candidate for a Constantinopolitan attribution, Group B, would seem to be ruled out by the irregular varieties that it includes. Group Δ must, I think, belong to Salonica. The reasons for the attribution are as follows: the mint is to be located in a provincial town sufficiently remote from Constantinople, and isolated, to be able to have a very different coinage from that of other parts of the Empire; the town must be an important one, since coins of Group Δ are plentiful. It cannot be Corinth, where the type has been found only in small numbers,[21] and is by the same token unlikely to be in central Greece. Two out of the four coins in the Sofia cabinet are of Group Δ (the other two are of Group A: note that the two main approaches from the Empire to Bulgaria were by way of Constantinople and Salonica. The coin shown on PLATE XX, 29 was found in the vicinity of Isperikh, in north-eastern Bulgaria, in 1957.) The tradition of preferring a smaller standard copper coin than the metropolitan follis seems to have been curiously persistent at Salonica.[22] The marks • • • and • • • • remain intriguing even in light of a Salonican attribution, since the other standard

[21] Out of 21 coins found at Corinth in the period 1896—1929, only 3 were of small size (23–25 mm.). See K. M. Edwards, *Corinth Reports, VI, Coins, 1896–1929*, 1932. Even these may have been of Group Ϛ; cf. note 23.

[22] The attempt, under Justin I, to have the Salonican mint strike folles was apparently abandoned. Under Justinian, 16-nummia coins and their fractions were issued. In the last few years of Justinian's reign and under his successors, the 20-nummia piece was the standard coin struck at the mint. There is reason to think that certain small scyphate bronze coins of Manuel I (1143–1180) are Salonican (Metcalf, op. cit. in note 4).

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marks appear to reflect some general scheme, both · ⁝ · and ·· ⁝ ·· occurring in each of Groups A, B and S. Salonica's importance as the second city of the diminished Empire may have secured it an unusual measure of administrative independence.

The case for giving Group E to a separate mint must be considered uncertain while only two obverse dies are known. The metrology of Group Δ with which they have their closest links, is, however, clear-cut. Group E, which is much heavier, could only belong to the same mint if it had been struck at a different period.

The coins of Theophilus in the Corinth finds were predominantly of Groups S and Z.[23] This is in itself important evidence of localization, and suggests that the two groups belong to central and southern Greece. The coins found in the Athenian Agora provide valuable support for an attribution to Greece. Four coins have been discovered:[24] the first (which was pierced) was of Group S, without pendants, and without conspicuous dots on the free end of the loros. The second, which has already been discussed, was a crude specimen of Group Z. The third was so worn and defaced as to be almost beyond recognition. The size and quality of the flan show that it is of Groups A, B or Γ, and the tall, flat-bottomed outline of the tufa narrows the attribution down to Group A, and not variety ·· ⁝ ··. The last coin was again sadly defaced, but the reverse lettering establishes an attribution to Groups S or Z, and the dotted fingers of the hand holding the globus cruciger, and the b of bASIL on the obverse, confirm that it is of Group S. There are no pendants to the labarum. To these coins from central Greece may be added one other: I bought the coin of Group Z illustrated on PLATE XXII, 47 in Athens.

There were, then, at least two and more probably five or six provincial mints which shared with Constantinople the issue of the new bronze coinage of Theophilus. Of these, it seems probable that one was at Salonica, and one or two were in central and southern

[23] I have so far made only a provisional study of the Corinth finds of the reign of Theophilus, by examining a random sample of the coins found in the year 1937, that is, in the Agora. Groups S and Z together accounted for 84% of the sample, and Group A for 12%.

[24] They are the four listed by M. Thompson, in *The Athenian Agora, II, The Coins*, 1954. No further specimens have been found subsequently.

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Greece. This is as far as the evidence of the coins themselves can at present be taken. In context, however, its significance is clear. "In the Balkan peninsula, [the imperial] power, shattered by the Avar invasions and the Slavic colonization, was confined to a few towns in the coastal area, but from these few remaining centers began the gradual and partial restoration of that power . . . By the middle of the ninth century the districts of Greece and the coastal regions on both the east and west of the peninsula had been transformed into a series of Byzantine themes . . . Almost the whole coast-line was girdled with themes, by means of which Byzantium was able to revive its 'thalassocracy' . . ."[25] Groups Δ, Є, Ϛ and Z of the new follis were a coinage for the coastal cities of Greece, where trade and commerce were beginning to revive. The very large number of coins of Theophilus found at Corinth[26] is in the sharpest contrast with their scarcity elsewhere; there were none among the site-finds from Sardes or Pergamum. This suggests that Asia Minor, outside the immediate zone of the capital, may not have shared in the revival of the monetary economy to the same extent as Greece. The contrast between Corinth and Athens, which is only a little less sharp, shows that Corinth was a very isolated centre of monetary activity;[27] here is a piece of formal evidence that goes a long way towards establishing the character of the monetary affairs of the period.

[25] These sentences provide so apt a summary that I have taken the liberty to quote them *in extenso* from G. Ostrogorsky's "The Byzantine Empire in the World of the Seventh Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XIII (1959), 1 ff.

[26] Twenty-one coins were found in the period 1896–1929, 38 in the years 1930–35, and no fewer than 96 in the years 1936–39. See K. M. Edwards, "Report on the Coins Found in the Excavations at Corinth During the Years 1930–35," *Hesperia* VI (1937), 241 ff., and J. M. Harris, "Coins Found at Corinth . . . 1936–39," *Hesperia* X (1941), 143 ff.

[27] Charanis has suggested that the reason for the very large number of coins of Constans II in the Athens finds (they are scarce at Corinth) is that a military force was quartered there in 662/3. See P. Charanis, "The Significance of Coins as Evidence for the History of Athens and Corinth in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," *Historia* IV (1955), 163–172. A campaign against the Slavs in the Peloponnesus, in the reign of Michael III, may possibly have had some effect on the pattern of finds at Corinth; the copper coinage of Theophilus was not supplemented by new issues in the following reign. (See Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 50.) The difference between the Corinth and Athens finds must, however, be explained essentially in terms of normal events, since it is repeated for the reign of Basil.

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The mint which struck Group B, examples of which are plentiful, is likely to have been not far from Constantinople, perhaps on the Asian side of the Propontis.

One cannot help wondering whether, in the Balkans, there was not a connection between the new monetary organization and the recently instituted themes. The similarity of Groups S and Z might be explained by their being the issues of the Peloponnesian and the Helladic themes, struck at mints not far apart — perhaps Corinth and Thebes. Group Δ may be assigned to the Salonican theme.[28] Group Є, of which the scarcity and the dies show that it was a small issue, may belong to a theme (such as Macedonia?) with fewer cities and less commerce.

The attribution of the new bronze coinage to various mints prompts a re-examination of the gold issues of Theophilus. The stylistic difference that provides the strongest argument for provincial mintage of bronze, namely, that between Groups A–Γ and S—Z, is to be seen again: the solidi BMC 1–3 and 53–55, which are practically identical in their types, are surely part of a single issue, the latter group being from the same (southern or central Greek?) mint as the bronze of Groups S—Z.[29]

[28] P. Lemerle, "Invasions et Migrations dans les Balkans depuis la Fin de l'Epoque Romaine jusqu'au VIII[e] Siècle," *Revue Historique* CCXI (1954), 265–308, especially p. 308 and note 2.

[29] The problem of the chronology of Theophilus's various types of gold coinage has, I think, been made even more difficult than it is because scholars have not distinguished between substantive issues and special issues. BMC 1–3 (together with 53–55?) is a substantive issue, as is the common type showing the three generations of the Amorian dynasty (BMC 4–10). The evidence of the Porto Torres and Dubrovnik hoards and the 16 coins in the Archaeological Museum at Split suggests very strongly that BMC 4–10 was the only substantive issue in "Constantinopolitan" style in the west: the Lagbe hoard shows that BMC 1–3 was the first substantive issue in the east, but it is not clear that it was the only one. All the other types are rarities and are doubtless special issues struck for ceremonial use. See A. R. Bellinger, "The Emperor Theophilus and the Lagbe Hoard," *Berytus* VIII (1943–44), 102–106; the comments on metrology should be read in light of H. L. Adelson's remarks on seigneurage in *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade During the Sixth and Seventh Centuries* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 138), 1957, especially p. 48. For finds of gold coinage in the west, see S. McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* (NNM 67), 1935, under Ragusa and Porto Torres, and I. Marović, "Zlatnici Cara Theophila u Numizmatičkoj Zbirci Arheološkog Muzeja u Splitu," *Vjesnik za Arh. i Hist. Dalmatinsku* LV (1953), 213–216.

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CHECK-LIST OF VARIETIES, WITH PROVISIONAL ATTRIBUTIONS TO MINTS

Provisional Attribution *Group*	*Variety*	*Distinguishing features*		*Plate*
Constantinople				
A	· ⁝ ·		neat, rounded style	XVII, 5; XVIII, 9, 10, 11, ? 14
	·⁝·⁝·, ·⁝⁝⁝·			
	··⁝··	large number of dots on loros,		XVII, 7, 8
				XVII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
Metropolitan region/Asia Minor?				
B	· ⁝ ·	outline of tufa;	diamond-shaped panels; free end of loros	XIX, 17, 20, 22, 23
	· · ·	incomplete loros,		XIX, 19, ? 18
	·⁝·⁝·			XIX, 21
	··⁝··			XIX, 24, 25, 26
Metropolitan region/Asia Minor??				
Γ	··⁝··	fingers of hand holding orb; C of ΠΙCΑS		XVIII, 15, 16
Salonica				
Δ	···	triangular end of loros		XX, 27, 28, 29
	···· (?)			XX, 30
	···, etc.	derivative coins with reversed loros		XX, 31, 32; 33, 34
Uncertain provincial mint, possibly in northern Greece?				
Є	· ⁝ ·	squat figure, lines of divitision		XX, 36, 37

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Central or southern Greece: Peloponnesus?			
Ϛ	• ⁝ •	hand holding orb; free end of loros; reverse lettering	XXI, 38, 39: 40, 44
	• . • (?)		XXI, 43
	•• ⁝ ••		XXI, 42, ? 41
Central or southern Greece: Hellas?			
Z	• ⁝ •	similar to Ϛ; b of BASIL	XXII, 45, 46, 47, 51; 48, 49; 50

D. M. METCALF

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MONNAIES FRANÇAISES RARES OU INÉDITES DE L'AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

(See Plates XXIII–XXIV)

Au cours d'un séjour effectué à l'American Numismatic Society pendant l'été 1960[1] il m'a été donné d'examiner les séries médiévales et modernes du Musée. Si je me suis intéressé plus particulièrement aux monnaies de l'Orient Latin, dont un trésor, je l'espère, fera l'objet d'une publication postérieure, j'ai regardé avec attention également les monnaies françaises, royales et féodales.

Les monnaies de la série royale forment une belle collection et ce sont certaines pièces appartenant à celle-ci que je veux présenter. Elles ne sont pas sans intérêt.

Toutes les pièces décrites ci-dessous sont entrées dans le médaillier de la Société par achat, soit en 1942 soit en 1949 et proviennent toutes de la même collection, à savoir la collection Ferrari.

De cette fabuleuse collection peu de choses ont été dites. On en connaît quatre catalogues de ventes mais qui ne portent pas sur les séries qui nous intéressent ici. Celles-ci ont été vendues sans qu'aucun catalogue en ait été dressé.[2] Peu de temps avant sa mort Adrien Blanchet avait livré quelques souvenirs sur le personnage de Philippe de Ferrari de La Renotière et sa collection.[3]

Parmi les pièces acquises provenant de celle-ci je veux donc signaler à l'attention des numismates un denier et une obole de Philippe I^er^

[1] Je veux ici dire encore toute ma gratitude à l'American Numismatic Society pour ce séjour si fructueux à tout point de vue. Je veux remercier MM. Henry Grunthal et William L. Clark ainsi que Mrs. Shonnard, qui m'ont si aimablement permis d'accéder aux médailliers.

[2] Vente aux enchères par Florange et Ciani (1) en mai–juin 1922: Monnaies du XV^e^ s. à nos jours. Domination française à l'étranger. Famille napoléonienne. (2) en décembre 1922: Monnaies papales et de la maison de Savoie du XVIII^e^ siècle à nos jours. En mars 1923 vente aux enchères par Bourgey de "Monnaies Scandinaves." Ciani vend (Paris, s. d.) à prix marqués des Monnaies belges 1831–1914.

[3] Adrien Blanchet, (La Collection Ferrari) dans *B. Soc. franç. Num.*, février 1957, p. 99.

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d'Orléans et quelques piéforts appartenant aux monnayages de Philippe IV, Jean II, Charles V, Charles VI. Les pages qui suivent n'entendent être qu'un simple catalogue.

PHILIPPE Ier (1060–1108).

DENIER ET OBOLE D'ORLEANS.

1. ✠PHILIPVS×RETD-I entre deux cercles de grènetis. Porte de ville avec fronton, accosté de deux croisettes, l'une, régulière ✠ à droite dans le champ, l'autre, losangée ✠ à gauche dans le champ. S à l'intérieur de la porte, V au-dessous, le tout à l'intérieur d'un cercle de grènetis.
   Rev. ✠AVRELIANISCIVITA entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix pattée au centre, à l'intérieur du cercle de grènetis.
   Denier. Æ 22 mm. Poids: 1. 157g. — Lafaurie 72.[4]

Le second *i* de *Philipus* est suscrit ainsi que le premier *i* d'*Aurelianis*. La pièce n'est pas inconnue puisque Lafaurie la porte dans son livre sous le numéro 72 comme denier d'Orléans du cinquième type. Mais il n'a pu en donner ni l'illustration ni le poids, ne le connaissant que par Hoffmann[5] (H. 13), Ciani[6] (C. 68), Gariel[7] (no. 1473) et Marchéville[8] (no. 27).

La description qui en est donnée ici correspond aux dessins d'Hoffmann et de Ciani et aux descriptions qu'ils en donnent (Ciani donne REX au lieu de RET, qui figure bien sur le dessin) ainsi qu'à

[4] Lafaurie (Jean), *Les Monnaies des rois de France. Hugues Capet à Louis XII*, Paris, 1951, p. 9, nº 72. J'ai présenté le denier et l'obole d'Orléans à la Société Française de Numismatique, voy. *B. Soc. Franç. Num.*, Nov. 1960, p. 476. Depuis cette date un denier semblable est entré dans les collections du Cabinet de France. Le Catalogue de vente à prix marqués de la maison Bourgey (Paris), février 1961, en présentait un autre sous le nº 300. Il m'a été donné d'en voir un quatrième dans une collection particulière. Je tiens à remercier mon collègue, *M. Lafaurie*, qui a bien voulu revoir ce petit article.

[5] Hoffmann (H.) *Les monnaies royales de France depuis Hugues Capet jusqu'à Louis XVI*, Paris, 1878, p. 7 et pl. IV, nº 13.

[6] *Les monnaies royales françaises de Hugues Capet à Louis XVI ... par Louis Ciani*, Paris, 1926, p. 21, nº 68.

[7] *Collection E. Gariel. Monnaies françaises ... Expert: M. H. Hoffmann. Vente aux enchères publiques ...*, Paris, 1885.

[8] *Catalogue de monnaies françaises de Hugues Capet à Charles VIII (Ière partie) dont la vente à l'amiable aura lieu du mardi 22 au samedi 26 novembre 1927 ... aux bureaux de M. L. Ciani, expert ...* Paris, experts: J. Florange ... L. Ciani.

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la description de Gariel (il n'y a pas de dessin pour cette pièce dans le catalogue de la collection). La pièce de la collection Marchéville est légèrement différente de celle-ci: la croisette losangée est à droite de la porte dans le champ.[9]

La seconde pièce au nom de Philippe Ier, une obole, est la suivante.

2. ✠D-IDEREXPHILIPVS entre deux cercles de grènetis. Porte de ville entourée de [N E] O [E] X à l'intérieur d'un cercle de grènetis.
Rev. AVRELIA IIIISCIVITAS entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix pattée au centre cantonnée aux 3 et 4 de deux croisettes suspendues.
Obole Æ 17 mm. Poids: 0.579 g. — Lafaurie 73.

Cette obole correspond au denier du troisième type (Lafaurie 70). Là encore M. Lafaurie n'avait pu en donner ni l'illustration ni le poids ni même une description. La pièce était en effet connue jusqu'à présent seulement d'après la collection Gariel, no. 1472, où aucun dessin d'elle ne figurait, bien qu'elle fût marquée inédite.

PIEFORTS

Les pièces suivantes sont toutes des piéforts de monnaies frappées par les rois Philippe IV, Jean II, Charles V et Charles VI. L'on sait ce que sont des piéforts, des «specimens de monnaies courantes frappés sur un flan plus épais et plus pesant que celui de l'émission» dit Dieudonné à qui l'on se référera pour toute précision[10] sur le caractère de ces pièces.

PHILIPPE IV (1285–1314)

MAILLE TOURNOIS A L'O ROND

3. ✠PhILIPPVS'REX entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix pattée au centre.
Rev. ✠TVROHVS'CIVIS (O rond) autour d'un châtel tournois.
Piéfort cuivre doré 16 mm. Poids: 5.236 g. — Lafaurie 229a.

Piéfort de la maille tournois à l'O rond de la fin de 1307. La Bibliothèque Nationale en possède un semblable sous le no. 129, prove-

[9] Pl. II, nº 27 du catalogue.
[10] A. Dieudonné, *Manuel de Numismatique Française*, t. II, p. 68 et suiv. Depuis cette date on a publié quelques piéforts mais tous ont été signalés dans l'ouvrage de M. Lafaurie.

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nant de l'ancienne collection Rousseau. Un exemplaire dans la collection Marchéville (no. 363).

MAILLE DEMIE

4. ✠PhILIPPVSREX entre deux cercles de grènetis. En légende extérieure: ✠BHDICTV:SIT:HOCMĒ:DHĪ:ⵏRI:DEI entre deux cercles de grènetis. Au centre croix pattée.
   Rev. ✠TVROHVS'CIVIS (O long) autour d'un châtel tournois, à l'intérieur d'un cercle de grénetis. Bordure de douze lis.
   Piéfort Æ 23 mm. Poids: 6.064 g. — Lafaurie 221a.

Piéfort de la maille demie de Philippe le Bel, émise le 10 janvier 1296. La Bibliothèque Nationale, sous les numéros 170 et 171 possédent deux piéforts de cette pièce.

DOUBLE PARISIS

5. ✠PhILIPPVS REX entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix fleuronnée au centre.
   Rev. ✠MONETADVPLEX (O long) entre deux cercles de grènetis. Au centre REGA/LIS en deux lignes sous une fleur de lis.
   Piéfort billon 20.5 mm. Poids: 5.481 g. — Lafaurie 232b.

Piéfort du double parisis, de la première émission de 1295. La Bibliothèque Nationale en possède un semblable sous le no. 182.

DOUBLE TOURNOIS

6. ✠PhILIPPVS REX entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix pattée au centre cantonnée au 2 d'une fleur de lis.
   Rev. ✠MONDVPLEXREGALI (O long) Faîte de châtel tournois avec base annelée, sommé de la croisette, accosté d'une fleur de lis de part et d'autre.
   Piéfort billon 20 mm. Poids: 6.673 g. — Lafaurie 234c.

Piéfort du double tournois de 1295. La pièce est connue d'après Hoffmann (24) et Ciani (219). Il existait dans la collection Ferrari un essai ou épreuve d'argent (Lafaurie 234b). Celui-ci est le piéfort de la première émission. La Bibliothèque Nationale possède le piéfort de la deuxième émission (no. 231).

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JEAN II (1350–1364)

MOUTON D'OR

7. ✠AGN·DEI·QVI·TOLL·PECCA·MVDI·MISERERE·NOB' Agneau pascal debout, nimbé, tournant la tête vers une croix fleurdelisée à longue hampe où flotte une bannière, à l'intérieur d'un polylobe. Aux pieds de l'agneau IOh'/REX de part et d'autre de la hampe.
Rev. ✠XPC (deux fleurons cruciformes superposés) VINCIT (*id.*) XPC (*id.*) REGNAT (*id.*) XPC (*id.*) IMPERAT. Croix fleuronnée, centrée d'une rose, cantonnée de quatre fleurs de lis dans un quadrilobe à quatre pointes extérieures, accostée chacune de deux fleurs de lis.
Piéfort billon doré 30 mm. Poids: 24.845 g. — Lafaurie 294a.

Piéfort du mouton d'or de Jean le Bon. La Bibliothèque Nationale possède un exemplaire semblable sous le no. 621, de l'ancienne collection Rousseau.

MAILLE BLANCHE

8. ✠IOhANNES (trèfle) REX entre deux cercles de grènetis. En légende extérieure ✠BNDICTV:SIT:NOMEN:DNI:NRI.
Rev. ✠ F'RANCORVM châtel tournois sommé de la croisette initiale de la légende. Bordure de onze lis.
Piéfort Æ 23.5 mm. Poids: 10.404 g. — Lafaurie 299b.

Ce piéfort de la première émission de la maille blanche est connu (Hoffmann 13, Ciani 367, Marchéville 737). La Bibliothèque Nationale en possède un sous le no. 600.

GROS DIT COMPAGNON

9. (fleur de lis) IOhANNES (trèfle pointe en bas) DEI (*id.*) GRA entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix pattée au centre. En légende extérieure ✠BNDICTV:SIT:NOMEN:DNI:N....
Rev. (fleur de lis) F'RANCORVM (trèfle) REX châtel tournois sommé de la fleur de lis initiale de la légende. Bordure de douze fleurs de lis.
Piéfort cuivre 29 mm. Poids: 15.230 g. — Lafaurie —.

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10. (fleur de lis entre deux points) IOhANNES (trèfle pointe en haut) DEI (*id.*) GRA Même description que précédent.
Rev. (fleur de lis entre deux points) FRAHCORVM (trèfle pointe en bas) REX Même description que précédent.
Piéfort cuivre 28 mm. Poids: 23.963 g. — Lafaurie —.

Ces deux pièces sont des piéforts du gros dit compagnon. La première correspond au gros de la seconde ou troisième émission (Lafaurie 312a) portant des O pointés (pièce B.N. 695) et la seconde avec ses O pointés et sa fleur de lis intitiale entre deux points est le piéfort du gros de la quatrième émission (Lafaurie 312b, voy. B.N. 696).

La Bibliothèque Nationale possède un piéfort correspondant à la première émission (Lafaurie 312c; B.N. 694). Le piéfort de Hoffmann 42, s'il correspond à la pièce décrite sous le no. 41 serait un piéfort de la deuxième ou troisième émission comme le premier de ces deux-ci. Le piéfort de la collection Babut est un piéfort de la première émission.

GROS BLANC A LA COURONNE

11. ✠IOhANNES (trèfle pointe en l'air) DEI (*id.*) GRA entre deux cercles de grènetis. En légende extérieure ✠BNDICTV:SIT:NOMN: DNI:NRI:DEI:IhV:XPI.
Rev. ✠FRAHCORVM dans le champ, REX sous une couronne. Bordure de douze lis.
Piéfort cuivre doré 30 mm. Poids: 21.533 g. — Lafaurie 314b.

Piéfort du gros blanc à la couronne. Il est connu d'après Hoffmann 27 (anc. coll. Fabre) et Ciani (388). Lafaurie ne donne ni poids ni illustration. Le piéfort correspond à la pièce de la première émission du 30 août 1360.

DOUBLE TOURNOIS

12. oIOhANNESoREX Dans le champ FRAN/CORV en deux lignes. Au-dessus point entre deux trèfles, au-dessous point.
Rev. ✠oMONETAoDVPLEXo entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix à branches égales dont trois sont fleurdelisées, annelée au centre. Le pied de la croix est accosté de part et d'autre d'un trèfle pointe en l'air.
Piéfort cuivre doré 21.5 mm. Poids: 9.656 g. — Lafaurie 329e.

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Le piéfort correspond à la troisième émission, du 14 mai 1351, de cette pièce, qui est un double tournois quoiqu'au type parisis. La Bibliothèque Nationale possède deux exemplaires du piéfort (no. 739–740).

DENIER TOURNOIS

13. ✠IOhANNES◦REX entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix pattée au centre.
Rev. ✠TVROHVS◦CIVIS châtel sommé d'un point.
Piéfort Æ 22 mm. Poids: 12.529 g. — Lafaurie —.

D'après la description ci-dessus ce piéfort correspond à la troisième émission du denier tournois, du 20 mars 1355 (Lafaurie 352b). Il est semblable aux numéros 760–761 de la Bibliothèque Nationale qui sont les pièces de cette émission. Aucun piéfort de ce denier tournois ne semble connu à ce jour.

CHARLES V (1364–1380)

BLANC AU K

14. DEI:GRACIA Grand K entre deux fleurs de lis sous une couronne trifoliée. Bordure de douze lis.
Rev. (fleur de lis) FRANCORV:REX entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix pattée au centre. En légende extérieure ✠BNDICTV:SIT: NOMЄ:DNI:NRI:DЄI:IhV:XPI.
Piéfort billon 27.5 mm. Poids: 17.923 g. — Lafaurie —.

Ce piéfort est celui du blanc au K de Charles V (Lafaurie 373). Il n'a jamais été signalé de piéfort du blanc au K.

CHARLES VI (1380–1422)

DOUBLE TOURNOIS

15. ✠KAROLVS:FRACOR[V:]REX entre deux cercles de grènetis. Trois fleurs de lis posées deux et un.
Rev. MON/ЄTA/DVP/LЄX Croix fleurdelisée coupant la légende.
Piéfort Æ 23 mm. Poids: 17.510 g. — Lafaurie —.

Il semble que ce piéfort corresponde au no. 392 de Lafaurie soit au double tournois de 1385 à l'O long sans point d'atelier.

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MAILLE TOURNOIS

16. ✠KAROL...REX entre deux cercles de grènetis. Fleur de lis dans le champ.

Rev. ✠OBOLVS○CIVIS entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix pattée.

Piéfort cuivre doré 18 mm. Poids: 2.825 g. — Lafaurie —.

Ce piéfort doit correspondre à la deuxième émission de la maille tournois (Lafaurie 395a) du 23 juillet 1393 avec O rond. Pas de lettre d'atelier. Aucun piéfort de cette pièce ne semble être connu à ce jour.

DOUBLE TOURNOIS DIT NIQUET

17. ✠KAROLVS·FRACORV·REX entre deux cercles de grènetis. Fleur de lis sous une couronne.

Rev. ✠DVPLEX·TVRONS○FRACIE entre deux cercles de grènetis. Croix pattée.

Piéfort Æ 23 mm. Poids: 6.678 g. — Lafaurie 417a.

Point plain quatrième, atelier d'Arras. C'est le piéfort du double tournois dit niquet de l'atelier d'Arras, le seul connu, d'après l'exemplaire de la collection Marchéville.

JACQUES YVON

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KIURIKĒ I OR KIURIKĒ II OF LOṚI-ARMENIA?

A Note on Attributions

I

The correct attribution of some rare bronze coins of Armenian legend and provenance was discussed some years ago in this journal by Mr. Paul Bedoukian[1] and Mr. David M. Lang.[2] The coins in question, which date from the 10th or 11th centuries, are imitated from the first 'anonymous bronze' type of Byzantium introduced by the Emperor John I Zimisces (969–76) and continued by Basil II (976–1025). The obverse shows the facing bust of the Saviour, while the reverse has a legend in Armenian running in five lines across the field: 'May the Lord aid Kiurikē (George) the Khorapaghat (Curopalates).' The only rulers with a serious claim to the coins are Kiurikē I of Tashir-Loṛi (979–89), a petty principality in northern Armenia, or his grandson Kiurikē II (1048–c. 1100).[3]

After carefully considering the claims of these two dynasts, Mr. Lang decided in favour of Kiurikē II. His arguments may be summarized as follows:

Against Kiurikē I.

(1) Kiurikē I, a younger son of Ashot III of Ani, was only a petty dynast owing allegiance to his eldest brother the king of Ani, Smbat I (977–89). Since the senior branch of the Bagratids at Ani were not

[1] 'A rare Armenian coin,' *ANS Museum Notes*, V (1952), 181–4.

[2] 'Supplementary notes on Kiurikē II, king of Loṛi in Armenia and his coins,' Ibid., VI (1954), 183–91. This includes a very full study of the earlier literature, rendering it unnecessary to refer to Brosset, Langlois, Basmadjian, de Morgan, Movsêsian, and Pakhomov.

[3] The dates vary from one authority to another, and the precise years are not important for the argument. So also the names of the kings: Father Léwond Movsêsian refers to Kiurikē I as Gourgen since this is the name given him in many of the sources, so in his pages Kiurikē II becomes Kiurikē I. For the history of Loṛi at this period, see F. Macler's translation of his 'Histoire des rois Kurikian de Lori,' *Revue des études arméniennes*, vii (1927), 210–66. This work was inspired by the author's discovery of a specimen of one of the coins under discussion in the Mekhitharist convent at Vienna.

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issuing coin, it would be strange if the ruler of Loṛi took it upon himself to do so.

(2) There are no historical grounds for supposing that Kiurikē I would have received from the Byzantine emperor the title of *Curopalates*.

(3) The Byzantine follis which was the prototype of the coin is scarcely likely to have been familiar in remote Loṛi as early as the reign of Kiurikē I.

In favour of Kiurikē II.

(1) The principality of Loṛi increased greatly in size and importance during the reign of Kiurikē I's long-lived and energetic son David I (989–1048), and after the Byzantine occupation of Ani in 1045 it was left as the last stronghold of Armenian independence. It was therefore more likely to have issued coin at this period than at an earlier one.

(2) The annexation of Ani would have brought the Byzantines into immediate relations with the rulers of Loṛi, and might well have led to a conferring of the title of *curopalates* on Kiurikē II. His brother-in-law, King Bagrat IV of Georgia (1027–72), was *sebastos* and *nobilissimus*, and Bagrat's successor Giorgi II (1072–89) was *caesar*.

(3) The establishment of an imperial garrison at Ani in 1045 would have resulted in an influx of small change of Byzantine origin, and familiarized the Armenians with the prototypes of the coins imitated by Kiurikē.

Mr. Lang would therefore attribute the coins to the early years of Kiurikē II's reign, between 1048 and c. 1064. The Seljuqs captured Ani from the Byzantines in 1064, and in the wars that followed Loṛi lost its independence. Kiurikē II made his submission to Alp Arslan in 1068, and though he enjoyed considerable credit with his conquerors he is not likely to have been in a position to strike coin in the later years of his reign.

II

A reconsideration of the question in the light of the Byzantine material suggests that a stronger case can be made out in favour of Kiurikē I, and that it is to him that the coins should be assigned.

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The reasons for this are partly numismatic and partly historical. The close relationship between the coins of Kiurikē and those of John Zimisces and of the first years of Basil II's reign is apparent at first sight. They are identical in size, they have the same obverse type, and the inscription on the reverse is arranged in precisely the same fashion, even to the initial cross beginning the top line of the legend. This particular series of Byzantine coins, however, was replaced early in the reign of Basil II by another of the same design but more than twice as large, and this in turn was supplanted under Basil's successors by coins of different types, having on the obverse a standing or seated figure of Christ and on the reverse the legends arranged in the angles of a cross or otherwise disposed. The coins which the best authorities assign to the reign of Constantine IX have a seated Christ as obverse type and a three-line reverse legend with large letters and no initial cross.[4] The bronze coins which would have come into use at Ani after 1045 were therefore far removed from the type imitated by the Armenian coins; the prototype of these, if design alone be considered, had gone out at Constantinople some twenty years before, while if size as well be taken into account they belonged to a period thirty or forty years earlier still. Such coins, however, had been in regular use at Byzantium in the time of Kiurikē I.

There is good reason to believe that these coins would have reached Armenia in fairly large quantities. John Zimisces, on his Syrian expedition of 974, had avoided the traditional route through the Cilician Gates; instead he had marched as far as the Armenian frontier and invaded Syria from the north.[5] When in the recently annexed frontier province of Taron, west of Lake Van, he had entered

[4] The order and chronology of the 'anonymous bronze' coins, as proposed by Wroth in his catalogue of the British Museum collection, has been considerably revised by subsequent scholars. For a summary of the most recent work and a comparative table of the conclusions of Prof. Bellinger and Miss Thompson, see P. D. Whitting, 'The anonymous Byzantine bronze,' *NC*[6], xv (1955), 89–99.

[5] This expedition is described at length by G. Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine à la fin du Xe siècle*, i (Paris, 1896), pp. 242 ff. The much discussed chronology of the Syrian wars has been settled by M. Canard, "La date des expéditions mésopotamiennes de Jean Tzimisces,' *Mélanges Henri Gregoire*, ii (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, x; Brussels, 1950), 99–108.

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into negotiations with Ashot III and his magnates, and obtained from them the services of 10,000 auxiliary troops — the figure is no doubt exaggerated — and the promise of provisions and means of transport.[6] Such services would have to be paid for, and Matthew of Edessa and Smbat the Constable have between them preserved the text of a letter written by Zimisces to Ashot just after the successful conclusion of the campaign which refers to the gifts he is sending to the king: 30,000 dinars, 2000 slaves, 10,000 horses and 1000 mules.[7] This was only the king's share; the magnates and their followers would also have received their portion, and since they were presumably drawn from all parts of the country their return would have resulted in a general diffusion of Byzantine currency throughout Armenia.

The same circumstances led to the conferring of Byzantine titles on a number of Armenian magnates. Though the king is addressed in John Zimisces' letter simply as 'Shahinshah of Great Armenia,' the reference to a chrysobull destined for him probably implied the grant of a title, for the claims of the *curopalates* of Iberia to Phasiana and the fortress of Abnik earlier in the century had been justified by the production of imperial chrysobulls.[8] Smbat of T'ornik', prince of

[6] *La Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse*, i. 14 (transl. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858), p. 15; the mules are referred to on p. 24). It is clear that the Armenians feared that Zimisces was planning an invasion of their country, and it seems probable that it was on this occasion, and not, as Matthew describes it (p. 14), a little before, that there took place the general rally of Armenian dynasts around Ashot. Modern historians generally accept the two as distinct events. There is a good account in R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1947), 494–500.

[7] The relevant passage, a kind of postscript to the letter, is badly corrupt in Matthew's text (i. 16; pp. 23–24), so that it appears as a separate letter addressed to a *protospatharius* with the strange name of Anaph'ourden (*Anap' orte*) and 'our commander' Leo, and it refers to a gift of 40,000 folles (*obolon*). M. Adontz brilliantly amended the first word to 'αναφορα so that it ceased to be a personal name and meant no more than 'by the report of' Leo, and the '40,000 obols' to χρυσόβουλλον. The correctness of the latter is confirmed by the text of Smbat the Constable, who adds a number of further details not found in the text of Matthew as we possess it. See N. Adontz, "Notes arméno-byzantines. II. La lettre de Tzimiscès au roi Ashot," *Byzantion*, ix (1934), 371–77.

[8] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperii*, c. 45 (ed. G. Moravscik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), p. 210).

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Jahan, who had played a major role in negotiating the treaty between Zimisces and Ashot, had already been gratified by the title of *protospatharius* and later received that of *magister*.[9] Kiurikē of Loṛi is specifically mentioned as one of the Armenian princes who attended the assembly of magnates before the arrival of Zimisces,[10] and as a younger son of the king he may well have accompanied the emperor on the campaign or rendered him other services, receiving as a recompense the rank of *curopalates*. It is true that this title was more characteristic of Georgian than of Armenian princes,[11] the latter being usually styled *protospatharius*, *patricius* or *magister*,[12] but it was not unknown in Armenia; an Ashot of Taron (863–78) had received such a title as early as the ninth century.[13] On grounds of historical probability, therefore, Kiurikē I is just as likely as Kiurikē II to have been *curopalates*.

Finally there is the argument that Kiurikē I is less likely to have struck coin than his grandson; he was the vassal of his brother, who is not known to have minted, while Kiurikē II was an independent sovereign and might for reasons of national as well as personal amour-propre have wished to issue coin. This argument might be valid if it could be shown that any special prestige was attached to the issue of *bronze* coin. The whole tradition of the Near East was that bronze scarcely counted as money; its circulation was quite local, and it was frequently issued by city magistrates, provincial governors, and so forth without any express authorization or any suggestion that it carried with it the political implications that were attached to the

[9] See Dulaurier's note in his translation of Matthew of Edessa, p. 380, n. 6. He was only *protospatharius* at the time of the campaign (Matthew, i. 16; p. 24).

[10] Matthew, i. 14 (p. 14). He is called 'the king of the Albanians Gurgen,' though this is a slight anachronism, as Grousset points out (p. 495, n. 4); he did not have the royal title till later. Cf. Movsêsian, art. cit., pp. 225–8, who believes that Kiurikē acquired the title in 981.

[11] Cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, op. cit., c. 45 (p. 204), and Adranasir, *curopalates* of Iberia at the beginning of the century (c. 43; pp. 190ff.). The Iberian prince David the Curopalates played an important role in the civil wars of the first half of the reign of Basil II.

[12] Constantine, loc. cit. pp. 189ff., where we hear of a series of Armenian magnates bearing these titles. See the commentary of N. Adontz, 'Les Taronites en Arménie et Byzance. I,' *Byzantion*, ix (1934), 715–38.

[13] Adontz, art. cit., p. 723, citing the *History* of Thomas Artsruni.

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striking of gold and silver.[14] The only determining factor was local convenience, and it might well happen that while most of Armenia in the 10th century would be content to rely on coins imported from the Byzantine empire and the lands of the caliphate, a petty principality on its northern frontier would find it convenient to create an imitative coinage of its own.

These considerations do not amount to proof that the coins in question belong to Kiurikē I, but they weigh the balance fairly definitely in his favour as against Kiurikē II, and until the issue can be settled by the discovery of a dateable hoard, it is to Kiurikē I that they should be ascribed.

PHILIP GRIERSON

[14] The most trenchant expression of the distinction between bronze on the one hand and gold and silver on the other is to be found in the *Traité des monnoies musulmanes* of the 15th century Egyptian historian Maqrizi (transl. A.I. Silvestre de Sacy (Paris, 1797) pp. 53–9). Although his historical details are often incorrect, since there were periods and countries where bronze was 'money' in as real a sense as were gold and silver, the attitude he represents was a very general one, as can be deduced from the existence of the so-called Greek Imperial coinage, the Arab-Byzantine coinage in bronze, the coinage of the atabegs in Syria and Mesopotamia, and so on.

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ARMENIAN GOLD COINS OF THE ROUPENIAN DYNASTY

(See Plate XXV)

The existence of a total of sixteen Armenian gold coins of the Roupenian dynasty (1080–1375) has been reported at various times in the past. The purpose of this paper is to present evidence of their authenticity.

Langlois in 1855[1] mentioned a gold coin of Gosdantin I (1298 to 1299). This coin belonged to Peter Markar Alishan, and after his death in 1834 in Constantinople, was given to the museum of the Mekhitarist Fathers in Venice, where it is to be found today. A second gold coin, struck by Levon I (1199–1219) was reported by Schlumberger[2] in 1881, with a full description. Father Alishan, the son of Peter Markar Alishan, and a member of the Mekhitarist Monastery in Venice, mentioned another variety of a gold coin of Levon I in his monumental treatise on Cilician Armenia. This publication appeared in Armenian in 1885[3] and in French in 1899.[4]

Thereafter, more extensive listings of the known gold coins of this period were given by Sibilian.[5] Sibilian wrote his manuscript in 1877 and it is obvious that at that time he was familiar with the gold coin of Gosdantin I only. When the book was published in 1892, the editor, Father Kalemkiarian, made many additions to the text including a listing of the reported gold coins. On pages 13–14 of this book, Father Kalemkiarian quoted excerpts from a letter written on the 24th of December, 1885, by Serovpe M. Alishan, Father Alishan's brother, who was then a well-known numismatist in Constantinople.

[1] V. Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Armenie au Moyen Age*, p. 90, Pl. III, 9 (Paris, 1855).
[2] G. Schlumberger, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, Vol. I, pp. 675–678 (Paris 1881).
[3] L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 378 (Venice, 1885). (In Armenian).
[4] L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Armeno-Cilicie*. Description geographique et historique, avec carte et illustrations. Traduit du texte armenien, p. 453 (Venice, 1899).
[5] C. Sibilian, *Classification of Roupenian Coins*, pp. 7, 13–18, 24, 29–31, 33–34, 48 (Vienna, 1892). (In Armenian).

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This letter is of interest in that it lists all the gold coins known to the writer. A free translation of the relevant passages follows:

"1. I have in my possession an old letter written to my father by Father Phillippe of the Mekhitarists, who recalls that they had a gold coin of Levon which was destroyed in the great fire of Pera in 1831.[6]

"2. A gold coin of Gosdantin which belonged to my father.

"3. A gold coin of Levon was found upon the death of Djanig Amira.[7] Its whereabouts now unknown.

"4. Many years ago a friend of mine saw a gold piece in the possession of a monk in an Armenian monastery in Caesarea.

"5. A gold coin of Levon I, which is now in Venice and is illustrated in Sissouan.[8]

"6. One in possession of Schlumberger brought from Caesarea.

"7. A gold coin of Levon sold in Caesarea which eventually found its way to Rollin.[8]

"8. I know of another one, possibly from Caesarea.

"I know of these eight only. The last four being similar, it is possible that a group of these have been found, possibly along with the silver coins of Levon I which we received from Father Sibilian. I am in doubt and consider the possibility of the ones written ԼԵՒՈՆ being forgeries. One lip of the king is missing but possibly the ancient die cutter made it as such, as it is."

At a later date, a few other gold coins were discovered and these were also reported by Serovpe M. Alishan.

"9. A gold coin of Levon in possession of someone in Constantinople which is identical with number 7 and 9.

"10. A gold coin of Levon-Hetoum, now in the Mekhitarist Museum in Venice.

"11. A gold coin of Levon in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

"12. Another one found identical with No. 10.

[6] In a footnote on page 13 of Sibilian's book, Father Kalemkiarian mentions that he obtained a copy of the letter written by Father Philippe to Serovpe M. Alishan, in which this coin is described in some detail. It is obvious from this letter that it belonged to Levon II.

[7] The death of Djanig Amira occurred between 1850 and 1860.

[8] The firm of Rollin & Feuardent, dealers in coins and medals, appear to have ended its activities in 1911.

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"13. A gold coin which was offered for sale to the Bibliothèque Nationale but was not purchased by the latter because it was identical with their piece No. 11."

Basmadjian[9] in 1936, listed the thirteen coins mentioned above, and added three others known to him:

14. A gold coin of Levon I in Rollin's possession.

15. A gold coin of Levon I in the collection of N. Kalebjian.

16. A gold coin of Levon I in the collection of H. Habeshian.

No other gold coins have been reported since that date. It is interesting to note that 5, 7 and 9 are identical, also 6, 11 and 13. Basmadjian does not give a detailed description of his three pieces.

Recently, Garabetian[10] claimed that all the gold coins were forgeries, with the exception of the Gosdantin coin. He does not give reasons for this statement, but promises to return to that question at a future date. To the best of the writer's knowledge, no further report has been published on this subject.

During the course of preparation of a corpus on the coinage of this period, the writer examined most of the important existing collections and obtained rubbings of over 10,000 specimens. Among these were ten gold coins, consisting of four types as follows:

LEVON I [Half-Double Tram Type]

Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ
Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂ ՅՈՒԹՆ ԸՍՏԱՆԵԱՑ

* I. 4.80 gm. Bibliothèque Nationale, [No. 6 of list]
II. 5.30 gm. Bibliothèque Nationale, [No. 11 of list]
III. — Collection of Mr. Baghdadlian, Nice, [No. 15 of list]

LEVON I [Two Lion Tram Type]

Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ
Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂ ՅՈՒԹՆ ԸՍՏԱՆԵՕՅՆ

IV. 6.3 gm. Bibliothèque Nationale, [No. 7 or 9 of list]
* V. 6.25 gm. Vienna Mekhitarian Museum [No. 7 or 9 of list]
VI. 7.00 gm. Mme. N. Kapamadji, Paris, [No. 7 or 9 of list]
7.00 gm. Venice Mekhitarian Museum [No. 5 of list]

[9] K. J. Basmadjian, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie*, p. 143 (Venice, 1936). (In Armenian).

[10] B. Garabetian, Pazmaveb, Nos. 7–9, p. 166 (Venice, 1952). (In Armenian).

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LEVON I—HETOUM I [Tram Type]

Obv. Լ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ
Rev. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

VII. 5.3 gm. Vienna Mekhitarian Museum [No. 12 of list]
* VIII. — Venice Mekhitarian Museum [No. 10 of list]

GOSDANTIN I

Obv. ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ
Rev. ՍՈՒՆ ԽԱՉՄԻՆ Ի ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

* IX. 3.60 gm. Venice Mekhitarian Museum [No. 2 of list]
X 3.65 gm. Istanbul Archeological Museum.

Of the sixteen coins listed above, no. 1 was destroyed in the fire, while nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 15 are known to be in the collections mentioned above. No. 5 was apparently in the Mekhitarist Museum in Venice, but on a recent visit, I was not able to find it, nor does Garabetian mention it in describing the collection of this museum.

It is also possible that coin VI is one of the sixteen listed. The number lost or unreported is therefore five, and it may be that some of these were duplications. The existence of coin X was discovered only recently.

Although over 12,000 silver and copper coins of this period are known to be in existence, there are few gold coins because they were struck in very limited numbers, and only on special occasions. Levon I, being the first and most powerful king, may have struck the greatest number of gold coins. One can reasonably expect some day to find gold coins of the regular Hetoum-Zabel tram variety. The Levon I-Hetoum I gold coins were undoubtedly struck by Hetoum (1219–1270). The loss of the unique gold coin of Levon II is indeed unfortunate, and it is hoped that others will be discovered at some future date. The existence of a gold coin of one of the sons of Levon II indicates that the custom of striking gold coins continued at least until 1289. The possibility of finding gold coins of the succeeding rulers, Oshin and Levon III, should not be excluded.

It may be well to point out here that the Levon I-Hetoum I gold piece has been erroneously attributed to Hetoum I-Levon II. This

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error was first made by Kalemkiarian and repeated by Basmadjian and Garabetian. The Levon side of the gold coin is identical with that of a number of silver trams struck by Levon I. As a matter of fact, there is an illustration of this tram in Sibilian (Pl. 1, No. 11) as well as of the gold Levon I-Hetoum I coin, although because of the poor work on the part of the artist who prepared the drawings of this book, the two do not appear identical.

Some of the reasons put forth in support of claims that the gold pieces are forgeries are as follows:

1. The gold coins are not uniform in weight.
2. In the case of the silver trams, there is a free movement of the die positions, whereas the die positions are fixed in the gold coins.
3. The authentic Gosdantin gold coin has a design different from the silver pieces, whereas in all other gold coins, the design is similar to the silver trams.
4. There are silver trams having a design similar to that of the gold pieces, indicating that the forger copied the die for the gold coins from these trams.

At first glance, these arguments may seem plausible, but these counter arguments appear to be more valid:

1. The gold coins are not of uniform weight because they were struck as medals commemorating certain occasions. They were not intended for circulation or trade.
2. The uniform position of the dies may be due to the greater care taken in striking these small issues. However, the first six are ↑ ↑, the seventh and eighth are ↑ ↓, while the Gosdantin pieces are ↓ ↗ and ↑ ↑.
3. It appears that the die used for the gold coins was also used to strike some silver coins. While it is true that there are no silver trams having the Gosdantin gold design, it must be remembered that only five silver trams are known to exist from this king who ruled for less than a year, all being struck from different dies.[11] It may therefore be too much to expect to find a tram struck from the gold coin die.

[11] P. Bedoukian, The Coins of Gosdantin I, King of Cilicia (1298–1299), *Handes Amsorya*, No. 10, pp. 381–390 (Vienna, 1958). (In Armenian).

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4. The fact that there are silver trams having designs identical with those of gold coins can certainly be interpreted as evidence supporting the authenticity of the gold coins.

It may be worth mentioning that in the past those who studied Armenian numismatics expressed no doubts regarding the authenticity of the gold pieces. Langlois, Sibilian, Kalemkiarian, Alishan, Schlumberger and Basmadjian never questioned it. Quite recently, the Chief Abbot of the Mekhitarist Congregation inVienna, Archbishop M. Habozian, wrote to me that he had called in two experts to examine the two gold pieces in their collection, both of whom declared the coins to be genuine. At a recent meeting Dr. Paul Balog informed me that he had had the opportunity of examining the gold coins at the Mekhitarist Museum in Venice, and that he considered them to be genuine. The ten gold coins described in this paper were carefully examined by the writer and all appear to be authentic. In style and workmanship they resemble the genuine trams of this period.

In addition, it may be recalled that the records on some of these gold coins date back to the beginning of the nineteenth century when only very few Roupenian coins were known to exist. It is most unlikely that forgeries of this caliber would be made at a time when very little was known about these coins and few people seemed particularly interested in them.

A gold coin struck in the name of two kings would have immediately aroused suspicion if it had been the work of a forger. Although these considerations support the view that the gold coins are genuine, they constitute circumstantial evidence rather than proof of their authenticity.

The writer felt that if silver trams of indisputable authenticity could be found which were struck with the same dies used for the gold pieces, it could then be concluded that the latter were struck during the same period and were genuine. The possibility that original dies were found and used later for the gold coins was eliminated because it seems extremely unlikely. Of the thousands of dies used during the Roupenian dynasty, none has come to light, and the chances of a forger finding several in good condition six hundred years later would appear to be very slight indeed.

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As mentioned earlier, it is quite possible that a silver Gosdantin coin identical with the gold piece (PLATE XXV, 9) will never be found because of the extreme rarity of these coins. Of the other three types, it was our good fortune to find trams from four out of the six dies used for the gold pieces. Gold coins I, II and III are all from the same dies, (PLATE XXV, 1). We have found two trams from the same dies, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (PLATE XXV, 3) and the other in the museum of the Venice Mekhitarians (PLATE XXV, 2). We have not been successful in locating silver trams from the dies of gold coins IV, V and VI, which are from the same dies (PLATE XXV, 4).

Coins VII and VIII offer the strongest support for the authenticity of the gold pieces. The Levon side is of a unique design and is presumably from a die made especially for the gold issue (PLATE XXV, 5). It is readily distinguishable from the usual tram types and we were able to find no less than fifteen trams of this type, all from one die, that of the gold piece. It is even more interesting to note that the fifteen trams had on the reverse four varieties of the usual two lion-cross design used on the common trams of Levon I. Two illustrations of these trams are given on PLATE XXV, 6, 7, both from the Mekhitarian Museum in Vienna.

The reverse of the gold coin shows the common type of lion holding the cross found on the reverse of the Hetoum-Zabel trams. Fortunately, a single specimen of a tram struck from this die was found in the writer's own collection (PLATE XXV, 8).

The existence of these authentic trams struck from the same dies as the gold coins proves beyond reasonable doubt that these gold coins are genuine.

FORGERIES

In the past few years, a number of new gold coins of Levon I have appeared on the market, all struck from the same dies. These pieces, of which at least eight are known to the author, are obvious forgeries. Their average weight is only 2.5 grams, which is even less than that of the silver trams, the design and workmanship are poor, and unlike those of the regular silver coins. The writer has been

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informed on several occasions that these were made recently by a jeweler in Antakya and placed on the market. An illustration of this forgery is given (PLATE XXV, 10).

PAUL BEDOUKIAN

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The author wishes to express his thanks to Miss Nakriman Olcay, curator of non-Islamic coins in the Istanbul Archeological Museum, for permission to photograph their gold coin of Gosdantin I, and Father Berard Marthaler for photographing and supplying other data concerning this coin.

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NOTES ON 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD'S COINAGE OF TRANSOXIANA

(See Plates XXVI–XXVII)

The coins to be discussed here date from the last twenty years of Khwārizm-shāh rule in Central Asia, and the history of the first hundred years of the dynasty does not directly concern us. It will be useful, however, to include a few words of introduction in our discussion.[1] In mediaeval times the name Khwārizm designated the region south of the Aral Sea in what is now Soviet Central Asia. Its capital was Gurganj, lying not far to the west of the Amu Darya and some two hundred and ten kilometers south of the Aral Sea itself. The Great Seljuq Sulṭān Malikshāh (1072–1092 A.D./464/465–485 A.H.) assigned the revenues of Khwārizm to his superintendent of washing utensils, one Anūshtegīn Gharja, a Turkish slave. Actual rule of Khwārizm was conferred on Anūshtegīn's son, Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, in 1098 A.D./491 A.H., as a subordinate of the Seljuqs, of course. Attempts to get rid of Seljuq control, such as those made by Muḥammad's son Atsiz (1127–1156 A.D./521–551 A.H.), became unnecessary after the death of the last Great Seljuq, Sanjar, in 1157 A.D./552 A.H. Īl Arslān (1156–1172 A.D./551–567 A.H.) began to intervene in Khurāsān (Northeastern Iran) and in the land across the Amu Darya, Transoxiana, and his son, Takash (1172–1200 A.D./568–596 A.H.)[2] began to expand his kingdom with vigor, leading to clashes with the Ghūrids who also attempted to dominate the lands

[1] This summary is taken largely from W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, Gibb Memorial, N. S., London, 1928. For information on the Qarākhānids the reader is referred to O. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam*, Bd. 31, 1954, pp. 17–68. See also E. A. Davidovich, "Numismatic Materials for the Genealogy and Chronology of the Central Asian Qarakhanids," *Numismaticheskii Sbornik*, 1957, pp. 91–119. Dr. O. Pritsak called this important article to my attention some time after these notes were finished. I have touched on the more important points which bear on the present discussion in the footnotes to the following pages. I should like to express my thanks to Mrs. Sonia Tomara Clark of Princeton, New Jersey, for her help in translating the article.

[2] A brother of Takash, Sulṭān-shāh, held the throne for eight months in 1172. After Takash forced him out he lived to trouble his brother until 1193.

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of Eastern Islam from their home in West Central Afghanistan. He also came to blows with the Caliph, al-Nāṣir, when he moved into Western Iran. Takash maintained control of Jand, on the Syr Darya, a town which he had earlier ruled for his father, but he was unable to end his status as tributary to the non-Muslim Qarā Khiṭāy who had forced his grandfather, Atsiz, to begin the humiliating payments. Other Muslim rulers were even more under the thumb of the Qarā Khiṭāy; the Qarākhānids of Transoxiana had had to acknowledge them as overlords ever since Sanjar lost the territory in 1141 A.D./536 A.H. They were Muslim Turks who had long been ruling in Transoxiana; it was one of their number who brought an end to the Sāmānid kingdom in 999 A.D./389 A.H. During the period which concerns us, the two principal provinces belonging to them, Transoxiana and Ferghana, were ruled by members of the Uzjand branch of the family.[3] One obvious task for any Muslim ruler who claimed to be paramount in the East was the freeing of these Muslim co-religonists in Transoxiana. 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (1200–1220 A.D./596–617 A.H.) worked toward this end, and, after the Ghūrid threat was ended by the death of the last great ruler of Ghūr, Shihāb al-Dīn (1206 A.D./603 A.H.), he turned in earnest to the conquest of Transoxiana. The process took some five years, beginning in 1207 A.D./604 A.H., and involved an alliance with 'Uthmān Khān of Samarqand (1204 A.D./601 A.H. — 1212 A.D./609 A.H.), the Qarākhānid, against the Qarā Khiṭāy and then the destruction of 'Uthmān and his dynasty in 1212 A.D./609 A.H. subsequent to his rebelling. Then 'Alā' al-Dīn made Samarqand the capital of what had become an extensive empire, for during the same period the greater part of Iran had come under his control. In 1215 A.D./612 A.H. the territories of Ghūr and Ghazna (the central part of present-day Afghanistan) were conquered and put under the control of 'Alā' al-Dīn's son Jalāl al-Dīn. But the empire was threatened before it could even begin to be consolidated. Farther to the east the fast rising Mongol conqueror, Chingiz Khān, had defeated Kūchluk and his Naiman followers on the banks of the Irtysh. Kūchluk fled westward and managed to gain control of the Qarā Khiṭāy Kingdom. His raids into 'Alā' al-Din's newly-won northeastern territories forced the Khwārizm-shāh to evacuate the Ferg-

[3] Davidovich, *Numism. Sbor.*, 1957, p. 114.

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hana Valley and part of the lands along the northern-flowing portion of the Syr Darya in 1214 A.D./611 A.H. It was probably in this connection that the minters of the type of dirham to be discussed here were moved from Uzjand to Samarqand. In any case, the worst was yet to come. In 1218 A.D./615 A.H. 'Alā' al-Dīn allowed his governor in Otrar to plunder a caravan which had followed in the train of some ambassadors from Chingiz Khān. He refused to give satisfaction to the Mongol for this, and the result was the invasion which put an end to the Khwārizm-shāh Empire in 1221 A.D./618 A.H. 'Alā' al-Dīn died fleeing from the Mongols, and his son Jalāl al-Dīn was also in flight when he was killed after ten years of futile attempts to reconstitute the empire in Western Iran.

When we turn to the numismatic record of this dynasty, we find that there remain only some dinars and a scattering of copper coins for the period before 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. His reign saw a proliferation of types which reflected the rapid expansion of his empire to include areas with diverse numismatic traditions. He had dinars struck in at least five different mints: Khwārizm, Balkh, Shuburqān, Ghazna, and Badakhshān. Gold coins from these different mints vary in detail, but such variations are nothing compared to those among his silver and copper issues. Types from the former Ghūrid territories in Afghanistan and extreme Northwestern India represent a continuation of pre-Islamic Hindu types, depicting horsemen, bulls, elephants, and tapirs. These were struck in Herāt, Bāmiyān, Jarzuvān, Zamīndavar, Shuburqān, and Ṭālaqān, as well as in other mints which have not yet been identified. Next to these image types are related ones which bear only legends. The coins in both these groups are around 15 mm. in diameter, and they weigh from under three to a bit over four grams. Another type is represented by four larger (approx. 25 mm.), thinner copper coins in the collection of the American Numismatic Society. Unfortunately, these are too worn to permit reading the mint and date. The silver coins are not so numerous, but there are several unusual types among them in addition to conventional silver dirhams. There are some large coins with "*tughra*-like" representations of the words "Muḥammad" and "Sulṭān" in the field. These are around 30 mm. in diameter, larger than still another type which has a legend set within a six-pointed star. It is

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beyond the scope of this paper to do more than indicate this variety of types. Suffice it to say that each type requires at least as much attention as is here devoted to the large copper dirhams of Uzjand and Samarqand.

These dirhams are still another type to be found among the issues of the Khwārizm-shāh, and they are very unusual for Islamic coins. They are large enough (up to 44 mm.) to fairly well cover the palm of one's hand, and from their thinness they appear to have been cut out from sheet metal. The legends are in a bold, square-faced Kufic script which is well suited to the face of the coins and quite pleasing to the eye. Coins of this style and fabric have sometimes been thought of in the past as belonging exclusively to the Khwārizm-shāh dynasty, but this is hardly the case. It is more likely that coins of this general style and fabric were first struck by minters working for the Qarākhānids, though the evidence is not conclusive enough to rule out an even earlier precedent. In the collection of the American Numismatic Society there are coins of a fabric similar to that of the coins of 'Alā' al-Dīn, struck as early as the reign of the Qarākhānid Ibrāhīm.[4] However, the direct antecedents are the larger Qarākhānid coins of the period just before 'Alā' al-Dīn's conquest of Transoxiana. The earliest examples available to the writer are those of the rulers of Uzjand who held sway at the beginning of the sixth century of the Hijrah.

They are doubtless dirhams, in spite of the opinious of some of the numismatists of the past century, in whose works one often finds "Sic!" after the Arabic ضرب هذا الدرهم ("This dirham was struck...."). After all, the substitution of copper for the earlier universally used silver was nothing unusual in the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn. This procedure stems from the still unexplained silver famine which began to make itself felt in the Muslim coinage as early as the tenth Christian century, or fourth century of the Hijrah. This disappearance of Islamic coined silver in the lands of the old Sasānian silver standard has been touched upon by R. P. Blake,[5] although his argument is mostly concerned with its re-

[4] For more information on Ibrāhīm see Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," pp. 55–57.

[5] "The circulation of silver in the Moslem East...down to the Mongol epoch," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, II, 1937, pp. 291–328.

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appearance. Another scholar, J. Karabacek,[6] wrote on the same subject during the past century. To him the copper dirhams were the end result of a dismal downward spiral of mint technology resulting from the decline of Arab power and the Caliphate.[7] But if excellence of design and execution have anything to do with mint technology, then the mints of the Qarākhānids can hardly be said to have been in a state of decline, for some of these coins are as fine as any the mediaeval Islamic mints have left to us. The real causes for the appearance of copper dirhams remain obscure.

Another point which Karabacek cites in favor of copper being used in place of silver for dirhams is that some have traces of "silvering." He notes many coins, including one or two Khwārizm-shāh coins, as having traces of "silvering."[8] However, it has been suggested that such coloring might be due to an oxide of copper which resembles silver in appearance. This question remains open and can only be settled definitely by submitting a sample of the metal to metallurgical tests.[9]

In diameter the examples in the American Numismatic Society range from 30 mm. to 44 mm. They vary in weight between six and somewhat over 11 grams. The legends are all similar in content—variations on one or two themes. One coin from the Society's collection reads as follows:

لدين الله	قادرى
لااله الا	السلطان العادل
الله محمد ر	الاعظم محمد
سول الله	بن سلطان تكش
[الناصر]	(ornament)
M. Nearly effaced	M. Effaced.

PLATE XXVI, 1

[6] Über muhammedanische Vicariatsmünzen und Kupferdrachmen des XII–XIII Jahrhunderts," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Bd. I, 1869, pp. 265–300.
[7] Karabacek, p. 281.
[8] Ibid, p. 284.
[9] Davidovich maintains that they were all covered with white metal or silver. *Numism. Sbor.*, 1957, p. 95.

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Note the border ornamentation of the field and the broad, angular style of Kufic lettering. Of special interest is the word at the top of the reverse field. This must be قَادِرِيّ, a "nomina relativa." Here it must mean something like "of the powerful" or "of the race of the powerful ones," or "like the powerful ones." Similarly formed words appearing on other coins of this fabric are, for example: جمشیدی، سنجری، سکندری، منصوری (*Jamshīdī*, *Sanjarī*, *Sikandarī*, *manṣūrī*, plus *qādirī*, given above). Regarding the significance of these *nisbahs* (to use the Arabic grammatical term), Soret noted in passing that they "... servaient sans doute à distinguer leurs differentes valeurs..."[10] If this is the case, then one might reasonably expect, given the same metal throughout, the various *nisbah* types to differ by size or weight. However, though individual coins vary, the size and weight limits of each type overlap to a considerable degree. Compare the following examples:

	wt.	dia.
qādirī	5.98–6.26 gm.	38.0–39.7 mm.
manṣūrī	5.96–6.92 gm.	38.4–41.0 mm.
Sikandarī	———	43.0 mm.
Jamshīdī	6.06–8.91 gm.	38.6–42.3 mm.

It seems unreasonable to see these words as designations for value when the coins cannot be separated into groups by metal, size, or weight. Moreover, they are clearly marked as dirhams.

Neither can these *nisbahs* refer to the year of issue, since there are *Sikandarīs* from both 610 and 614 A.H. and *Jamshīdīs* from 610 and 616 A.H. One would expect one *nisbah* for each year if that were the case.

The Khwārizm-shāhs did not originate such *nisbah* types; rather, they took them from the Qarākhānids, used some of the same words, and employed additional words, probably to reflect some part of

[10] F. J. Soret, "Lettre à.... de Fraehn sur les exemplaires inédits de la collection des médailles et monnaies orientales.... de M. F. Soret," *Memoires de la Societé Imp. d'Archéol.*, vol. V, 1851, p. 193.

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the Sultān's title or to commemorate some event. Let us first examine a few pertinent examples.

The *qādirī* was almost certainly taken from an earlier Qarākhānid type, perhaps from this type of Ulugh Sulṭān Qādir Khāqān, dated 602 A.H.:[11]

قادرى	الله
السلطان العادل	لااله الا
الاعظم علا	الله [وح]ده
الدنيا و الدين	لاشريك له
الغ سلط[ان]	الناصر لدين
عا[دل]	(ornament)
M. ...ة الاوزجند سنة اثنى	M. بسم الله ض[رب هذ الدرهـ]م ببلدة
وست‌ماية السلطان المعظم ...	الاوزجند سنة اثنى و ست ماية ...

PLATE XXVI, 2

Dorn notes a *qādirī* of 'Alā' al-Dīn which he dates 610 A.H.[12] There is a coin in the British Museum which is of the same circle-in-square style (exactly like PLATE XXVI, 1) and it is dated 615 A.H.[13] The four other dated *qādirīs* of 'Alā' al-Dīn which have come to light are all dated 615.[14] The evidence is in favor of Dorn's coin also actually having a date of 615.

This date of 615 A.H. is important in another connection, for some of these coins bear the *laqab* of the Caliph al-Nāṣir. Barthold, follow-

[11] This extends Qādir's holding of the title of Ulugh Sulṭān back to 602 A. H. Perhaps this is when the change in his position (mentioned in Davidovich, p. 97) took place.

[12] B. Dorn, *Inventaire des monnaies des Khalifes orientaux et de plusieurs autre dynasties*, "Khwārizm-shāhs," No. 1, St. Petersburg, 1877, p. 11.

[13] S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1875–1890; vol. II: *The coins of the Mohammadan Dynasties*, 1876, no. 592.

[14] A. K. Markoff, *Inventarniy Katalog musulmanskih monet... Imperatorskavo Ermitazhka*, St. Petersburg, 1896–1898, p. 299, nos. 40, 41; J. Østrup, *Catalogue des monnaies.... du Musee National de Copenhagen*, Copenhagen, 1938, p. 135, no. 1400; F. Soret, "Lettre à M. A. M. Sawelief sur quelques médailles orientales inédites de la collection de M. F. Soret," *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, t. IV, 2e ser., p. 396, no. 61.

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ing the written sources, states that 'Alā' al-Dīn broke with the Caliph and stopped having his name read in the Friday sermon or put on the coins. This is supposed to have taken place in 1217 A.D./ 614 A.H. However, the fact that we have these coins, dated after the supposed break and bearing the Caliph's name, indicates that the traditional account is either chronologically or factually incorrect.[15]

The *manṣūrī* had an earlier Qarākhānid counterpart, also:

منصورى	٥
السلطان العادل	لااله الا
الاعظم علا	الله و حده
الدنيا و الدين	لاشريك له
الغ سلطان قدر	
M. ضرب هذا الدرهم ببلدة	M. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم
[الاوزجند]	..... بلدة .....

PLATE XXVI, 4

At any rate, we may assume it was earlier, since the latest date known for Qādir so far is 608 A.H.[16] An example of 'Alā' al-Dīn's *manṣūrī* is the following:

منصورى	لدين الله
السلطان العادل	لا اله الا
الاعظم محمد	الله محمد
بن سلطان تكش	رسول الله
(ornament)	الناصر
M. بسم الله ضرب هذا ... هم بسمرقند	بس ... له ... ذا الدرهم
سنة اربع عشر و ... اية	بسمرقند سنة ار ... ستماية

PLATE XXVI, 3

[15] Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 374–375.
[16] Pritsak, p. 58.

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The metal of this coin is unlike that of any others of this fabric in that it is either silver or silver-plated. It seems unlikely that the original metal is silver, especially since there is a coin in the British Museum (PLATE XXVII, 1) from the same die, or a very similar die, and it is copper.[17]

This legend, *manṣūrī*, may have held special significance for the Khwārizm-shāh.[18] Juvainī, describing a battle between 'Alā' al-Dīn and the Qarā Khiṭāys, says: "Now it happened that they came face to face and opposed their ranks to one another on a Friday in Rabi', 607 (Aug.–Sept., 1210). The Sultan commanded his men to behave in a careless and dilatory manner .... until the preachers of Islam had mounted their pulpits and uttered the prayer *'O God, assist the armies and squadrons of the Moslems!'* After which they should all attack on every side and perhaps, in answer to the prayers of the preachers of Islam and the amens of the Moslems, God would vouchsafe victory."[19] Whether or not 'Alā' al-Dīn really won this battle is still a matter for dispute. In any case it is the prayer of the preachers which is important for our coin type. They used the imperative of the verb "to assist" (root *n ṣ r*) which is *'unṣur*. A victory on this occasion or a similar one on which the prayer was also used, would have suggested the use of *manṣūr*, "assisted, victorious," on an issue of

[17] *BMC*, vol. II, no. 591. The fact that both coins are worn and that one is still completely silver and the copper indicates that, if the ANS coin was issued in its present silvered state, it was treated differently from the BM coin. Otherwise, one would expect them to have lost the "silvering" about equally.

[18] There is another *manṣūrī* in the collection of the ANS (illegible reverse), in style very much like the coins struck by a post-Mongol Qarākhānid. This coin and two others in the same collection are very similar in style and fabric, and to two ANS coins bearing the Great Möngke's name. It is possible that all these coins were struck by a vassal of Möngke Khan, Arslān Khān, who ruled in Uzjand (Pritsak, p. 59). One of the above coins still bears the word بلدة, suggesting [الاوز جند] بلدة. See also below, p. 134, note 38. Davidovich (p. 95, note 3) cites an article which must deal with some of these coins: E. A. Davidovich, "The Hoard of Copper Chaghatay Coins of the Thirteenth Century," *Doklady, Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR*, 1949, No. 6. This has unfortunately not been accessible to me.

[19] Juvainī: Mirza Muhammad Qazvini, Ed., *The Ta'rīkh-i-Jehān-Gusha of 'Alā' u'd-Dīn 'Atā-Malik-i-Juwaynī*, 3 vols., *GMS*, Old Series, XVI (1, 2, 3), London, 1912, 1916, 1937, vol. II, p. 77; J. A. Boyle, trans., *The History of the World Conqueror by 'Alā-ad-Dīn 'Atā-Malik Juvaini*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, p. 344.

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coins subsequent to the triumph; hence *manṣūrī* for another *nisbah* type.

There were no actual examples available for the next type, the *Sikandarī*, but the measurement given by Soret is about 43 mm. He gives the following legends:[20]

سکندری	لدین الله
السلطان العادل	لااله الا
الاعظم ابو الفتح	الله محمد ر
محمد بن سلطان	سول الله
تکش	الناصر

M. Same as ovberse.

M. لله بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم
بسمرقند سنة عشرة و ستماية

Relevant here are the words of Juvainī who says that after 'Alā' al-Dīn had defeated the Qarā Khiṭāys, "... it was the custom to write 'the Second Alexander' [اسکندر الثانی] as one of Sultan Muhammad's titles."[21] This epithet is widely reported in the sources. Here we have سِکَنْدَرِی, "Alexander-like," almost certainly referring to this title of the Sultān. That it occurred to 'Alā' al-Dīn or his minters to put this title on the coins is also show by one of the Sulṭān's relatively rare silver coins:[22]

.....	سکندر الثانی
علا الدنیا والدین	یمین الخلافة الناصر
ابو الفتح محمد شاه	امیر المومنین
السلطان	

[20] F. Soret, *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1854, pp. 391 ff. and no. 39.
[21] Juvainī, Text, vol. II, pp. 78–79; Trans., p. 346.
[22] H. N. Wright, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, p. 489.

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The شاه (shāh) in محمد شاه (Muḥammad-shāh) is unusual for his coins, but the circumstances of سكندر الثانى ("the Second Alexander"), علا الدنيا والدين ("Noble one of the world and the Religion"), and the name الناصر (al-Nāṣir), all occurring together seem sufficient evidence for attributing the coin to him.

The text of Juvainī quoted above goes on to say: "The Sultan said: 'The reign of Sanjar was very long. If these letters are written for good luck let them write "Sultan Sanjar."' And so Sultan Sanjar was added to his titles." We have no Samarqand coins which record this, but there are two of Bukhārā recorded by Erdmann and by Fraehn which have *Sanjarī*:[23]

سنجرى	لا اله الا
السلطان الا	الله محمد
عظم محمد	رسول الله
بن السلطان	
تكش	
M. Effaced	M. ضرب .... بخارا سنة ....

Fraehn dates his coin in 611 or 612. I know of no other *nisbah*-types from Bukhārā, but they may well exist.

No literary allusions to the *Jamshīdī* have as yet come to hand, but some such are doubtless to be found among the panegyrics to 'Alā' al-Dīn. In 1852 J. Lelewel wrote: "Il est...probable qu'on a comparé Mohammed Kotbeddin à Djemshid, comme on comparait les sultans Khwarismiens aux Césars, aux Feridoun."[24] I have found some 20 examples of varying style, but of the same Samarqand fabric. Seventeen were struck in 610 A.H., and three were apparently struck in 616 A.H. I have been able to read the date on only one of these last three, but the difference in style tends to support the idea

[23] C. M. Fraehn, *Die Münzen der Chane vom Ulus Dschutschi's oder von der Goldenen Horde*, etc., St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1832, p. 57, E/437.
[24] *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1852, p. 352.

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that these two groups were struck in different years. The reverse field of those struck in 610 reads:

جمشیدی
السلطان الاعظم
ابو [الفتح] محمد
بن سلطان [تکش]
(ornament)

PLATE XXVII, 2

The 616 coin reads:

جمشیدی
السلطان العادل
الاعظم [محمد]
بن سلطان تک[ش]

PLATE XXVII, 3

—and has different border ornamentation. Another coin of the Society resembles it but has obscured margins. Markoff gives a *Jamshīdī* of 616 without recording any legends.[25] Apparently the *Jamshīdī* with the first style and reverse legend was struck only in 610 A.H. Then the type was used again with a different style and legend in 616 A.H. The 616 coin bears al-Nāṣir's name,[26] and this, of course, constitutes additional evidence to be added to that of the *qādirīs* of 615[27] against any statement that al-Nāṣir's name disappeared from the Khwārizm-shāh's coinage in 614 A.H.[28]

[25] P. 300, no. 42.
[26] F. Erdmann in "*Über das Zweidrachmenstück des Hrn...Stickel, nebst einer Beilage*," *ZDMG*, Bd. 17, 1863, p. 368, no. 2, reads ابو الفيض محمد. It is much more likely that this is ابو الفتح محمد, as on other coins of this type.
[27] See above, pp. 127–128.
[28] Soret also contends this in "Lettre à M. Sawelief.....," pp. 394 ff.

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Two more *nisbah* types listed by Markoff have words *ẓāfirī* and *sulṭānī*. There are two of each type listed, but only one of the *ẓāfirīs* is dated, from 613. He gives no additional information.[29] Soret records what he calls a *mu'minī*, but he only sees preserved the letters ....مومن. And without the final "ye", it is not certain that it is a *nisbah* type at all. Moreover, it is smaller, about 30 mm.[30]

There are several other coins of the general style and fabric of the *nisbah* type coins, but I shall consider here only the most important one.[31] It has a *nisbah* and is listed by Markoff:[32]

تكش	مبارکی
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
محمد بن سلطان	محمد رسول‌الله
السلطا ن المعظم	الناصر لدين الله
عثمان بن سلطان	(ornament)
ابرهيم	M. بسم الله ضرب‌هذا الدرهم
M.?	بسمرقند سنة سبع و ستما يةالملك

[29] P. 299, nos. 36, 37; p. 300, nos. 43, 44.

[30] *RNB*, 1854, p. 397, no. 62.

[31] I have not yet been able to deal with all of these. There is one which Longworth-Dames ("The Mint of Kuraman, with special reference to the coins of the Qarluqs and Kharism-shahs," *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 389–408, no. 22) apparently possessed before the American Numismatic Society acquired it. He reads Samarqand for the mint, but I do not see it there. Two more large coppers are cited by Blau (*Die orientalischen Münzen des Museums der kaiserlichen historisch-archaologischen Gesellschaft zu Odessa*, Odessa, 1876, Klasse XIV), and there is one (*BMC*, vol. II, no. 892d) which is read Farwān, 616, with question marks. It may not be from Farwān, for it is listed as having "a central crossbow strung." A hoard of seventy-odd copper dirhams of Tirmidh has been discussed in *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 1953, by E. A. Davidovich, pp. 43–53. Some of the coins illustrated are of the "crossbow strung" type. I unfortunately have not had the time to have this article translated, and have therefore not read the text, but the *BMC* coin may belong with them.

[32] P. 294. no. 614. There is another joint coin in the ANS with the names of 'Alā' al-Dīn and one Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad. Davidovich (*Numism. Sbor.* 1957, pp. 103, 104, plate 3, p. 104) has found several examples of this same type. They bear the date 607 or 609 and the name of the town of Uzjand. See her discussion.

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This coin is irrefutable evidence for the fact that 'Uthmān Khān, the Qarākhānid, acknowledged the overlordship of 'Alā' al-Dīn in 607 A.H. It is mentioned because the question of just when, why and with what initial results 'Alā' al-Dīn invaded Transoxiana is a vexed one, owing to the fact that Juvainī has two partially conflicting accounts.[33] They will not be treated in detail here; rather, the reader is referred to Barthold for a full discussion of the two reports.[34] He inclines toward the second version with reservations and dates the first expedition, against Bukhārā, to 604 A.H. However, the coin does credit some parts of Juvainī's first version, for example: "From Bokhara he ['Alā' al-Dīn] proceeded to Samarqand sending on in advance messengers to the Sultan of Samarqand.... He ['Uthmān] agreed to obey and abide by the royal and imperial commands and prohibitions and read the *khutba* and strike coin in the Sultan's name."[35] A short while later 'Uthmān and 'Alā' al-Dīn met the Qarā Khiṭāy general Tayangu: "Now it so happened that they [the two armies] came face to face and opposed their ranks to one another on a Friday in Rabi' I, 607 (Aug.–Sept., 1210)."[36] The coin supports at least this much of the first version. The word *mubārakī* on this coin probably refers to a marriage between 'Uthmān and a woman of 'Alā' al-Dīn's house. Juvainī says: "... Sultan Usman craved a pearl .... from the royal house and sought in marriage a full moon from the starry sky of majesty. The Sultan honored him by granting that boon..."[37] Thus, the *nisbah* of this coin may well confirm this statement of Juvainī about a "blessed" event and help us in assigning the marriage to the year 607.[38]

[33] Trans. Boyle, Part II, VII, "Of the Conquest of Transoxiana" and X, "Of the Khans of Qara-Khitai, etc.", pp. 357 ff. Also see Barthold, pp. 353 ff.
[34] See also Davidovich, *Numism. Sbor.* 1957, pp. 113 ff. She has a similar joint coin for 606 A. H.
[35] Trans. Boyle, pp. 342–343.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 344.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 348–349.
[38] Davidovich has different ideas regarding such *nisbahs*. She maintains that the key to their understanding is found on the Mongol period coins of Samarqand (624 A.H.), Bukhara (651 A.H.), and Otrar (second and third quarters of the thirteenth century, A.D.). Before some of the *nisbahs* is the word منكو which she says is not the name of a ruler because the dates (of the Samarqand coins) do not correspond to the years of the Great Khan Möngke's rule. She main-

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tains that the word is a transcription in Arabic of the Mongol word for coin, presumably *möngö*, which is literally the word for money. Thus, منكو خانى must mean "the khan's coin" or "a government coin". Coins with only the word خانى must be read in the same way, since the word منكو has been left off. For the Bukhara coins with منكو only, one must supply another منكو and read "a coin of Möngke." Coins, struck before the arrival of the Mongols or after, which have خانى or سلطانى must be read "the Khan's coin" or "the Sultan's coin". And a coin with an epithet like *Sikandarī* must be read "a coin of the Alexander-like ruler". These legends are intended, she says, to emphasize the governmental character of the coin. I continue to regard these *nisbahs* as having the more general relationships I have shown in my discussion. In the first place, منكو does not have to refer to Möngke. J. A. Boyle (History of the World Conqueror, p. 4, note 4) says that it is Mengü ".... the Turkish form of the name...." instead of Möngke, the Mongol form. But he also says that, "Both *möngke* and *mengü* are adjectives meaning 'eternal'." If we accept this, منكو خانى on the Samarqand coins of 624 A.H. could mean: "of, like or relating to the eternal Khan," without reference to Möngke, himself. The Bukhara coins with منكو قاانى, the dates of which allow them to be related to Möngke (according to Davidovich), can easily be read: "of, like, or relating to Möngke Qā'an. And coins struck after Möngke's death might even be regarded as analogous to the *Sanjarī*, mentioned on p. 131 of this discussion. Secondly, we certainly should not expect to find a Mongol word for "coin" on Islamic coins struck prior to the Mongol invasion. We should expect, if we were to follow the reasoning of Davidovich, to find the word سكة the commonly used word for "a stamped coin" on one or two specimens. But we find neither this nor the feminine form of the *nisbah* which we should expect if سكة had been intended but left off. In order to have such an argument hold for pre-Mongol coins, we need a valid pre-Mongol example. Thirdly, if the minters wished to call the attention of the predominantly Muslim users of the coins to their governmental character, why should they have used an unfamiliar Mongol word in Arabic garb which might in any case have been construed by some of the Muslim Turks as meaning "eternal"? Finally, why was there any reason to stress the governmental character of the coins in lands where striking coinage had for centuries been the jealously guarded prerogative of the ruler? With these points in mind it seems more reasonable to regard the *nisbahs* as referring to any one of several aspects of the ruler, his titles, or his actions.

In addition, it should be noted that *nisbahs* appear on the coins of the Ghaznavids. Maḥmūd used *yamīnī*, apparently from his title. At least three different mints (Ghaznah, Nīshāpūr, and Farwān) are recorded as having struck such coins (*BMC*, II, pp. 137ff., "Third Class, Yemeenees"). Ibrāhīm used *naṣīrī* (*BMC*, II, p. 171, #557), and Mas'ūd III, *qāhirī* (E. Thomas, "On the coins of the Kings of Ghazni," *JRAS*, 1848, p. 368). Thomas (p. 291) refers to such *nisbahs* as "Abbreviations of titles...."

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We can draw the following conclusions from this discussion:

1. The precedent for the *nisbah* coins of the Khwārizm-shāhs is to be found in the Qarākhānid *nisbah* coins which began to appear about ten years earlier. The earliest purely Khwārizmian coins of this type date from 610 A.H./1213–1214 A.D., after 'Alā' al-Dīn had taken Samarqand and had done away with his former partner, 'Uthmān, and about the same time that he evacuated Ferghana and other territories north of the Zarafshan River. This suggests that the people who minted this particular type entered the Samarqand service of the Sulṭān and began to strike after they had been evacuated from Uzjand.

2. The *nisbah* adjectives on the reverse field of 'Alā' al-Dīn's large coppers do not designate differing values, as had previously been thought, nor do they refer to years of issue. Some *nisbahs* can be traced to Qarākhānid coins, suggesting simple imitation, while for others there are statements in the sources which indicate that some of the *nisbahs* refer to titles taken by 'Alā' al-Dīn. There is also the possibility that some *nisbahs* on the coins refer to events such as victories or marriages.

3. Qādir struck a coin in Uzjand in the year 602 A.H., four years earlier than Pritsak's coin of 606 A.H.

4. 'Alā' al-Dīn's quarrel with the Caliph al-Nāṣir did not cause the former to remove the Caliph's name from all of his coins from the year 614 on. Moreover, this fact suggests that the evidence for the quarrel should be re-examined.

5. Markoff's joint coin of 'Alā' al-Dīn and 'Uthmān Khān of Samarqand confirms the source statement that 'Uthmān accepted 'Alā' al-Dīn's overlordship in the year 607 A.H./1210 A.D., and its *nisbah* is in all probability additional evidence for the marriage which linked 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad's house with 'Uthmān of Samarqand.

KENNETH A. LUTHER

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ADDITIONS TO COINAGE FOR COLONIAL VIRGINIA

(See Plates XXVIII–XXIX)

A classification of a series of coins always seems to stimulate numismatists to seek unlisted dies and combinations. When the varieties of Virginia halfpence were first published in 1956[1] it was suggested that readers communicate their findings to the author. A sufficient number of unlisted die varieties have been located so that a supplement seems timely.

The number of obverse production dies has been increased from 17 to 22, four of the five new varieties being those without a period after GEORGIVS in the legend. The number of reverse production dies has been increased from 20 to 23, one new variety having 7 strings in the harp and the other two having 8 strings. The total number of combinations has increased from 22 to 28, but reverse die RM has not yet been found in any combination. These statistics do not include the 1774 Virginia halfpence in silver (p. 37). Since a total of approximately 672,000 Virginia halfpence were struck (p. 22) the average production from a pair of dies seems to have been about 30,000 coins on the basis of the dies now known. Since major die breaks and die deformities are not found on Virginia halfpence the dies must have been retired after showing any readily noticeable damage.

The obverse production dies for Virginia halfpence, having been cut immediately following the issuance of the Royal Warrant of May 20, 1773, do not seem to have been well cared for because several obverse dies such as 4, 5, 24, and 27 show pitting from rust.

In the 1956 monograph the archaeological evidence of the actual circulation of Virginia halfpence by their discovery in worn condition in the course of excavations in the restoration of Williamsburg was pointed out (p. 33), but no early written confirmation of circulation had then been found. However, in a pamphlet entitled *On Monies*,

[1] Eric P. Newman, *Coinage for Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1956), NNM No. 135. References by page number are to this text.

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Coins, Weights, and Measures, published in Philadelphia in 1789 Virginia halfpence are specifically listed as being found in circulation. The author of the pamphlet was John Beale Bordley who at the time of its publication lived in Wye Beach, Maryland and often visited nearby Philadelphia to see his wife's family. This pamphlet is the first American "treatise on copper coin" as Bordley described it. In it he listed the weight of Virginia halfpence as 120 grains which is slightly more than the official weight of 116.7 grains (p. 40). Since many Virginia halfpence weigh 120 grains the reliability of Bordley's comments is confirmed. He also mentioned Nova Constellatio coppers, genuine English halfpence, Birmingham halfpence, French, Dutch, and Spanish coppers as having been weighed and checked by him. Although he listed the weight of New Jersey coppers as determined by the New York committee report of March 5, 1787,[2] he did not list them as coins he checked from circulation. He omitted any reference to Connecticut or Vermont coppers or Massachusetts cents and half cents. He thus reported copper coin in circulation in his native Maryland and its vicinity and by so doing has shown that the circulation of Virginia halfpence had spread into areas surrounding Virginia by 1789.

In 1960 archaeologists in Colonial Williamsburg while excavating the site of the residence and outbuildings of Anthony Hay found a Virginia halfpence under the dismantled remains of the residence, the date of the razing of which is not known. The finding of the coin under such circumstances was conclusive in proving that the residence was still standing in 1775 when Virginia halfpence were introduced into circulation.[3]

The Cohen hoard of over 2500 Virginia halfpence in uncirculated condition (p. 34) can now be traced back to Jacob I. Cohen (1744–1823) and to Israel I. Cohen (1750–1803), uncle and father respectively of Col. Mendes I. Cohen (1796–1879), of Baltimore. Jacob I. Cohen, after serving in the American Revolution, moved to Richmond in 1780 and joined Isaiah Isaacs in forming the well-known banking and trading firm of Cohen and Isaacs. Israel I. Cohen joined his brother in Richmond in 1784, and remained there until his death in

[2] Sylvester S. Crosby, *Early Coins of America* (Boston, 1875), p. 290.
[3] The President's Report, 1960, Colonial Williamsburg, p. 17.

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1803. In 1806 Jacob I. Cohen moved from Richmond to Philadelphia and in 1808 the widow and children of Israel I. Cohen moved to Baltimore. In view of the fact that Mendes I. Cohen is quoted as saying that the hoard of Virginia halfpence came from his father,[4] their acquisition must have been between 1780 and 1803. It therefore seems probable that the halfpence held by the Treasurer of Virginia were taken from Williamsburg to Richmond during the Revolutionary War when the Capitol was moved and that the hoard was acquired in Richmond by Israel I. Cohen, either directly or through Cohen and Isaacs.

With respect to the 1774 Virginia halfpence in silver (p. 37) four known specimens were specifically mentioned. Crosby had known only of three. Edouard Frossard[5] in 1879 said that there were "three or four specimens only in American cabinets," but, referring to the specimen in the Bushnell sale in 1882, says, "certainly not 3 but 10 or 12 of these, or more, are at present known." Frossard's comment must await possible corroboration. Two additional pieces can now be accounted for, consisting of another specimen in the Emery May Norweb collection, having been acquired in England and one piece currently offered for sale by Richard Picker in the April, 1962 *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, p. 1084. This accounts for a total of six pieces.

It has been suggested in the review[6] of *Coinage for Colonial Virginia* and elsewhere that the rarity of the various combinations would be welcome. A sufficient number of specimens have now been examined to do so. The many varieties found in the Cohen hoard has resulted in uncirculated specimens being as frequently found as worn specimens. The varieties with a period after GEORGIVS. are about 1½ times more numerous than those without it. Variety 1–A, often improperly referred to as the Virginia penny because of its greater weight and diameter (p. 40), composes less than 1 per cent of the total of known halfpence.

[4] John W. Haseltine, Item 713 in his January 21, 1880 sale catalogue. See *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston, 1871), Vol. 11, p. 103.
[5] Addenda to *Monograph of United States Cents and Half Cents* (Irvington, N. Y., 1879), p. 51; *Numisma*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (May, 1882).
[6] Walter Breen, *The Numismatist* (Feb. 1957), Vol. 70, p. 170.

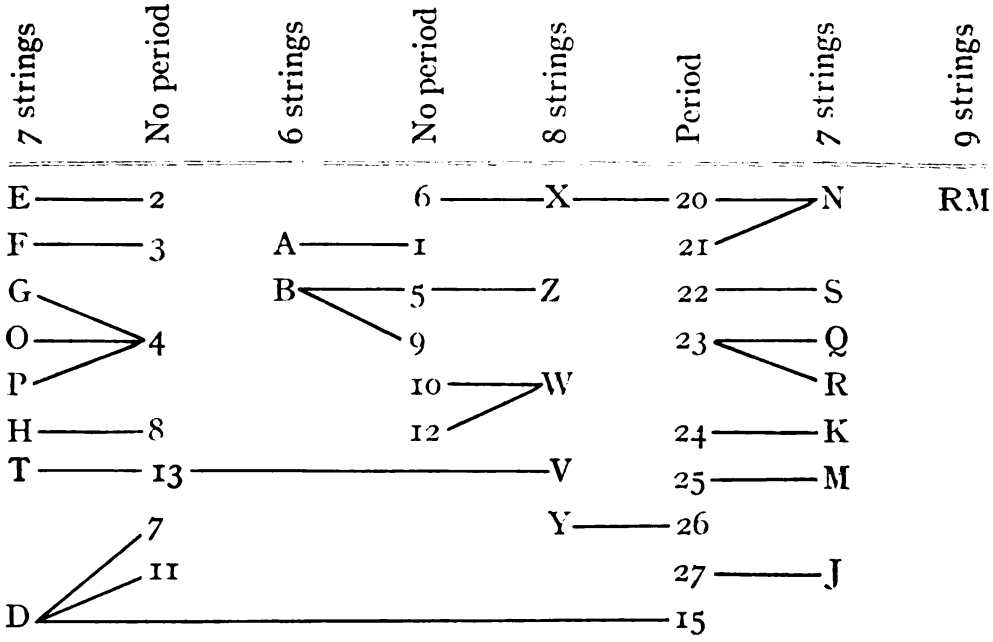
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The scarcity scale with a range of eight points was used in the preparation of the following table indicating the relative scarcity of the various varieties:

COMBINATION	RARITY	COMBINATION	RARITY	COMBINATION	RARITY
1–A	8	8–H	3	21–N	8
2–E	8	9–B	3	22–S	3
3–F	4	10–W	5	23–Q	2
4–G	5	11–D	7	23–R	5
4–O	4	12–W	7	24–K	1
4–P	6	13–T	8	25–M	1
5–B	6	13–V	8	26–Y	2
5–Z	6	15–D	7	27–J	2
6–X	4	20–N	4		
7–D	4	20–X	4		

A table of combinations of all known 1773 dies has been prepared in such a manner as to segregate the dies into their major types in columnar fashion and to show their interlocking.

TABLE OF COMBINATIONS



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A description of the previously unlisted dies follows:

NEW OBVERSES

WITH NO PERIOD AFTER GEORGIVS

Obv. No.	64 ths of an inch between centers of periods	*Special features*	*With Rev.*
10	27½	Third I of III low. Continuation of upright of R in REX would clear underside of nose. Final period barely clear of right side of X and as close to curl as to right upper point of X.	W
11	30	Center I of III slightly nearer I to left than I to right. Period closer to I than to R. Last period slightly above center line of letters.	D
12	30	Third I of III lower than other two. R in GEORGIVS tilts left relative to adjacent G. R in REX tilts to left. Last period below center line of letters.	W
13	30½	Middle I of III slightly nearer I on left than I on right. Period slightly nearer I than R. All letters widely spaced. Continuation of upright of R of REX would fall entirely on the front of the nose adjacent to the tip. Diameter through point of left leaf of three top leaves would almost touch right side of S.	T V

WITH LOW PERIOD AFTER GEORGIVS

15	32 32 50	An irregular period after S is on the baseline of the letters instead of on the center line of the letters. This period may actually be only a die injury. Second period closer to I than to R. S is not as close to 12 o'clock position as first I of III whereas in Obverse 7 (which is similar) S is nearer 12 o'clock than first I of III.	D

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NEW REVERSES

WITH SEVEN STRING HARP

Rev. Letter	*Special features*	*With Obv.*
T	Leaf ends opposite right portion of upright of I. R should tilt farther to right. Leaf ends close to and opposite right end of left base of A. Third I parallel to horizontal divider.	13

WITH EIGHT STRING HARP

V	V is low and tilts right. Leaf ends opposite left end of base of first I. Second I touches arms. Third I slopes down to right relating to horizontal divider. Large lion clear of line. Going from top down tail ends of the three small lions are successively nearer the line. Leaf close to and ends opposite center of bases of A. Periods barely hihger than center lines.	13
W	V is low and tilts to right. The 3 in the date is recut, having first been punched so as to touch shield. Leaf ends opposite left tip of first I. Leaf ends close to and opposite right tip of left base of A. Third I parallel to horizontal divider. Periods after 3 and after A higher than center line of letters. Two die breaks develop from border to left loop on bottom of shield.	10 12

The plates of illustrations accompanying these notes contains the following additions, clarifications and corrections to the plates originally published:

Obverses 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 and *Reverses* T, V, and W are new.[7]

Reverses K, O and X are from better specimens than were originally available.

Reverses N and Z were transposed on the original plate and are now properly identified.

[7] *Obverse* 10 and *Reverse* W were described by Walter Breen as Lot 59 in the Catalogue of the New Netherlands Coin Co. Sale No. 51, held June 19, 1958. Richard Picker discovered 11–D, 12–W and 15–D. Paul Weinstein located 13–T, which was originally published in *Colonial Newsletter*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Oct., 1961). Ted Craige found 13–V.

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All other *obverses* without the period after GEORGIVS and the other 8 string harp *reverse* have been included for ease of comparison.

The description of Reverse P in the original monograph (p. 46) is amended to state that the leaf points to the right side of the upright of I and that the period after A is slightly above the center line of the letters.

After the description of Reverse D (p. 44) there should be added Obverses 11 and 15 described herein.

To complete the mention of all writers who previously published material on Virginia halfpence and whose work was not cited in my original monograph, I am glad to add Agnes Baldwin, Charles Little, and Phares O. Sigler.[8]

We are grateful to Richard Picker for his helpfulness in both die variety study and rarity determination.

ERIC P. NEWMAN

[8] Agnes Baldwin, "The Virginia Halfpennies," *The Numismatist*, Vol. 24, No. 8 (Aug. 1911), p. 276; Charles Little, "Numismatics in Colonial Virginia," *The Numismatist*, Vol. 49, No. 11 (Nov. 1939), p. 895; Phares O. Sigler, "The Coins of Colonial America," Chap. V, *Coin Collectors' Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jan. 1945), p. 5.

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THE MEDALLIC PORTRAIT OF ALBRECHT DÜRER

(See Plates XXX–XXXV)

The high esteem in which Albrecht Dürer has been held in German speaking countries as one of the great artists of the Renaissance and as one of the great German painters of all time has produced a fairly large number of medals bearing his portrait. These medals have been produced over a period of four centuries, from 1527 all the way into the second quarter of the twentieth century. They offer a very good opportunity for the study of the trends of medallic portraiture in Germany and Austria during that time.

In addition we are lucky to possess a number of contemporary likenesses of Dürer, so that, to the extent that such knowledge is possible at all to posterity, we have a fairly exact knowledge of how Dürer looked at various times of his life. Most of these likenesses are self-portraits, but there is also a portrait by another artist and, luckiest of all, two medallic portraits by artists who knew him well. The earliest in time are the self-portraits. There are eleven undoubted self-portraits ranging from 1484 when Dürer was thirteen years old to 1511 when he was forty. One of them, the nude picture of himself as a sick man is undated and may be somewhat later. In addition to these eleven there is a twelfth, his portrait on the Heller altar of 1509 which is lost, but of which a copy exists.[1] These self-portraits are acknowledged as genuine by Waetzold,[2] while Kehrer mentions three more, namely a naked drawing (now in Weimar) which Waetzold doubts, and the picture of a drummer in the Jabach altar piece (1503), and the so-called man of sorrows (1522) which Waetzold disputes.

It is not necessary in this context to go into the question of these so-called self-portraits and their authenticity as such, since none of them has furnished the prototype of a medallic portrait. Equally none of the earlier authentic self-portraits before that of 1498[3] (Fig. 1)

[1] Waetzold, p. 26.
[2] L.c., pp. 16ff.
[3] Madrid, Prado.

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has been used by any medalist. This perhaps may be called unfortunate since a medal depicting Dürer as a boy, as in the portrait of 1484, or as a very young man, as in the portraits of 1492 and 1493, would be pleasant to have. Apparently, in four centuries no artist was inspired by this idea. This leaves the paintings of 1498 and 1500[4] (Fig. 2) and the portraits on the "Festival of the Roses,"[5] (Fig. 3) "Martyrdom of the 10,000 Christians"[6] and "Adoration of the Trinity"[7] (Fig. 4) where Dürer appears among the bystanders but in each case is clearly identified. The only portrait of Dürer not by himself dates from his trip to the Netherlands (1520). This is now lost but exists in print form. The original was by a pupil of Raffael, Thomas Vincidor, and the print (1629) is by Andreas Stock (Fig. 5).

The two medals are by Hans Schwarz (PLATE XXX, 1) and Matthes Gebel (PLATE XXX, 4) and date from 1520 and 1527 respectively. In 1527 Dürer was 56 years old and had only one more year to live. He died in Nuremberg in 1528 in which city he had been born in 1471. Even a cursory examination of these various portraits shows that they vary to an extent which cannot be fully explained by the passage of the time between them. The inevitable question arises as to which of them give us the most faithful likeness of Albrecht Dürer. Especially pronounced is the difference between the two medallic portraits. That by Schwarz shows a strongly hooked nose and a relatively low and receding forehead, whereas that by Gebel shows a nose that is much less hooked and a forehead that is much more perpendicular. Gaettens has quite recently devoted an article[11] to an analysis of these two portraits and has come to the conclusion that the one by Schwarz gives the true picture of Dürer.

The engraving after the painting by Vincidor and the various self-portraits are all more or less frontal so that they do not permit one to judge exactly how hooked the nose is or how low and receding the forehead, but the evidence indeed seems to point to the conclusion that of the two contemporary medallic portraits, that by Schwarz comes closer to the truth. Of one thing, however, everyone seems to

[4] Munich, Alte Pinakothek.
[5] Rosenkranzfest, 1506, Prague Museum.
[6] Marter der 10,000 Christen, 1508, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
[7] Allerheiligenbild, 1511, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

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be convinced, namely that the self-portrait of 1500 is strongly idealized. Some, like Panofsky, think that Dürer deliberately cast himself in the image of Christ, others like Kehrer deny this and believe that he merely harmonized the proportions of his face. It is really immaterial in this context and it suffices here to recognize that the portrait of 1500 is an idealized and not a true picture of Dürer. As we can discern from all other representations, self-portraits included, his eyes were not that large nor his forehead that high and perpendicular, nor the proportions of his face that perfectly harmonious.

Having thus formed for ourselves a picture of what Dürer most probably looked like we shall proceed to examine what four centuries have done to his portrait on medals. Generally speaking the later Dürer medals fall into three chronological categories. Those issued during an approximate century after his death, those issued during the romantic revival in the nineteenth century and the more or less contemporary ones of the twentieth century. Eidlitz[8] after Jehne, who in turn follows Blades, mentions a medal that was executed about the beginning of the eighteenth century. No reference source is given and the medal is not illustrated, so that it is impossible to judge whether this is really correct, but the list of Dürer medals appearing in Will[9] does not contain any such piece and this leads to the suspicion that in 1764 at any rate no such medal existed as yet.

The medals issued in the century after Dürer's death consist (except for later casts and outright imitations of the Schwarz and Gebel medals) of the unsigned medals of 1561, (Nos. 17, 18), the Petzold pieces which appeared about the same time (PLATE XXX, 19), the undated medal (PLATE XXXI, 20), the Holdermann medals Nos. 21, on PLATE XXXI and 22), and the Schweigger medal (PLATE XXXI, 23). All of these except the Schweigger one, which is probably the latest, follow very closely the Schwarz portrait which again leads to the thought that it, indeed, is the most faithful representation of Dürer. The Schweigger medal follows Gebel with the one remarkable change that the nose appears considerably more hooked. An undated medal of uncertain date (No. 78) also follows Gebel. Clearly, at that

[8] *Bl. f. Münzfreunde und Münzforschung*, vol. 80 (1956), pp. 557f. no. 333, Jehne 173, Blades 218. Vol. I, pp. 314ff., 385; vol. IV, pp. 403.
[9] Kehrer, pl. 44.

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time the medalists still made every effort to make Dürer appear on their medals as contemporary sources lead us to believe he looked. Nor did they depart from the strictly medallic prototypes of Schwarz and Gebel and seek inspiration in the self-portraits.

The nineteenth century artists felt quite otherwise. The medalists took their cue from the painters and sculptors. The German artists of the Romantic period venerated Dürer with devoted fervor and like the German Romantic movement in general they tended to idealize the past. Dürer was the first painter anywhere in the world to receive a statue in a public square (Fig. 6) and the Artist on the Royal Throne of Bavaria, which Ludwig I was pleased to regard himself, accorded Dürer a colossal bust[10] in the Walhalla, the Germano-Greek temple which he had erected near Regensburg above the Danube to honor the great Germans of the past. Christian Daniel Rauch, the author of the equestrian bronze statue of Frederick the Great in Berlin, was the creator of both the Dürer statue in Nuremberg and the head in the Walhalla and both of them are considerably idealized when compared with even the self-portraits that show Dürer at a comparable age, to say nothing of the Vincidor portrait or the medal by Schwarz. Indeed, the statue in Nuremberg comes fairly close to the self-portrait of 1500.

The painters of the period created a Dürer all of their own who looked exactly like a Renaissance artist should in their opinion look. We find profiles in Kaulbach's "Marriage of Dürer with Agnes Frey" of 1826 (Fig. 7), in Overbeck's "Dürer and Rafael"[11] and in Neureuther's "Emperor Maximilian grants Dürer a Coat of Arms"[12] as well as in a separate ink drawing by him.[13] In all cases we find a Dürer with a high perpendicular forehead, an absolutely straight nose, long but much smoother locks than in Schwarz' medal, and an angelic expression. Kaulbach also painted a fresco "Reformation" showing Dürer in the act of painting his Four Apostles[14] (Fig. 8) and in this picture we see Dürer in full face. The face is regular and oval

[10] Berlin, Nationalgallerie.
[11] Vienna, Albertina, Kehrer, pl. 43.
[12] Kehrer, pl. 41.
[13] Munich, Graphische Sammlung, Kehrer, pl. 43.
[14] Fresco in Berlin, Print 1867 by Ed. Eichens 'Dürer malt die 4 Apostel,' Kehrer, pl. 42.

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FIG. 1. Dürer. Self-portrait, 1498.



FIG. 2. Dürer. Self-portrait, 1500.



FIG. 3. Dürer. Self-portrait, 1506.



FIG. 4. Dürer. Self-portrait, 1508.

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FIG. 5. Print by Stock after lost portrait by Tommaso Vincidor.



FIG. 6. Christian Rauch, Dürer Statue in Nuremberg.



FIG. 7. Wilhelm v. Kaulbach, "Hochzeit Dürers mit Agnes Frey."



FIG. 8. Detail from Kaulbach's Fresco "Reformation."

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which by all contemporary sources it was not, the forehead is high and the proportions are a good deal more regular than contemporary portraits justify.

It would be rash to expect that the medalists should not have been animated by the same tendency to idealize as their brother artists. The admiration in which Dürer was held is shown by the comparatively large number of medals that were brought forth by the 300th anniversary of his death in 1828 and the erection of his statue in 1840.

There are five medals of 1828, by Burgschmiet, (PLATE XXXII, 25), Jachtmann (Nos. 26 on PLATE XXXII and 27), Neuß (No. 28) and Stettner (No. 29) respectively; that by Jachtmann comes with two reverses, but the portrait is the same. Jachtmann and Neuß follow Gebel's portrait quite closely while Burgschmiet and Stettner, who incidentally both lived in Nuremberg, seem to have been influenced by the Kaulbach profile, although Stettner provides Dürer with extremely large eyes (which he did not have) thereby giving him a very strange expression.

The next medal in chronological order is the undated one from 1833 with Dürer and Behaim (PLATE XXXII, 30). It is by Dallinger, also a Nuremberg artist and here the proportions of Dürer's head are harmonized and idealized to the point that practically no similarity to the contemporary portraits is left at all. We merely see the ideal picture of a gentleman of the sixteenth century in a fur cape.

The pieces of 1840 of which there are four (including the double taler by Voigt (No. 31) and three medals by Lauer (No. 32), Löffler (No. 33) and Stettner (No. 34) all show the monument with its idealized head, and in addition, the medal by Lauer has a portrait that follows Schwarz except that the forehead is much higher and more perpendicular and that the eye is enlarged.

The second half of the nineteenth century produced only three dated medals in Nuremberg itself, one by Lauer on the 400th birthday of Dürer in 1471 (No. 41), one by Lauer on the occasion of the congress of art historians in 1893 (No. 42) and still another by Lauer on the occasion of the second Bavarian exposition of trade and industry (No. 44) which latter belongs to a series showing various Nuremberg Renaissance artists. In addition several other undated medals seem

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to belong to the same period. All but one are signed by Lauer and all have busts almost identical with those of the dated Lauer medals of the later nineteenth century.

Two of these latter medals, namely those of 1871 and 1893, show the profile to the left which we find on the Burgschmiet medal of 1828 and which is clearly inspired by the Kaulbach portrait. Precisely the same profile is found on the large medal with Dürer's house on the reverse (No. 69), the small medals also with Dürer's house on the reverse (Nos. 72, 73) and the plaque (No. 71). The medal of 1896 shows a completely new representation of Dürer, new, that is, on medals. For the first time we see Dürer full face on a medal and with a cap on his head, but the picture seems clearly inspired by the self-portrait on the Allerheiligenbild of 1511. The cap in both cases is worn at an angle and what can be seen of the dress on the medal is very similar to that on the picture, but the head is turned entirely to the front on the medal where it is in half profile on the painting. If it is compared with the Vincidor portrait which shows Dürer in a similar pose, although ten years older, it becomes apparent that there is some degree of idealization in the self-portrait and some more in the medallic portrait of 1896. Again this latter portrait appears unchanged on undated pieces; they are the souvenir medal (PLATE XXXV, 70) and an unsigned plaque (No. 79) which thus apparently is by Lauer, too.

The real flight into nineteenth century fancy is found on a series of medals or badges issued by the Albrecht Dürer Verein in Vienna (Nos. 35–40, 43, 80; cf. PLATES XXXII, XXXIII, and XXXV). They exist for a number of years and are different every year. For how many years they exist can not at present be said with certainty. The writer has seen only four. Three are dated 1853, 1854 and 1860 respectively, while the fourth is undated. All are in the Vienna Cabinet and come from the Wurzbach Collection. That of 1860 is by Oswald Steinböck. Two additional medals by the same artist dated 1856 and 1857 respectively are listed in Eidlitz from literary sources but not illustrated; two more medals of the Albrecht Dürer Verein dated 1858 and 1894 are mentioned in the sale of the Andorfer Collection by Adolph Hess on October 7, 1912. The one of 1853 follows very closely the Kaulbach portrait and appears to have been

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all but copied from the Burgschmiet medal of 1828. The one of 1860 was visibly inspired by the same model, but the profile has been turned to the left and further idealized, the head is longer and the expression even more angelic. But this was not enough. The undated medal may be based on the picture by Kaulbach of Dürer in the act of painting the Four Apostles, and that of 1854 on the self-portrait in the Rosenkranzfest, but whether they are or not they are little more than the artist's conception of what he should have wanted Dürer to have looked like. True, there is long hair, a beard and a mustache, but even their aspect is changed to suit the artist's fancy and the result is a portrait that has practically no relation to any contemporary representation of Dürer, even the most idealized ones.

The twentieth century, too, produced a Dürer medal that carries idealization to the extreme. It is the plaque by Eric Gill (PLATE XXXIII, 47). Here, however, the romantic concept of the Renaissance artist has been replaced by a young man with the most delicate and regular features. The plaque itself states that this is a portrait of Dürer in his twenty-eight year, thus at the time of the Prado portrait. It is only necessary to compare the two to see how far Gill's taste has lead him away from reality. Otherwise the twentieth century refrained from phantasy and even from excessive idealization, and followed, except for occasional slightly modernistic treatment, the contemporary portraits and self-portraits.

Almost all twentieth century medals were occasioned by the 400th anniversary of Dürer's death in 1928 on which occasion there was also an exhibition in the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg of as many of his works as could be assembled. Outside of the 3-mark piece issued by the German Government and the eighteen dated medals by thirteen different artists that appeared in 1928 there is only the Dürerbund medal of 1912 (PLATE XXXIII, 45) and one on the 450th birthday in 1921 (PLATE XXXIII, 46).

The medal of 1912 is very close to the Gebel portrait and the one of 1921 equally close to that by Schwarz. The Schwarz portrait is also the great favorite as a prototype for the 1928 medals, probably because it is the most forceful and characteristic, and also perhaps because it was believed to be the most truthful portrait of Dürer. It is followed with great fidelity on the 3-mark piece by Nida-Rümelin

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(No. 48) as well as on his medal (No. 64), by Balmberger (No. 50 which re-uses the obverse of the 1921 medal), by Dasio (Nos. 52–54), Goetz (Nos. 55 and 56), Hummel (Nos. 58 and 59) and Kittler (No. 60). Occasionally the forehead may be a little more perpendicular than Schwarz has it and then again the head may have been a bit lengthened or, in the case of Hummel, the technical treatment may be a bit on the modernistic side, but overall the Schwarz portrait was followed. Only Hörnlein (No. 57) found it necessary to turn it around so that it faces right leaving it in every other respect exactly as it was. Probably this does not give us a true right profile of Dürer, but at least it is not fanciful.

Only one of the 1928 medals follows the Gebel portrait, that by Balmberger (No. 49), but for the first time we now find the full face self-portrait of 1500 as a model for medals. The medals by Bernhart (PLATE XXXV, 51), the iron plaque from Lauchhammer (No. 54a), the medals by Moiret (No. 63), Roth (PLATE XXXV, 65), the so-called 20 Goldmark piece by Wild (No. 66), the unsigned medal (No. 67) and also an undated plaque (No. 74) and medal (No. 77), which could possibly date from the late nineteenth century, all follow the externals of the 1500 self-portraits quite closely but all of them fail to catch the expression of the original. In addition the Bernhart medal and the unsigned piece introduce a more modernistic technique which give the medallic portrait a roughness that is very much alien to the painting.

In their search for new authentic Dürer portraits to follow, the medallic artists of 1928 also for the first time used the self-portrait of 1498. The plaque issued by Meyer & Wilhelm (PLATE XXXV, 62) seems to show the face and especially the nose a little shortened but the total effect is still very close to the original. The plaque by Lindner (PLATE XXXIV, 61), on the other hand, has the face turned half to the left instead of half to the right—as has the print by Wenzel Hollar of 1645[15]—but quite apart from this it loses completely the impression of "gentiluomo," and gives Dürer's face an expression of almost rustic cunning. Whether it is the deliberately coarse technique that is responsible for this result or whether the effect was planned

[15] Kehrer, pl. 33.

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that way, it is a Dürer who unquestionably is recognizable but whom we have not seen in any other portrait or self-portrait.

Having thus surveyed the development of Dürer's medallic portrait over four centuries we can see that it has come full circle so to speak. Schwarz in 1520 made what is probably the first really realistic portrait of Dürer, being much more naturalistic than the self-portraits were or wanted to be. Gebel started on the road to idealization, however, slightly so. The nineteenth century—painters, sculptors and medalists alike—carried the process to its ultimate consequence, and the twentieth century by and large returned to the reality of Dürer's portrait as it believed it to be and as Hans Schwarz has given it to us, or at least followed the Gebel portrait or other contemporary sources.

CATALOGUE

The following list contains all coins and medals with the portrait of Albrecht Dürer that are known to the author. Without any doubt this list is incomplete and the author would be most grateful for any additional coins or medals that were brought to his attention by anyone. The list contains only pieces that actually show Dürer's portrait including, however, those that show his statue. It is based on the Eidlitz Collection which is now in the American Numismatic Society as well as on the writer's own collection. All pieces that are in the ANS are so indicated, but pieces in the writer's collection only if no other reference was available. If modern medals are in the ANS no other location has generally been given.

Special thanks are due to the late Prof. Gebhart and to Dr. Grotemeyer of the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich, Prof. Holzmair of the Bundessammlung von Medaillen, Münzen und Geldzeichen in Vienna and Dr. Stubenvoll of the Historical Museum in Frankfurt who were kind enough to furnish photographs and otherwise assisted the writer, and also to Dr. Jedding of the Museum für Kunsthandwerk in Frankfurt and the officials of the Hamburger Kunsthalle.

The order of listing employed is generally to give first the dated pieces in chronological order and the undated pieces afterwards. When a piece was known to have been struck on a specific occasion

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it was included in the chronological list and, in addition, the pieces made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were grouped by artists without any distinction as to whether they are dated or not, for it is believed that anyone would expect a listing of Dürer medals to start with the medal by Hans Schwarz, even though it is not dated, and the later Gebel medals are.

The later undated medals which have not been incorporated in the chronological listing are shown alphabetically by artists and those that are unsigned follow at the end in order of size. Where there are coins and medals on the same event the coins are listed first, but no distinction is made between medals and plaques which are listed together.

The catalogue contains pieces which the writer has actually seen as well as those described in the literature which he has not seen. Occasionally this led to very meagre descriptions, but these were included both for the sake of completeness and in the hope that some reader might identify the piece further and give a more complete description. The metal of all pieces has been given wherever known but, especially among the modern medals, it certainly is incomplete. Weights are given for gold and silver medals only, and only when known.

The three coats of arms of the city of Nuremberg which are found frequently on Dürer medals are described in the usual way, the first being the Imperial Eagle, the second an eagle with a crowned female head (sometimes called a harpy, although originally this heraldic beast was merely the Imperial Eagle with the Emperor's head), and the third is the shield with half a double eagle on the left and three diagonal stripes alternately red and white on the right. The coat of arms of the Dürer family is an open door.

Medals by Hans Schwarz (active 1516-1527)

All are uniface with bust in the left and long flowing locks.

1. Large medal without legend. Habich 201. The prototype of this medal is a boxwood piece in the Museum at Brunswick.[16] 57. 5 mm. Habich Pl. XVI, 3, Eidlitz 310.

[16] Im Hof also lists a stone model (725.41) which is oval and the measurements of which are 23/19 mm. This may be a later work.

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There are numerous medals made from this original and later casts made from medals made from the original. Some of them are listed herewith but without distinction whether they are originals or later casts: ANS Coll., bronze cast 54.4 mm.; Eidlitz 311, bronze cast 55.5 mm., Bibl. Nat., Paris; Eidlitz 319, white metal cast 47 mm., at right Dürer's monogram, engraved, Germ. Mus.;[17] Vienna Coll. brass cast 55 mm.,[18] lead cast (hollow) 47.5 mm. writer's coll.

2. Large medal with legend. The letters of the legend have apparently been added by punches to the negative form from which the medals were cast and thus the medal comes with varying legends and with or without the signature H. S. An incomplete list follows:
   a. ALBERTVS DVRER PICTOR GERMANICVS; signed H.S. 55.5 mm. bronze, Vienna Coll. Eidlitz 313; 55.5 mm. silver, Vienna Coll.; Bernhart No. 10.
   b. ALBERTVS DVRER PICTORTS GERMANICVS; 56 mm. Eidlitz 314. Eidlitz takes the description from Mus. Mazz. I, Pl. XLII, 5 and Kluyskens I, p. 274, 15 and from both of these sources it is clear that it is PICTORTS and not as Eidlitz says PICTORIS; Kluyskens even explains that the TS stands for etcetera. See also Will I, p. 315, No. 8. In addition to these quotations from the literature there are actually two pieces in the Munich Coll. with this legend. Both are in bronze and the measurements are 55.5 mm. See also Bernhart, Pl. X, 4. Furthermore there is one in Löbbecke. It is No. 267 in bronze.
   c. ALBERTVS * DVRERVS * NORICVS * PIC * OM *; Eidlitz 315, 58 mm. white metal cliché; ANS Coll.; Imh. 724. 38; Will I, p. 315, No. 10; also there are a bronze and a tin cliché in the Munich Coll. with this legend both measuring 56. 6 mm. Further there is a bronze cast and a bronzed lead cast in the Historical Museum in Frankfurt the diameter of which is 57 mm. and 63 mm. respectively. See also Gaettens *Bl. f. Mzfr.* 80, p. 560 and *Bl. f. Mzfr.* 1936, pp. 513 ff.

3. Small medal. Legend: ALBERTVS . DVRER . PICTOR . GERM 27. 5 mm. Habich 202. British Museum. Bernhart No. 11, Pl. X, 1.[19]

[17] A similar piece with the monogram is illustrated in Will IV, p. 403. Will says that it is gilt, hollow and mounted on a copper plate.

[18] Habich gives the location of several medals in his work, but does not indicate whether they have legend or not.

[19] Bernhart believes that this medal should be ascribed to the school of Hans Krug.

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Medals by Mathes Gebel (active 1525–1554))

1527

4. *Obv.* Head with shorter hair to the right. Legend: ⁘ IMAGO ⁘ ALBERT ⁘ DVRERI ⁘ AETATIS ⁘ SVAE ⁘ LVI ⁘

Rev. Dürer's arms: legend INCLITA ⁘ VIRTVS ⁘ M ⁘ D ⁘ XXVII ⁘ Eidlitz 320, 39 mm. lead (formerly) Dresden Coll.; Imh. 719. 26; Will I, p. 314, No. 1; Jehne 171; Habich 959 (where there is also a stone model mentioned and where the location of several pieces is given); Bernhart No. 12–1; Mus. Mazz. I, Pl. 41, 6; ANS 38. 5 mm. bronze; Munich Coll. 37 mm. silver; Vienna Coll. 36 mm. silver, 39 mm. bronze, 36. 7 mm. lead; Lanna 952, 40 mm. lead, 953, 39 mm. silver; Löbbecke 272, 39 mm. silver.

5. *Obv.* As in No. 4.

Rev. Dürer's arms: legend INCLITA. VIRTVS . M . D . XXVII 26 mm. Num. List. 1948 (vol. III), p. 53. (Metal not indicated).

1528

6. *Obv.* As in No. 4.

Rev. In closed laurel wreath . BE . MA . / . OBDORMIVIT . / . IN . $\overline{\text{XPO}}$. / . VI . IDVS . / . APRILIS . M . D . / . XXVIII . / . VI . C . VI . Eidlitz 322, 38 mm. bronze, ANS; Imh. 722. 31; Will I, p. 315, No. 4; Jehne 171; Habich 968 (where there is also a stone model mentioned and where the location of several pieces is given); Bernhart No. 12–2; Mus. Mazz. I, Pl. 42. 1; Munich Coll. 37. 6 mm. silver; 54. 5 mm. overall measurement) bronze gilt whith loop and enclosed in a broad ring on which MEIN . REIM . DER . SCHTED . UF . DEM . ANDERN DEIL. WER . MICH . LISD . DEM . WVNSCH ICH . GLUCK . VND . HEIL .; Vienna Coll. 37 mm. silver, 36 mm. silver; Lanna 954, 39 mm. lead; Lanna 955, 38 mm. bronze; Löbbecke 273, 39 mm. bronze; Metzler 59, 39 mm. bronze (now Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt).

Undated

7. Uniface. Mentioned by Habich 959 and 968; Munich Coll. 40 mm. lead, 40 mm. lead cliché.

Later imitations and mulings of Gebel medal

8. Uniface. Without normal legend found on obverse of Gebel medal. Instead Dürer's monogram with LVI under it is engraved on the

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right, a cross (†) on the left, IMAGO on the top and 1528 at the bottom. Eidlitz 327, 39 mm. white metal, Germ. Mus.; Imh. 721. 28, Will I, p. 315, No. 6.

9. *Obv.* as in No. 4.
Rev. MIRABI / LIA OPERA / TVA. ET ANI / MA MEA CO / GNOSCET NI / MIS. PS * / . 138 . Rim ornamented, 38 mm. bronze Eidlitz 323; Jehne 169, Mus. Mazz. I, Pl. 42. 3; Will I, p. 314, No. 2.

10. *Obv.* as in No. 4.
Rev. Female figure representing the Indies and followed by other figures offering globe to ship personifying Spain, above RELIQVVM DATVRA, below INDIA; 37 mm. bronze, Eidlitz 321, Jehne 168; also ill. Num. Mitt. 1924, p. 2086. This is a mule. The reverse is from a medal by Gianpaolo Poggini who was active from 1556–1590.[20] A specimen in bronze is in the Historical Museum in Frankfurt, diameter 37.5 mm.

11. *Obv.* as in No. 4.
Rev. St. Christopher crossing a stream and using a tree as a staff, the infant Jesus on his arm and a globe in his hand; at the right a whale, at the left a hermit with a lantern. 40 mm. Eidlitz 324, Imh. 723. 32, Jehne 170, Kluyskens 273. 5.

12. *Obv.* as in No. 4, but without normal legend. Instead the following legend is engraved: IMAGO ALBERTI DVRERI AETATIS SVA LVI *
Rev. Bust of Countess Palatine Susanna (wife of Count Palatine, later Elector Palatine, Otto Heinrich) to the right with engraved legend SVSSANNA . CO . PALA . RHE . DVCISS . BAIO . ZC . ANNO . XXVIII . NA ., 37 mm. white metal, Eidlitz 326, Germ. Mus.; Imh. 721. 29, Will I, p. 315, No. 5, Köhler XXI, 297, ANS 37 mm. bronzed lead; Habich note to 1047; Lanna 827, 37 mm. silver; 828, 36 mm. bronze.

Imitations of the Gebel medal in the sixteenth century

13. Wooden medal by the "Master of the Belzinger." Uniface. Head to the right. Legend on the right side ⁘ ALBERTI ⁘ DVRERI ⁘ engraved on the left: 1529. Habich 829, Bernhart No. 14, 39 mm. (where it is ascribed to Martin Schaffner) Berlin Coll.[21]

[20] Armand I, pp. 237, 238, no. 10.
[21] Kehrer, p. 79, pl. 37.5.

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14. Small cast medal. Uniface. By Hans Schenk, probably 1537. Head to the right. Around ALBERTVS . DVRER . OBDOR . MDCXXVIII[22] 23 mm. Eidlitz 329 (formerly) Dresden Coll.; Habich 2228, Pl. CCXXVII, 2, Bernhart No. 13.

15. Medal.
Obv. Head to the right, very similar to that of Gebel. Legend IMAGO ALBERTI DVRERI . AETATIS SVAE LVI. *
Rev. Legend without wreath around: BE. MA. / OBDORMI= / VIT IN $\overline{XPO}$ / VI. IDVS / APRILIS. M. D. / XXVIII. / VI.C.VI Beaded rim on obverse, 42 mm.; Eidlitz 325 Vienna Coll. 42 mm. silver; Imh. 722. 30; Will I, p. 314; No. 3; ANS silver, lead; Habich note to 986; Mus. Mazz. I, Pl. 41. 5 Munich Coll. 42. 5 mm. silver.

16. Oval uniface medal.
Head to the right. Legend ALBERTUS DURERUS NORICUS INTER PICTORES OMNIUM AETATUM FACILE PRINCEPS AETATIS SUÆ 56
38/34 mm. silver gilt, Eidlitz 328 British Museum.

1561

17. Uniface medal with varying legends. Bust to the left with long locks very smiliar to the Schwarz medal.
   a. Legend: ALBERTI DVRERIS PICORIS GERMANI EFIGIES 1561 ·⁝· 68 mm.; Eidlitz 317, Germ. Mus. white metal cast; Imh. 724. 37; Will I, p. 315, No. 7; Habich pl. XXXVII, 6; Lanna 1157 cast cliché, holed.
   b. Legend: ALBERTI DVRERIS PICTORIS GERMANI EFFIGIES 1561 ·⁝· 67 mm. lead cast holed, Eidlitz note to 317; Bernhart, p. 31,[23] Metzler No. 60 (now Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt).

18. Undated uniface medal. Habich II, 1, p. XCV states that it appeared in 1561. Bust to the left with long locks within depressed field similar to that of the Schwarz medal. Legend on raised rim: ALBERTI . DVRERIS . PICTORIS . GERMANI . EFFIGIES 67 mm. bronze cast writer's coll.; Imh. 724. 35, 65 mm.; Habich, pl. XXXVII, 7 (where it appears to be dated).

[22] Kehrer, p. 79 "in the style of Jakob Bing" (or Bink as Habich and Erman call him), cf. Habich, *Die deutschen Medailleure des XVI, Jahrhunderts*, p. 180, pl. X. 5.
[23] Bernhart believes that this medal belongs to the school of Valentin Maler. Bernhart also mentions a medal in the British Museum which has the legend between two raised circles.

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19. Medals by Hans Petzold (1551–1633)

They imitate the portrait by Hans Schwarz but differ in size and legend on both obverse and reverse. One of them is uniface and without legend. Each one appears to be separately made and therefore unique. Like the Schwarz medal they all have the bust with long locks to the left. They are the following (and there are probably others):

a. Uniface medal without legend. 67 mm. white metal cast, Eidlitz 312, Germ. Mus.

b. *Obv.* Engraved legend on cast medal: ALBERTI DVRERIS PICTORIS GERMANI EFFIGIES A⁰ 1517 *

Rev. Finished in niello. Inscription: HONORI / ALBERTI DÜRERI NORIMBERG / PICTORIS CELEBERRIMI / CERNERE NATURAM SI VIS, ENCERNE DÜRERUM, / HÆC SCULPTURA REFERT OS, HUMEROSQUE VIRI, / IPSA SED ÆTHEREOS MENS ALTA PERAMBULAT IGNEIS. / IMPAR CUI PALLAS, PARRHASIUSQUE FUIT, / INGENII MONUMENTA, LIBROS, TABULASQUE RELIQUIT, / QUAS ADMIRATUR GALLIA, ROMA, BRITO, / FULSIT OLYMPIADAS DENAS & QUATUOR ORBI / HESPERUS HIC CINERES PATRIA SERVAT HUM9. / DENATUS NORIMBERGÆ / VIII IDUM APRILIS / A: DNI MDXXIIX. 78. 5 mm.; the obverse and reverse are held together by a gold plated collar; Eidlitz 316, Germ. Mus.

c. *Obv.* Bust in depressed field, legend engraved on raised band, rim ornamented; Legend: ALBERTI DÜRERI PICTORIS GERMANI APELLIS EFFIGIES ✠

Rev. Legend: D. O. M. S. / ALBERTI possis DÜRERI cernere vultum / IANI BEZOLDI dextera docta facit. / Ingenii vero si vis cognoscere dotes, / Perlege quos scripsit non sine laude libros. / Ossa tegit tumulos; mens occupat atria coeli: / Illius ast albis Fama triumphat equis / Vivat DÜRERI et BEZOLDI nomen honorq$_3$ / Claros nempe viros Musa mori prohibet / Natus Norimb: 20. Mai 1471 / Ob. ibid. 6. Apr. 1528 aetatis 57 / C. H. N. 76. 5 mm. white metal cast, Eidlitz 318 Germ. Mus.; Imh. 729. 37.

C. H. N. according to Eidlitz stands for Christophorus Hoeflich Norimbergensis, who was a Nuremberg poet who died as a young man about 1630.[24] Lanna 1110 does not seem to be the medal in the Germanic Museum described by

[24] Will I, pp. 388f.

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Eidlitz under No. 318, but rather similar to the piece illustrated in Habich II, 1, p. xcv, but not identical with it. Both are therefore listed separately as follows:

d. *Obv.* Same as c. above, possibly in silver or gilt.
Rev. Same as c. above, but etched and enameled.
77 mm. both sides held together by an ornamented rim: Habich II, 1, p. xcv, Habich does not say where the piece he illustrates is located, but it might well be the piece that is described in Will I, 385, where it is said that the field on the obverse and the rim are gilt and the reverse has silver letters on a black enamel ground. Will believes that the piece was made between 1610 and 1630.

e. *Obv.* Same as c. above.
Rev. Not illustrated nor fully described but from indications given probably the same as c. above, except that the silver letters are on red glass instead of black enamel.
76 mm. both sides held together by brass rim, Lanna 1110.

f. *Obv.* Legend: ALBERTI DVRERIS PICTORIS GERMANI EFFIGIES 1561 ·⁘·
Rev. Legend red on silver: HONORI / Alberti Dureri Norimberg: / Pictoris celeberrimi. / Cernere naturam si vis, Encerne Dürerum, / Haec sculptura refert os, humerosq$_3$ Viri / Ipsa sed aethereos mens alta perambulat igneis, / Inpar cui Pallas Parrhasiusq fuit; / Ingenij monumenta, libros, tabulasq$_3$ reliquit, / Quos admiratur Gallia, Roma, Brito, / Fulsit Olympiadas denas & quatuor orbi / Hesperus hic Cineres patria servat hum9 / Denatus Norimbergae / VIII Idum Aprilis / A: Dni MDXXIIX
77. 5 mm. (with rim) silver, made in two parts which are kept together by the rim; Vienna Coll. formerly in Rothschild Coll. cf. also Imh. 725. 45 where the field of the reverse is described as black.

20. Undated medal, possibly not by Petzold, but very similar to obv. of No. 20 c. above (Eidlitz 318).
Bust as on Schwarz medal with long locks to the left in depressed field: Legend around on raised band: ALBERTI DURERI PICTORIS GERMANI APELLIS EFFIGIES ✳
64 mm. iron cliché, Munich Coll.

21. Medals by George Holdermann (active 1610–1629)
Uniface, Dürer with long curls facing half to the left in the act of painting the portrait of Willibald Pirkheimer; legend above: H. BILIBALDI BIRKEYM: ALBER: DVRER .

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Transverse oval 44/45 mm. Habich 2788, Jehne 172, ANS Coll. silver cliché; 46/56 mm. ANS Coll. bronzed lead cliché round holed 51 mm.; bronze cast 44.5 mm. × 55.5 mm. and later silver cast 42.8 mm. × 53.5 mm. in the Historical Museum, Frankfurt.

22. *Obv.* same as above.
Rev. Dürer's monogram.
Eidlitz 330 lead cliché 44/55 mm.; Imh. 578. 4, Will I, p. 315, No. 9, Bernhart No. 15.

23. Medal by Georg Schweigger (1613–1690)

Uniface. Bust with shorter smooth hair to the left. No legend. Eidlitz 331 Brit. Mus. lead cast 81–83 mm.; ANS a brass and a bronze cliché 79 and 74 mm.; Imh. bronze casts 72–78 mm. 723. 33 and 66–71 mm. 723. 34; Will I, p. 313, also according to Kehrer a specimen in the Museo Civico in Padua.

1820

24. Plaque by Johann Ludwig Jachtmann.
Uniface. Bust left with short hair. Around ALBRECHT DÜRER. Below the head the signature and date IACHTMANN F. 1820.
46 mm. Jehne 166 (Jehne has the signature as JACHTMANN, but this would seem to be erroneous as it is very likely the same die as the obverse of nos. 25 and 27 which clearly show IACHTMANN).

25. Medal by Jachtmann. (Rev. by O. Schultz).
Obv. Same as preceding.
Rev. A wreath of oak with field left blank for inscription. Signed O. SCHULTZ FEC.
47 mm. silver Eidlitz 335, ANS.

1828. 300th Anniversary of Death

26. Medal by Daniel Burgschmiet.
Bust to the right with long curls. Around ALBRECHT DÜRER GEB. 20 MAI 1471. GEST. 6 APRIL 1528.
Rev. Eagle with female head and mural crown (from Nuremberg coat of arms) with tablet inscribed ZU SEINEM / GEDÄCHTNIS / VI APRIL / MDCCCXXVIII / NÜRNBERG. Signed BURGSCHMIET
54 mm. brass cast, iron cast. Jehne 176, Eidlitz 338. ANS, Würzbach 1739, Munich Coll. Vienna Coll.

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27. Medal by Jachtmann.

Obv. Bust to left, with short hair. Around ALBRECHT—DÜRER, below GEB. D. 20. MAI 1471. GEST. D. 6. APRIL 1528. Signed on truncation IACHTMANN F. 1820.

Rev. Genius holding a tablet inscribed GEDÄCHTNIS / FEIER Below ZU BERLIN D. 18. APR. 1828 Signed J

47 mm. silver, bronze, silvered, Jehne 174, Eidlitz 334, ANS, Wurzbach 1471. Note: Eidlitz quotes Kluyskens I, p. 275, No. 21 as describing a similar medal in lead 45 mm. in diameter but omitting the dates of Dürer's birth and death.

28. Medal by Johann Jakob Neuss.

Obv. Bust to the right with short hair. Around ALBERTVS-DVRERVS Signed NEUSS

Rev. ALB . DVRERI / EGREGII . PATRIAE / DECORIS . MEMORIAM / TER . SAECVLAREM / VIII IDVS APRILIS / MDCCCXXVIII / GRATA . RECOLIT / GERMANIA / —/ NAT . XIII . CAL . IVN . MCCCCLXXI / DENAT . VIII . D . APR . MDXXVIII / NORIMBERGAE

33 mm. silver, bronze, tin with copper plug, white metal, Jehne 175, Forster 522, Eidlitz 336, ANS, Wurzbach 1740, Munich Coll., Vienna Coll.; also in lead uniface (obverse only) in writer's coll.

29. Medal by Johann Thomas Stettner.

Obv. Bust to the right with long curls. Around ALBRECHT—DÜRER. Signed STETTNER .

Rev. Eagle with female head and mural crown (from Nuremberg coat of arms). Around A. DÜRERS III. SECULARFEST D. VI. APRIL M. DCCCXXVIII *

31 mm. silver, brass, Jehne 177, Eidlitz 337, ANS, Munich Coll. No date (1833).

30. Prize medal for Art Exhibition by Anton Paul Dallinger.

Obv. Busts of Dürer and Behaim facing. Around MARTIN BEHAIM ALBRECHT DÜRER, below the busts 1430 and 1470 respectively; in exergue HIS GAUDET NORIS ALUMNIS

Rev. Noris seated to the right, at her feet bee hive, palette, compass etc., in the backround stele with head of Hermes, in exergue HAE TIBI ERUNT / ARTES; Signed DALLINGER

44 mm. silver, Gebert *Bl. f. Mzfr.* 1914, 5572, ANS.

1840. Erection of Dürer Monument in Nuremberg

31. Bavarian Double Taler by Karl Friedrich Voigt.

Obv. Bust of King Ludwig I to the right. Around LUDWIG I KOENIG VON BAYERN Signed C. VOIGT. Rim beaded.

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Rev. Statue of Dürer. Legend STANDBILD A. DÜRERS ERRICHTET ZU NÜRNBERG 1840.
Edge ** DREY—EIN HALB GULDEN ** VII E F M
38 mm. silver, Jehne 178, Eidlitz 340, Schwalbach 25, p. 9, ANS.

32. Medal by Lauer.
Obv. Bust with long curls to the left. Around ALBRECHT DÜRER GEB. 20 MAI 1471 GEST. 6. APRIL 1528
Rev. Statue of Dürer. Around DAS IHM ERRICHTETE MONUMENT IN SEINER VATERSTADT, in exergue NÜRNB. 21 MAI / 1840 Signed LAUER
32 mm. silver, white metal, Jehne 179, Eidlitz 339, Munich Coll.

33. Medal by Johann Georg Löffler, Sr.
Uniface. The statue, around ALBRECHT—DÜRER, in exergue ERRICHTET D. 21 MAI / 1840
65 mm. lead, Eidlitz 340a, Num. Mitt. Nürnberg, Oct. 4, 1926, 627; ANS.

34. Medal by Stettner.
Obv. The Monument, around A. DÜRER—DENKMAL
Rev. In laurel wreath ERRICHTET / DEN 21. MAI 1840 . / ZU / NÜRNBERG Signed STETTNER
38 mm. silver, silvered copper, coppered lead, white metal, Gebert, Bl. f. Mzfr. 1914, 5575, ANS, Munich Coll. This medal exists also in uniface specimens of the obverse only, gilt in a glass frame, writer's coll.

1853. May Festival of the Albrecht Dürer Verein in Vienna

35. Token in the shape of a six pointed star.
Obv. Bust with long curls to the right surrounded by six small shields with inscription 20 / M / A / I / 18 / 53
Rev. Coat of arms surrounded by six beetles.
55/43 mm. bronze with loop, Wurzbach 1742, Vienna Coll.

1854. May Festival of the Albrecht Dürer Verein in Vienna

36. Token struck as a cliché in the approximate shape of a shield.
Uniface. Bust facing surrounded by oak leaves, two beetles and a palette, inscription on ribbons SEID EINIG. 20. MAI 1854 ALBRECHT DÜRRER
69/53 mm. bronze, Wurzbach 1743, Vienna Coll.

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1856. May Festival of the Albrecht Dürer Verein in Vienna

37. Medallion by Oswald Steinböck.
Uniface. Bust of Dürer surrounded by oak leaves and lilies of the valley; two coats of arms with attributes of the fine arts, a scroll below. Signed OSWALD STEINBÖCK.
Galvano, Eidlitz 341, *Mitt. d. Cl. f. Mz. & Med.-Freunde,* Apr. 1896, p. 47.

1857. May Festival of the Albrecht Dürer Verein in Vienna

38. Medallion by Oswald Steinböck.
Uniface. Bust of Dürer in a wreath of oak and lilies of the valley. Below, attributes of the fine arts. Above a scroll. Dates of Dürer's birth and death. Signed OSWALD STEINBÖCK.
Galvano, Eidlitz 341a, *Mitt. d. Cl. f. Mz. & Med.-Freunde* Apr. 1896, p. 47.

1858. Albrecht Dürer Verein in Vienna

39. Uniface medal with portrait of Dürer. Mentioned under No. 1831 in the sale of the Andorfer Collection by Adolph Hess, Oct. 7, 1912.

1860. Albrecht Dürer Verein in Vienna

40. Medal by Oswald Steinböck.
Obv. Bust to the left, around in Gothic script ALBRECHT DÜRRER KÜNSTLERVEREIN, signed O. STEINBÖCK 1860
Rev. Coat of arms of Vienna with superimposed artists' implements i. e. palette, chisel and hammer, compass and triangle.
68. 5 mm. bronze with loop, Wurzbach 1744, Vienna Coll.

1871. 400th Anniversary of birth

41. Medal by Lauer. (Reverse by H. Strobel).
Obv. Bust with long curls to the right between coat of arms and Dürer monogram, around ALBRECHT . DÜRER . GEB: 21. MAI . 1471 . GEST: 6: APRIL 1528 ⁘
Rev. City view of Nuremberg from the west with an avenue of poplars and a railway train. Above a sun burst, around ZUM 400 JÄHRIGEN GEDÄCHTNISS in exergue 1471–1871 Signed LAUER and ST.
40 mm. bronze, Wurzbach 1476, Eidlitz 342, ANS, Munich Coll.

1893. Congress of Art Historians in Nuremberg

42. Medal by Lauer.
Obv. Bust with long curls to the right between branches of laurel Below; DEN TEILNEHMERN . DES / KUNST . HIST: KONGRESSES / IM . SEPTEMBER . 1893 / GEWIDMET . VON . DER . STADT / NÜRNBERG

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Rev. View of the Nuremberg City Hall from the northwest corner, in exergue DAS RATHAUS ZU / NÜRNBERG Signed LAUER
50 mm. bronze, Wurzbach to 1476, Eidlitz 344, ANS.

1894

43. Uniface Medal of the Albrecht Dürer Verein in Vienna with portrait of Dürer. Mentioned under No. 1831 in the sale of the Andorfer Collection by Adolph Hess, October 7, 1912.

1896. Bavarian Industrial Exposition

44. Medal by Lauer.
Obv. Bust facing with cap around ALBRECHT—DÜRER
Rev. Bavarian and third Nuremberg coat of arms and date 1896 in wreath. Around BAYERISCHE LANDESAUSSTELLUNG * NURNBERG *
50 mm. silver (or silvered), aluminum, Eidlitz 345, *Mitt. d. Cl. f. Mz. & Med.-Freunde*, September, 1897, p. 214, No. 84; Munich Coll.

1912

45. Medal by Julius Schneider.
Obv. Bust to right; below Dürer monogram between DÜRER—BUND
Rev. Stylized rose garden with small bird; below 1902–1912.
Octagonal, 54.6 × 36.6 mm. copper, Munich Coll.

1921. 450th Birthday of Dürer

46. Medal by C. Balmberger, published by Carl Friedreich Gebert.
Obv. Bust to left, around ALBRECHT . DÜRER – 1471 . 1921
Rev. City view from the East; in exergue: ZUR 450. JAHR-FEIER / 20. MAI 1921 / NÜRNBERG / C. F. G. N.
33 mm. 15 gr. silver, aluminum; 100 pieces struck; Num. Mitt. 1921, p. 1776, ANS.

1923

47. Plaque by F. Gill.
Uniface. Bust to the left, further to the left in bas relief a figure of Eve; in exergue ALBERTVS DVRERVS NORICVS / AETATIS ANNO XXVIII signed 1923 / F. Gill.
Rectangular 70/54 mm. bronze; Wurzb. 1747, Vienna Coll.

1928. 400th Anniversary of Dürer's death

48. 3 Reichsmark piece of the German Reich. By Nida-Rümelin.
Obv. Bust to the left; around within dotted circle ALBRECHT . DÜRER. GEDENKJAHR ⁘ 1928 ⁘

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Rev. Eagle; around in dotted circle (above) ⁘ DEUTSCHES REICH ⁘ (below) REICHS 3 MARK; mintmark D (Munich) Edge inscription EHRET EURE DEUTSCHEN MEISTER
27 mm. 16 gr. Jaeger 332, ANS.

49. Medal by Balmberger, published by C. F. Gebert.

Obv. Bust to the right between / 1471–1528; around ⁘ IMAGO ⁘ ALBERTI ⁘ DVRERI ⁘ AETATIS ⁘ SVAE ⁘ LVI

Rev. Dürer's house between two Dürer monograms, below the arms of the artists' society in Nuremberg; around ZUM 400. TODESTAG 6. April 1928—ALBRECHT DÜRER'S WOHNHAUS NÜRNBERG
42. mm. 30 gr. numbered on the edge, silver, ANS

50. Medal by Balmberger, published by Gebert.

Obv. Bust to the left; around ALBRECHT DÜRER – ⁘ 1471 † 1528

Rev. City view from the East; in exergue ZUM 400. TODESTAG / 6. APRIL 1928 / NÜRNBERG
34 mm. 16 gr. numbered on the edge, silver, writer's coll.; gold 28 gr., Frankfurt, Hist. Mus. Num. Mitt. 1928, p. 259.

51. Medal by Josef Bernhart.

Obv. Bust facing between monogram and date; above ALBRECHT DÜRER-IAHR NVRNBERG

Rev. Dürer's arms and third coat of arms of the City; above EHRET EVRE / DEVTSCHEN MEISTER!
36 mm. 25 gr. silver, ANS.

52. Medal by Maximilian Dasio.

Obv. Bust to the right in laurel wreath; around . ALBRECHT . DÜRER . NÜRNBERG .; below 1471–1528; Signed . D– –.

Rev. Harpy to the right with Dürer monogram; around VIERHUNDERTJÄHRIGE . DÜRERGEDÄCHTNISFEIER . 1928.
60 mm. 58. 6 gr. silver, ANS, bronze, Frankfurt, Hist. Mus.

53. Medal by Dasio.

Obv. Same as preceding medal.

Rev. Fortune on sphere to the right between 19–28; around . VIERHUNDERTJÄHRIGE . GEDÄCHTNISFEIER .
60 mm. 72. 3 gr. silver ANS Coll., bronze, Num. Mitt. 1928, Frankfurt, Hist. Mus.

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54. Medal by Dasio.
Obv. Bust to the left; around . ALBRECHT . DÜRER . NÜRNBERG . 1471–1528
Rev. Two angels holding Dürer monogram; below: 1928
27 mm. brass with loop ANS.

54a Plaque by A. F. manufacutred at Lauchhammer. Uniface. Bust facing, small monogram in left field. In exergue: ALBRECHT / 1528 DÜRER 1928 / ZUM 400 / JÄHRIGEN GEDÄCHTNIS.
152 / 96 mm. Iron.

55. Medal by Kurt Goetz.
Obv. Bust to the left; around ALBRECHT . DÜRER . 1528–1928.
Rev. Angel with Dürer's arms and Dürer monogram; around EHRT . EVRE . DEVTSCHEN . MEISTER
60. 5 mm. 44. 3 gr. silver ANS.

56. Medal by Goetz.
Same as preceding but smaller.
36 mm. 17. 5 gr. (in gold), writer's coll.; also other weights in gold and platinum, 25 gr. (in silver), ANS.

57. Medal by Fritz Hörnlein.
Obv. Bust to the right, above ALBRECHT DÜRER
Rev. Dürer monogram in wreath, below 400 JÄHRIGER / TODESTAG / 6. APRIL 1928.
38 mm. 19. 8 gr., silver, ANS, struck in the Saxonian State Mint.

58. Medal by August Hummel.
Obv. Bust to the left, further to the left: 1528/1928, above ALBRECHT DURER ÷
Rev. Helmeted arms of Dürer, around on ribbon ZUM 400 JÄHRIGEN TODESTAG DES GROSSEN DEUTSCHEN MEISTERS
59 mm. 85. 1 gr. silver ANS, bronze (Num. Mitt. 1928, p. 259).

59. Medal by Hummel.
Same as preceding but smaller.
34 mm. 15 gr. silver, ANS.

60. Medal by Philipp Kittler.
Obv. Bust to the left, around ALBRECHT—DÜRER .
Rev. Large shield on which UND WIRCKLICH / STECKT DIE KUNST / GANZ IN DER / NATUR WER SIE / HERAUS

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KANN / REISSEN DER / HAT SIE / 1528 / 1928; above the shield a harpy, on both sides a smaller shield, the one on the left with the arms of the artists' Society in Nuremberg, the one on the right with the Dürer monogram, below ZUM 400 IÄHRIGEN TODESTAG
36 mm. 24. 5 gr. silver, ANS.

61. Plaque by George Lindner.
Uniface. Bust facing half to the left with tasseled cap; below Dürer monogram between NÜRN-BERG and 1528-1928.
132. 8/77. 6 mm. bronze, Munich Coll.

62. Plaque by Meyer & Wilhelm.
Uniface. Bust facing half to the right with tasseled cap.
below: ALBRECHT / DÜRER / ZUM 400. JÄHR. TODESTAG 1928
65/36 mm. silvered ANS.

63. Medal by Ödön Moiret. Membership medal for the year of the Society of the Hungarian Friends of the Medal.

Obv. Bust facing, above DÜRER . EMLÉ-KÉRE. 1528-1928 (to the memory of Dürer)

Rev. Kneeling angel facing left with Dürer's arms, around ÖSEINEK . BÖLCSÖJE . MAGYAR . FÖL.-DÖN.-RIN-GOTT . (The cradle of his ancestors stood on Hungarian soil).
75. 8 mm. silver, bronze, Huszar—Procopius No. 3632, Vienna Coll. Annual membership medal of the Hungarian Society of the Friends of Medals for 1928.

64. Medal by Nida-Rümelin.

Obv. Bust to the left without legend.

Rev. Harpy between 1528-1928, below DIE . STADT / NÜRN-BERG / DEM . ANDENKEN / IHRES . GROS= / SEN . SOH-NES / A . DÜRER
74 mm. 86 gr., silver, Frankfurt, Hist. Mus.

65. Medal by K. Roth.

Obv. Bust facing; around ALBRECHT . DÜRER ✠ MDXXVIII-MCMXXVIII .

Rev. St. Paul facing left (from the painting of the Four Apostles by Dürer); around VIERHUNDERT-JAHR * FEIER .
36 mm. 14 gr. (gold) ANS, 25 gr. (silver) ANS, struck in the Bavarian State Mint.

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66. So-called 20 Mark-piece by Wild.
Obv. Bust facing between Dürer monogram and dates.
Rev. 20 / GOLDMARK / 7. 14 GRAMM / KURSFÄHIGES GOLD / 1000. FEIN / 1928.
21 mm. 7. 1 gr. gold; Helbing Auction Cat. No. 107 (March, 1958), No. 1752, no description nor illustration available.

67. Medal. Cast, unsigned.
Obv. Bust facing between A—D.
Rev. Dürer's house between 1528–1928; above A D, below NÜRNBERG
80 mm. silvered, bronze, writer's coll.

68. Plaque. Unsigned.
Uniface. Head facing half to the right.
71/51 mm. bronze, Ball Price List No. 20 (Dec. 1930), no detailed description nor illustration available.

Undated medals and plaques

69. Medal by Lauer.
Obv. Bust with long hair to the right between birth and death dates; below the latter the third coat of arms of the City on a laurel branch; around ALBRECHT-DÜRER
Rev. Dürer's house; above scroll with inscription ALBRECHT-DÜRER . HAUS ZU NÜRNBERG; below Dürer's arms.
60 mm. bronze, silvered, Eidlitz 347.

70. Medal by Lauer.
Obv. Bust facing with long hair and cap; above around ALBRECHT DÜRER
Rev. Cartouche with inscription in gothic script Erinnerung / an / Nürnberg
50 mm. bronze, Eidlitz 350, ANS.

71. Plaque by Lauer.
Uniface. Bust to the right, ornamented rim, above NAT. 1471 / DENAT. 1528; below (in gothic script) *Albrecht Dürer*; in the upper corners a coat of arms and a palette.
35/25 mm. bronze; Eidlitz 346, Lauer Cat. 28, pl. 138, 1324, Frankfurt, Hist. Mus.

72. Medal by Lauer.
Obv. Bust with long hair to the right, around ALBRECHT DÜRER GEB. 21. MAI 1471 GEST. 6. APRIL 1528.
Rev. Dürer's house; above ALBRECHT DÜRER-HAUS
27 mm. bronze Eidlitz 348, ANS.

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73. Medal by Lauer.
Obv. Same as preceding.
Rev. Same as preceding except that it has ALBR. instead of ALBRECHT.
27 mm. bronze, silvered (the specimen in the ANS Coll. is only silvered and not silver as Eidlitz says), Eidlitz note to 348, ANS.

74. Plaque by Meyer & Wilhelm.
Uniface. Bust facing with long hair; above 1471–1528; below ALBRECHT DÜRER
51/39 mm. bronze, Eidlitz 351, ANS.

75. Medal by Orth (Successor to Ant. Pittner Nachf.).
Listed by Eidlitz as No. 349 after Forrer, without description.

76. Medal by Radnitzki.
Listed by Eidlitz as No. 343 after Forrer, without description.

77. Medal. Unsigned. Hollow (a cliché).
Uniface. Bust facing with long hair; around top * 1471 * Albrecht Dürer (in gothic script) ✠ 1528 ✠
60 mm. tin with loop, ANS.

78. Medal. Uniface. Unsigned.
Bust of Dürer to the right with shorter hair within raised circle. Rim raised and moulded. No legend.
About 60 mm., Eidlitz 332, British Museum.

79. Plaque. Unsigned.
Uniface. Bust facing with long hair and cap above GEB: 21: MAI 1471 . GEST: 6: APRIL 1528 below ALBRECHT DÜRER
55/37 mm., bronze Eidlitz 350a, ANS.

80. Medal. Unsigned.
Obv. Bust of Dürer very slightly to the left with long curls; on the left ALBRECHT DÜRER VEREIN / WIEN .
Rev. Naked youth sitting on a stone looking to the right and drawing on a pad, behind him an angel with a wreath; in the background the rising sun.
37 mm. bronze, Wurzbach 1745, Vienna Coll.

81. Medal. Octagonal. Unsigned.
18/16 mm. bronze, Jehne 173, Eidlitz 333 without description. Jehne and after him Eidlitz say that the medal dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

HERBERT J. ERLANGER

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PLATES

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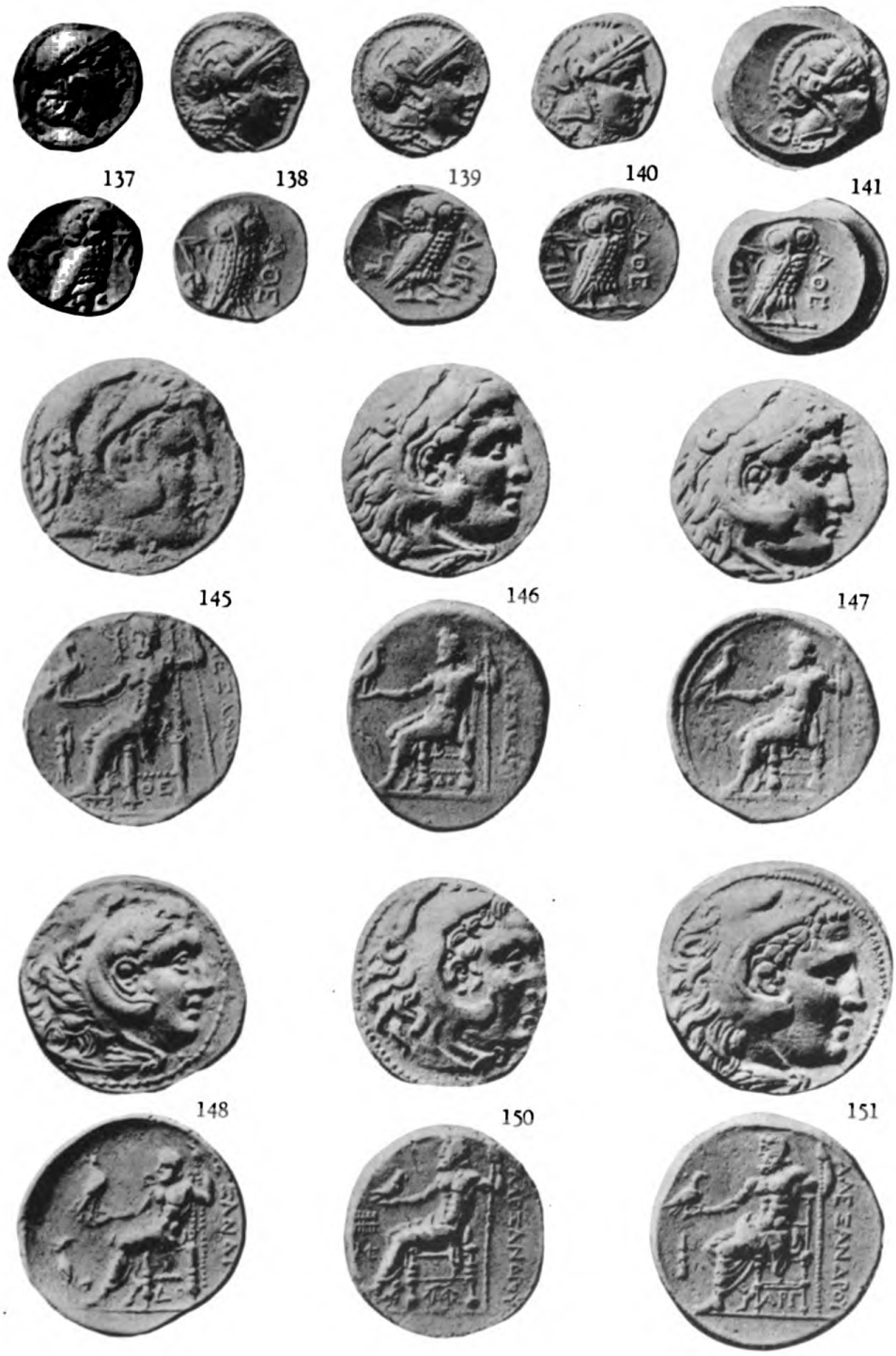
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THE CROWN OF NAXOS

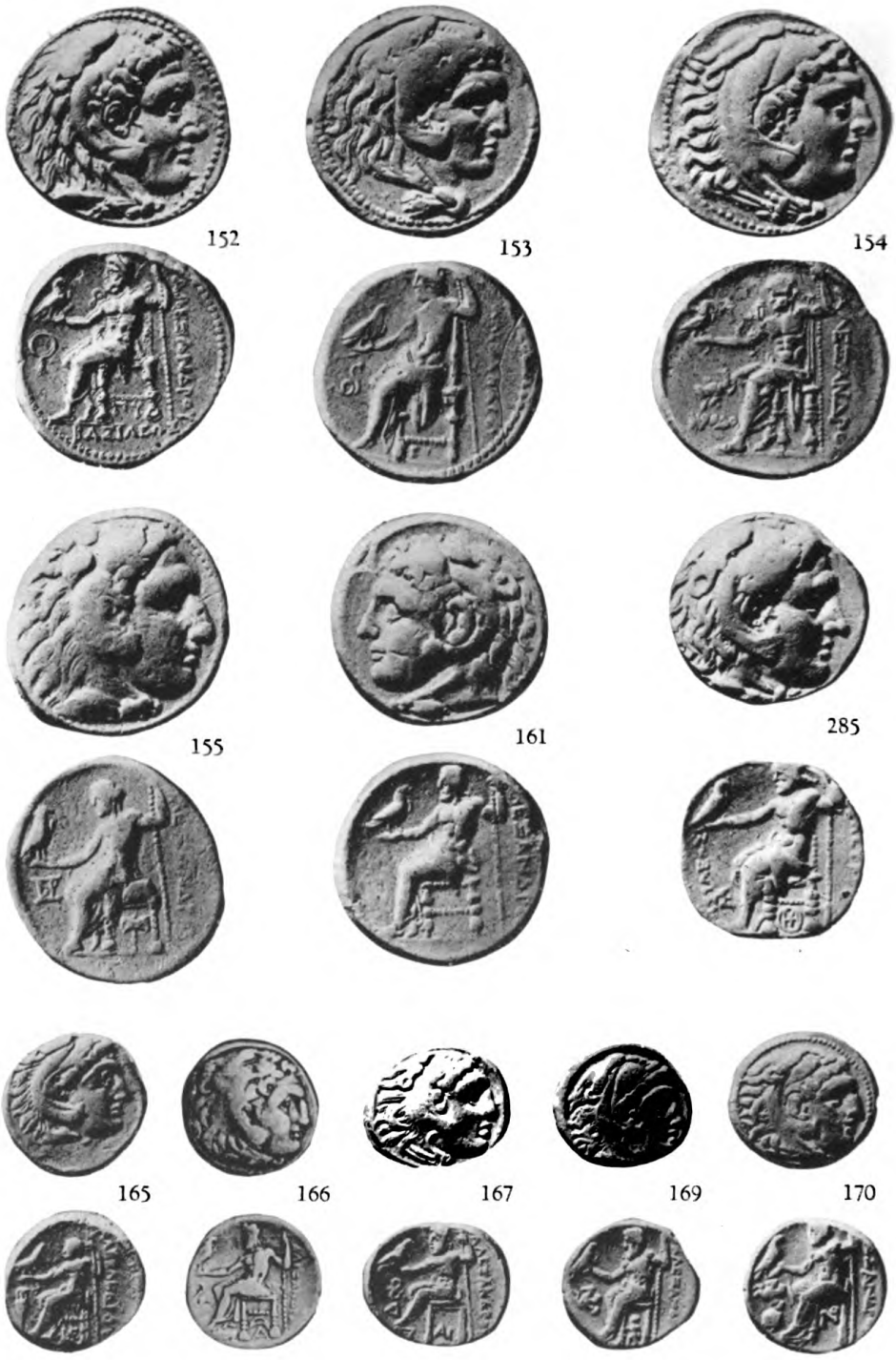
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III



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VII



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B-4 B-5 B-6

B-7

ARGOS

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XI



B-8 C-9 C-10

D-11 E-12 F-13

F-14

ARGOS

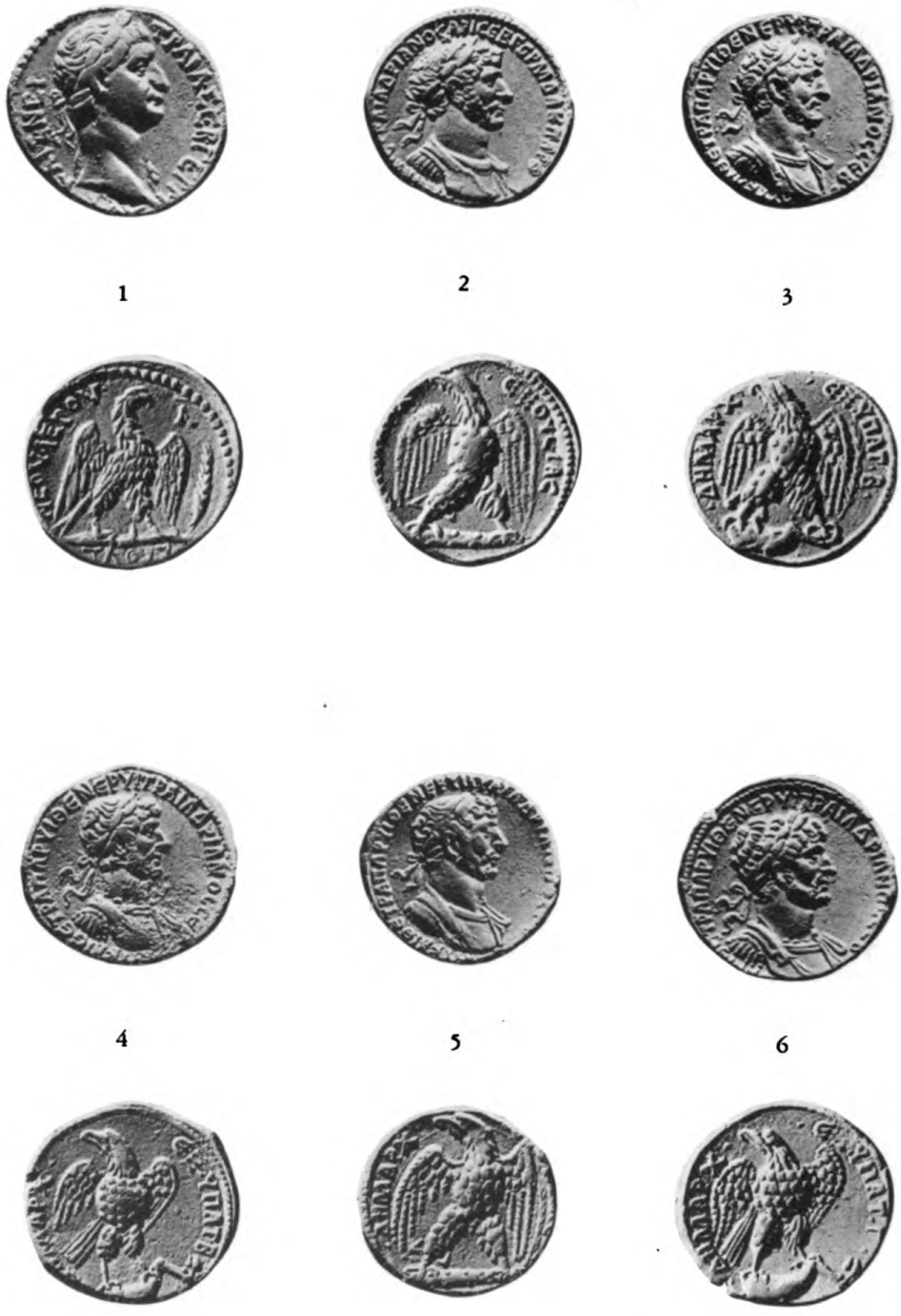
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MEGALOPOLIS

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XIII



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BOSTON COLLEGE HOARD

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COIN PORTRAIT OF PTOLEMY VI

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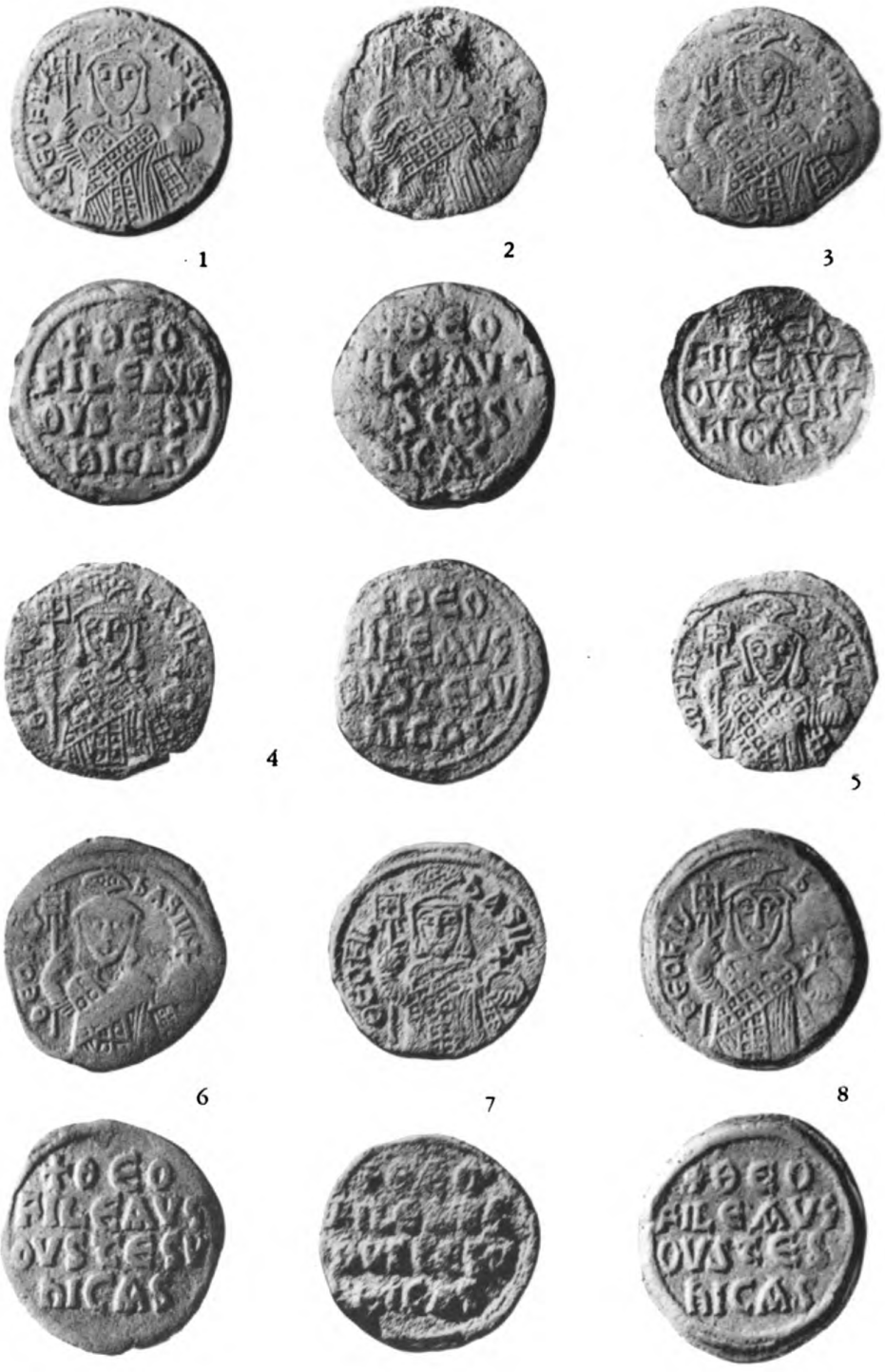
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THEOPHILUS. GROUP **A**

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THEOPHILUS. GROUPS **A** AND **Γ**

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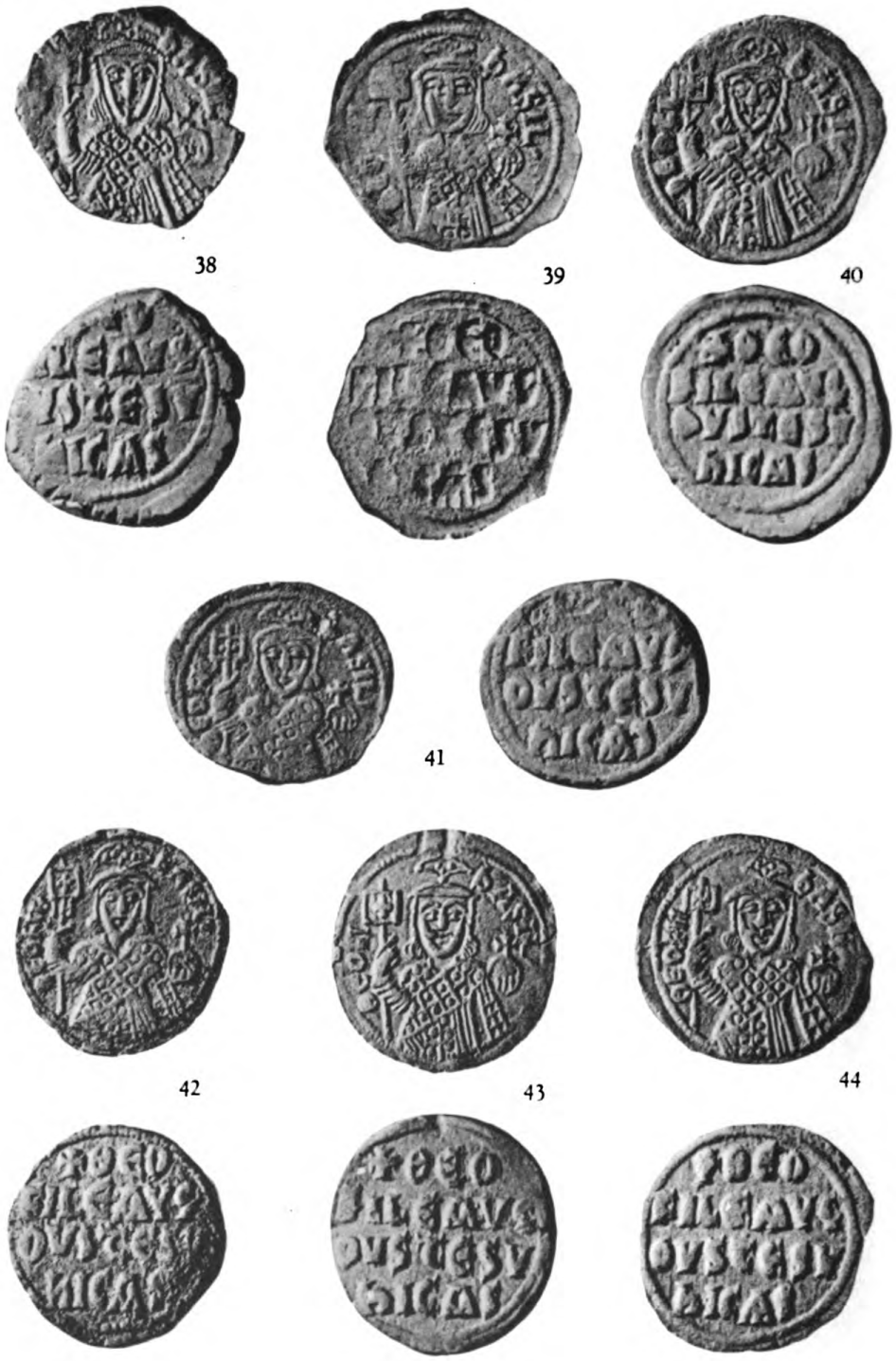
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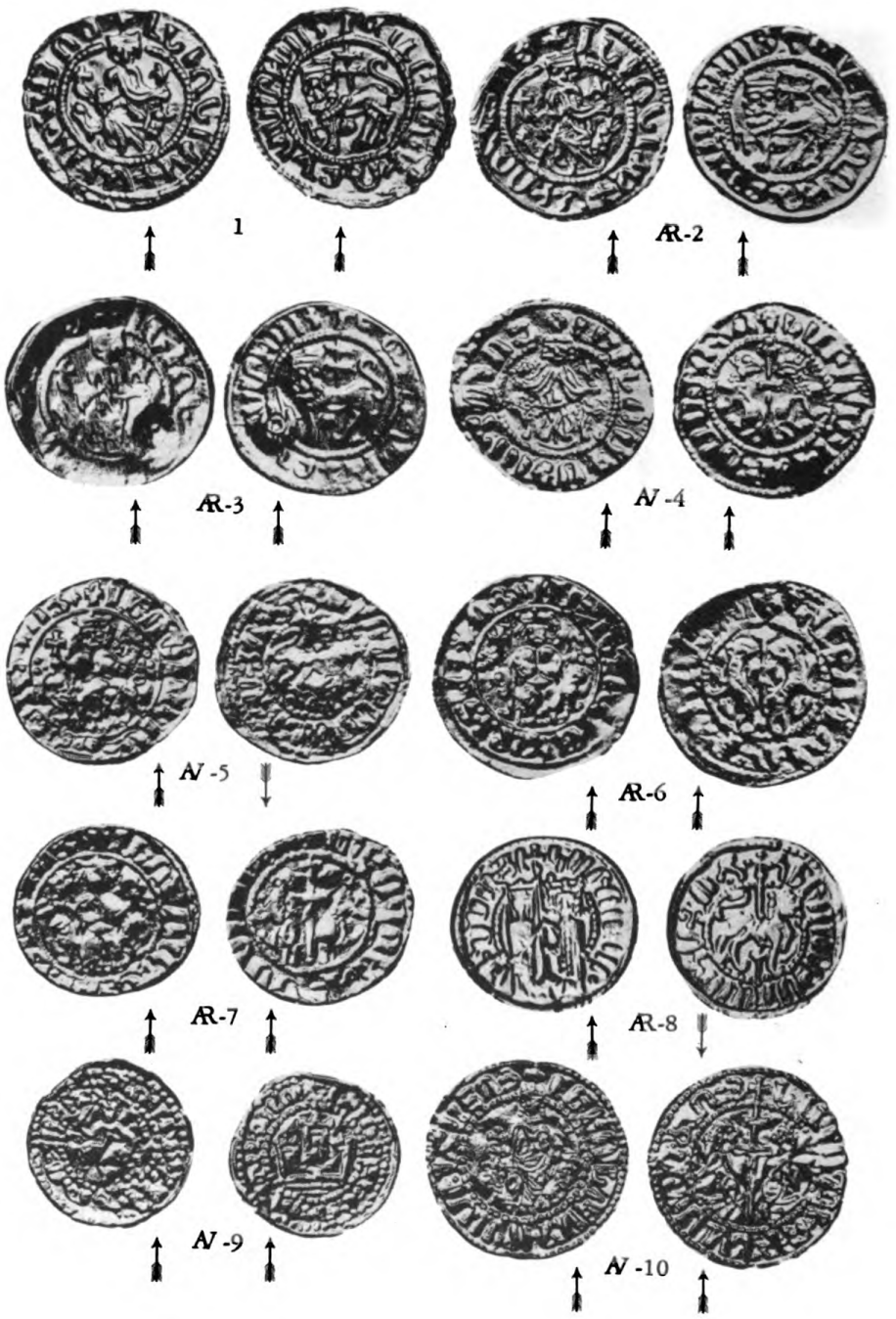
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DE L'AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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ARMENIAN GOLD COINS

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TRANSOXIANA

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ADDITIONS TO COINAGE FOR COLONIAL VIRGINIA

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Obverse with Low Period after GEORGIVS.



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Reverses with 7 String Harp



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See original monograph for other 7 string harp reverses.

Reverses with 8 String Harp



V



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X



Y



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MEDALLIC PORTRAIT OF ALBRECHT DÜRER

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MEDALLIC PORTRAIT OF ALBRECHT DÜRER

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MEDALLIC PORTRAIT OF ALBRECHT DÜRER

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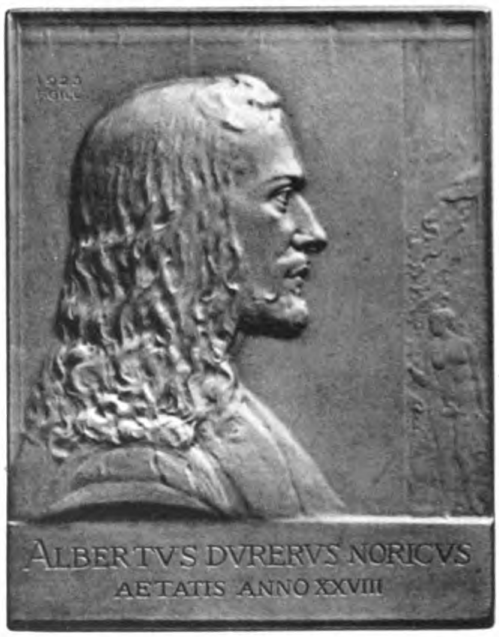
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MEDALLIC PORTRAIT OF ALBRECHT DÜRER

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MEDALLIC PORTRAIT OF ALBRECHT DÜRER

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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MUSEUM NOTES

XI

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Founded 1858 · Incorporated 1865

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH & 156TH STREETS
NEW YORK, N.Y., 10032

PURPOSES: The Society was founded for the collection and preservation of coins, medals, decorations and paper money and for the investigation of their history and other subjects connected therewith.

MEMBERSHIP: Applications for membership are welcomed from all interested in numismatics. Inquiries regarding membership should be addressed to the Secretary of the Society.

DUES: The annual dues for an Associate Membership are $10.00. Issues of the *Notes and Monographs*, *Museum Notes*, *Hispanic Numismatic Series*, and *Numismatic Literature* are distributed to all members.

PUBLICATIONS: The *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* consist of separately issued publications, each on a single topic, of which usually several appear each year. *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* is a publication, irregular in appearance, consisting of brief notes and papers, principally on items in the Society's collections. *Numismatic Literature* is a quarterly listing current numismatic publications with abstracts of their content. *Numismatic Studies* is a series accommodating works in a larger format. The *Hispanic Numismatic Series*, published in cooperation with the Hispanic Society of America, consists of publications devoted to the coinage of the Iberian Peninsula, and is based on the collections of the Hispanic Society.

MUSEUM: The Society maintains a museum located in uptown Manhattan, New York City, which houses its offices, collections and library. Collections embrace coins of all periods from their inception to modern times, medals and decorations. Selections from its cabinets are on display in an exhibition. The library, consisting of about 20,000 volumes, covers all branches of numismatics.

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

MUSEUM NOTES

XI

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
NEW YORK
1964

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DAMARETE'S LION

(See Plates I–II)

I. THE SEAL OF THE EMMENIDS

When the Duke de Luynes identified the early dekadrachm of Syracuse (Plate I, 1) as the Damareteion of ancient tradition, he established a numismatic landmark of great importance.[1] Not only is the date of the Damareteion fixed to 480 B.C., but the historical circumstances of its issue are known in some detail. In recent years Willy Schwabacher has contributed a lucid summary of scholarship on this subject, and Heinrich Chantraine has explored the political significance of the series.[2] But the relation of Damarete to the coin nicknamed for her remains far from clear.

Two Greek encyclopedias compiled under the Roman Empire, those of Pollux and Hesychios, refer to the Damareteion.[3] The historian Diodoros, who wrote in the first century B.C., gives fuller information, appended to his account of the successful Carthaginian embassy sent to Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, after the destruction of the Carthaginian army at Himera in 480 B.C. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι παραδόξως τῆς σωτηρίας τετευχότες ταῦτά τε δώσειν προσεδέξαντο καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ Γέλωνος Δαμαρέτῃ προσωμολόγησαν. αὕτη γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιωθεῖσα συνήργησε πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ στεφανωθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις χρυσίου, νόμισμα ἐξέκοψε τὸ κληθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτειον· τοῦτο δ'εἶχε μὲν Ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς δέκα, ἐκλήθη δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ πεντηκοντάλιτρον.

> Having thus saved themselves unexpectedly, the Carthaginians undertook to carry out Gelon's terms, and more than that, they promised to give a gold crown to Damarete,

[1] H. Duc de Luynes, "Du Démarétion," *Annali dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 2 (1830), 81 ff.
[2] W. Schwabacher, *Das Demareteion* (*Opus Nobile* 7, Bremen, 1958); H. Chantraine, "Syrakus und Leontinoi," *JfNGG* 8 (1957), 7–19.
[3] Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 9:85; Hesychios, *Lexicon*, *ad verb.*

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> Gelon's wife, who, at their request, had been of the greatest assistance in the conclusion of the peace. Rewarded with a crown of one hundred talents gold, she caused a coin to be struck which was called after her the Damareteion. The coin weighed ten Attic drachms, and among the Sicilians it passed as a fifty litra piece on account of its weight.
>
> 11:26:3

The historical core of Diodoros' story is this: after Himera the Syracusans struck a dekadrachm which became known as the Damareteion. To this he adds an explanation: the coinage was made possible by the Carthaginian gift of a gold crown to Damarete in recognition of her good offices during the negotiation of the peace treaty. The tradition preserved in Pollux is that Damarete collected the jewelry of the women of Syracuse to aid Gelon's war effort. Hesychios says that the contribution of her own jewelry provided for the coinage.

These tales and Diodoros' story of the gold crown all smack of the uninformed conjectures of the man in the street. The striking of the dekadrachm denomination as well as the addition of a laurel wreath to the reverse head of Artemis-Arethousa marks the Damareteion and its associated tetradrachms and fractions as a victory coinage.[4] This accords perfectly with the historical core of Diodoros' account, but the historical circumstances alone do not explain the origin of the Damareteion nickname.

Chantraine has added immeasurably to our understanding of the Damareteion by examining it in connection with the contemporary coinage of Leontinoi.[5] In the late 480's Leontinoi and Syracuse accounted for the vast majority, if not all, of the coins issued in Gelon's empire except, of course, at Gela. The subjection of Naxos by Gelon's predecessor Hippokrates about 492 resulted in the suppression of the coinage of the oldest Greek colony in the island. Kamarina and Catane do not seem to have struck coins before the middle of the fifth century. At the moment of the Carthaginian invasion, moreover, Syracuse and Leontinoi were cooperating closely in the issue of their coins. A reverse

[4] Cf. R. R. Holloway, "The Crown of Naxos," *ANSMN* 9 (1962), 1–8.
[5] Op.cit., to which the reader is referred for the pertinent ancient sources and modern discussions.

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with the Syracusan Artemis-Arethousa head type was cut with the legend ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ (PLATE I, 2). The chariot obverse employed with this die shares with the Damareteion group obverses the symbol of a lion added in the exergue. The same obverse type with the lion in the exergue is also found in conjunction with two Leontinoi Apollo head reverses (PLATE I, 3, 4). At Leontinoi the symbol seems particularly significant since another running lion appears below the Apollo head of these two reverses. The reverse lion accompanying the Apollo head is surely the *parasemon* of the city, the canting badge also employed as a full type in the Leontinoi coinage. But why two lions? Surely the lion of the obverse exergue must have the same meaning as its double at Syracuse.

Head's idea that the lion of the Damareteion might have symbolized defeated Africa no longer seems satisfactory.[6] Evans saw the lion as the symbol of Pythian Apollo, whom Gelon honored, among other gods, after Himera.[7] At Syracuse, however, Gelon's principal victory monument was the new temple of Athene,[8] and Evans' interpretation does not clarify Damarete's relation to the coin which came to be called by her name.

In emphasizing the political importance of the lion symbol which connects Syracuse and Leontinoi, Chantraine raises the question of its relation to the governing tyrannies of the two cities.[9] The Syracusan tyrant Gelon, son of Deinomenes, began his career as an officer of Hippokrates of Gela in the 490's. After serving as Hippokrates' lieutenant during the reduction of all of eastern Sicily save Syracuse, Gelon succeeded him in 487 and two years later added Syracuse to his domains. Gelon's brother Hieron remained as governor of Gela, and both married daughters of Theron, the new tyrant of Akragas. Consequently, Gelon's wife Damarete held a dynastic link between the Deinomenids of Syracuse and the Emmenids of Akragas.

[6] B. V. Head, "On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse," *NC* (1874), p. 10.
[7] A. J. Evans, "Syracusan 'Medallions' and their Engravers," *NC* (1891), pp. 325–334.
[8] Cf. B. Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica* 2 (Milan *et alibi*, 1938), p. 230ff.
[9] Op.cit., to which the reader is again referred for the pertinent sources and discussions.

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A case can be made for believing that in 480 Leontinoi was ruled by a henchman of Gelon's, Ainesidamos, son of Pataikos.[10] Apparently rule through lieutenants, either members of the tyrant's family or of his inner circle, was the only system of governing dependent cities which occurred to these Sicilian dynasts. Gela was ruled by Gelon's own brother. Kamarina was held by Glaukos of Karystos. At Zankle, Hippokrates had installed an Ionian refugee named Skythes, whose son was also to serve Gelon. One of Gelon's companions in Hippokrates' service was Ainesidamos, son of Pataikos. They remained on good terms during the period of unrest which brought Gelon to power at Gela. At some unspecified time Leontinoi did have a tyrant named Ainesidamos, and Gelon would almost certainly have used a henchman to rule the city he had taken over with Hippokrates' other domains. Plausible historical conjecture identifies Ainesidamos, son of Pataikos, as the tyrant of Leontinoi and places his rule under Gelon. Remarkably enough, Ainesidamos was also the name of the father of Theron of Akragas, the grandfather of Damarete. Thus two questions hang about Ainesidamos, son of Pataikos. Can it be proved that he was tyrant of Leontinoi? And was he an Emmenid? The lion symbol in the exergue of the Damareteion is a clue.

In the Second Olympian Ode, composed in honor of Theron of Akragas in 476, Pindar gives the genealogy of the Emmenid family.[11] It was traced back to Thersandros, the son of Argeia and Polyneikes, thus making the Emmenids a branch of the Labdacid family of Bronze Age Thebes. The marriage of Polyneikes and Argeia is part of the story of the civil wars which followed the death of Oidipous when Polyneikes was ousted from the city by his brother Eteokles and sought aid at the court of Adrastos. The tale of his arrival in Argos is told by the mythographer Apollodoros as follows:

ἐβασίλευε δὲ Ἄργους Ἄδραστος ὁ Ταλαοῦ· καὶ τοῖς τούτου βασιλείοις νύκτωρ προσπελάζει, καὶ συνάπτει μάχην Τυδεῖ τῷ Οἰνέως φεύγουτι Καλυδῶνα. γενομένης δὲ ἐξαίφνης βοῆς ἐπιφανεὶς Ἄδραστος διέλυσεν αὐτούς, καὶ μάντεώς τινος ὑπομνησθεὶς λέγοντος αὐτῷ κάπρῳ καὶ

[10] Cf. particularly T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948), 383–384 and the stemma, p. 484, and the doubts expressed by R. van Compernolle, *Étude de chronologie et d'historiographie siciliotes* (Brussels and Rome, 1960), 372–374.

[11] Ll. 39–85.

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λέοντι συζεῦξαι τὰς θυγατέρας, ἀμφοτέρους εἶλετο νυμφίους· εἶχον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ὁ μὲν κάπρου προτομὴν ὁ δὲ λέοντος.

> The king of Argos was Adrastos the son of Talos. Coming up to his palace at night, Polyneikes got into a fight with Tydeus the son of Oineus, himself in exile from Kalydon. The hue and cry went up all at once; Adrastos appeared on the scene and separated them. Recalling that a certain prophet had said he would yoke his daughters to a wild boar and a lion, he took them as sons-in-law. For Tydeus bore the protome of a wild boar as his shield device, and Polyneikes the protome of a lion.
>
> 3:6:1

The text of the oracle is preserved in a fragment of Mnaseas, the Greek geographer of the third century B.C. Κουράων δὲ γάμους ζεῦξον κάπρῳ ἠδὲ λέοντι,/οὕς κεν ἴδῃς προθύροισι τεοῦ δόμου ἐξ ἱεροῖο/ἀμοῦ στείχοντας, μηδὲ φρεσὶ σῇσι πλαγηθῇς.

> Yoke the weddings of your daughters to a boar and a lion whom you see from your holy house coming together at its porch and do not be afraid in your heart.
>
> from Schol. Eurip. *Phoinissai* 409
> (FHG 3: p. 157, no. 48)

The oracle was current in the fifth century and was known to Euripides.[12] Apollodoros' account shows how it was rationalized in antiquity. The lion was the badge of Polyneikes.[13] By inheritance it would be the badge of his descendants, the Emmenids.

In 480 B.C. the seal of the Emmenids appears on the coinage of Leontinoi and Syracuse. Damarete, the queen of Syracuse, was an Emmenid, and we may also identify the governor of Leontinoi as another Emmenid, Ainesidamos the son of Pataikos. The Emmenid lion on the coins of Syracuse and Leontinoi is a subtle compliment paid by the tyrant of Syracuse to his father-in-law, the tyrant of Akragas, and to the Emmenid clan. Together they had defeated Carthage, and through the heraldic symbol of the Emmenids, Gelon acknowledged the dynastic and military alliance which had made victory possible.

[12] *Phoinissai*, ll. 408ff., *Hiketides*, ll. 132ff.

[13] Polyneikes wearing a lion's skin: Statius, *Theb.* 1:482–492, Schol. A. Hom. *Iliad* 4:376, Schol. Eurip. *Phoin.* 409 and 421; his shield bearing a lion-headed sphinx: Schol. Eurip. *Phoin.* 409.

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Among the denominations of the Syracusan victory coinage struck on this occasion the dekadrachm was impressive and unusual. No Sicilian had ever seen a silver coin of this size before. To give the new pentakontalitra a nickname was inevitable, and it became known as the Damareteion not for any reason invented by popular tradition but because the lion was the badge of the Emmenids and was recognized as the device of Damarete's family.

II. THE DAMARETEION MASTER AT LEONTINOI

Erik Boehringer held that the master of the Damareteion reverse no. 266 in his catalogue was also the artist employed by Gelon's successor Hieron to cut dies for the tetradrachm which commemorated the refounding of Catane under the name Aitna in 476 B.C. (PLATE I, 5).[14] This attribution has met with favor from Bernard Ashmole, but it has also encountered serious criticism.[15]

The greatest difference between the two heads is to be found in the rendering of the eye. If the Aitna obverse is to be attributed to the Damareteion master, we must suppose that in the space of four years he had taken up and mastered the representation of the profile eye. A less obvious but no less telling difference in the style of the two heads is the structure of the neck and the treatment of the lower line of the bust. The Damareteion master represents the sterno-mastoid muscle of the neck as a straight line. In the Aitna obverse the sterno-mastoid line is a curve sweeping in a broad arc from beneath the ear to the front of the neck. In finishing off the line of the bust the Damareteion master makes a clean cut across the neck. The head of the Aitna satyr, on the other hand, is cut off in a curved line which drops from the back of the neck to meet the arc of the sterno-mastoid muscle under the chin.

Seltman and Schwabacher have pointed to the resemblance of the

[14] *Die Münzen von Syrakus* (Berlin, 1929), 41.

[15] "Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 20 (1934), pp. 110–111. Criticism has been voiced by G. E. Rizzo, "Qualche osservazione sull'arte delle monete di Siracusa," *Boll. d'Arte* 31 (1938), pp. 385–86, W. Schwabacher, "Zu den Münzen von Katana," *RM* 48 (1933), 121–126, and C. T. Seltman, *Greek Coins*[2] (London, 1955), 133.

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satyr head of the Aitna coin to the Dionysos head of the Naxos tetradrachm apparently struck to commemorate the return of the exiled citizen body in 461 (PLATE I, 6).[16] The rendering of the neck muscles and the curving line of the lower edge of the bust are the same in both dies. I would take these mannerisms, together with the minute etching of the beard, to be the diagnostic traits pointing to the common authorship of the two dies.

The Aitna tetradrachm in Brussels is unique, and all the recorded specimens of the Naxian tetradrachm come from a single pair of dies.[17] This circumstance would suggest that on both occasions the Aitna master was commissioned to cut one set of dies for a special issue. At first glance the reverses hardly seem the work of the same hand or even of the same quarter century. The satyr of the Naxos coin is drawn with remarkable command of the principles of foreshortening and with a knowledge of anatomy equal to the most advanced contemporary sculpture. By comparison the Zeus of the Aitna tetradrachm is a stiff archaic figure. The radiating pattern of his robe and the combination of profile and frontal renderings belong to the world of late sixth-century vase painting. An instructive parallel is provided by the seated Zeus and Athene which decorate a red-figure kylix by Oltos now in the Tarquinia museum and dated about 510 B.C. (PLATE II, 7).[18] Yet the numismatic arguments in favor of the common authorship of these dies are so strong that we may venture an explanation of the difference of style.

Zeus Aitnaios was not a god invented for Hieron's new city; he was the ancient deity of the towering volcano of Aitna.[19] For this reason the prototype of the Aitna master's die could have been a painting of the late sixth century. A painting it must have been, not a statue, for sculptural prototypes were easily brought abreast of contemporary

[16] Loc.cit., footnote 15, and accepted by H. A. Cahn, *Die Münzen der sizilischen Stadt Naxos"* (Basel, 1944), 49, note 18.

[17] Ibid., to no. 45.

[18] J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters* (Oxford, 1942), p. 38, no. 50, most recently illustrated by P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre Griechische Vasenkunst* (Munich, 1960), p. 63, pl. 100–104.

[19] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Cambridge, 1925) 908–909, finds no evidence of the cult of Zeus Aitnaios before Hieron's new foundation of Catane as Aitna. The cult may not be an extremely early one, but there is no reason to consider it an invention of Hieron's.

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styles, witness the coinages of Kaulonia and Poseidonia in the fifth century. In his reproduction, the Aitna master betrays himself in only one detail. A true son of the age of Myron and Pythagoras of Rhegion, he could not resist indicating the muscles of the right shoulder and forearm of the Zeus with anatomical precision. Otherwise, he has faithfully transferred an archaic painting to his coin die. The case of the Naxian satyr is different. This figure was not the reproduction of a painting of the preceding generation. It was the Aitna master's own creation, and in it he was free to take full advantage of the newest discoveries of perspective foreshortening.

The acceptance of the Aitna and Naxos reverses as the work of the same master brings into question the authorship of the dies of a third coin, a tetradrachm of Catane in the British Museum, which was thought to have begun the coinage struck at that city after the return of her exiles and the recovery of her original name in 461 (PLATE II, 8). Seltman and Schwabacher compare the drapery style and the articulation of anatomical detail in the Catane piece with the reverses of the Aitna and Naxos coins.[20] But the comparison is more that of one fine coin with another than of characteristic mannerisms which identify the style of an individual artist. As a stylistic argument it is not convincing. Moreover, the tetradrachm in the British Museum is probably not the first striking of the new Catane issues. The first coin of the series appears to be the tetradrachm from the Ognina Hoard which has a unique reverse type, Nike flying right, and is die linked to the subsequent running Nike pieces (PLATE II, 9).[21] This circumstance also sets the Catane tetradrachm in the British Museum apart from the work of the Aitna master, which, as we know it, consisted of specially commissioned dies for inaugural issues.

Unlike the Aitna master, the Damareteion master appears as one of the craftsmen, albeit the chief artist, of the Syracusan mint in 480. His activity has been studied in detail by Boehringer and includes a tetradrachm which follows the Damareteion series as well as the majority of the dies for the victory coinage itself (PLATE II, 10).[22]

[20] Loc.cit., footnote 15.
[21] G. E. Rizzo, *Monete greche della Sicilia* (Rome, 1946), p. 102, nos. 1 and 2.
[22] Op.cit., pp. 36–41. The tetradrachm reverse which follows the Damareteion series is no. 275. The relation of the Damareteion master to the obverse dies

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The Damareteion master did not take part in the creation of the important Sicilian commemorative issues of the 470's and 460's. Nevertheless, the search for his work outside Syracuse need not be a fruitless undertaking.

As we have seen, 480 was a year of close cooperation between the mints of Syracuse and Leontinoi. Rizzo's collection of Leontinoi material shows the two obverse dies in the Apollo head tetradrachm series which uses the Emmenid lion as a reverse symbol.[23] In one, the head of Apollo is represented in a gross and unrefined style (PLATE I, 3). The other, however, is a die by a finer hand (PLATE I, 4). When placed beside the dies of the Damareteion master it exhibits the same mannerisms of style. The thin ridged eyebrow, the eye, marked by a chevron-like upper lid, are the same. Like the Aitna master, the Damareteion master included or omitted detailed treatment of the eyeball depending on the emphasis desired. The nose of both heads is composed of a thin ridge along the top with a deep hollow below and an accentuated nostril, above which there is a secondary swelling. Also alike are the puffy lips, slightly separated in the Damareteion head, set in a cheek which rises to give a slight indication of the cheekbone, the chin, and the slanting straight line of the sterno-mastoid muscle. We may compare the treatment of the lower edge of the bust, the linear, yet not minute handling of the hair, and finally, the form of the skull. In view of the close ties in the production of the coinages of Leontinoi and Syracuse in 480, so close as to suggest the work of a single mint, it is hardly surprising to find a Leontinoi die made by the Damareteion master.

The style of the Damareteion master appears suddenly at Syracuse, dominates the coinage of 480, and disappears. One looks in vain for some trace of his hand in Gelon's abundant war coinage (485–480) or in the issues of the preceding regime. After a single tetradrachm following the Damareteion series his hand is not seen again. His use of the frontal eye at a time when artists of less talent, such as his colleague in the Leontinoi Apollo head group (PLATE I, 3), had learned

used with his reverses cannot be clarified. Stylistic comparison is useless. The obv. die used with the Artemis-Arethousa rev. at Leontinoi is signed ЯΑ, A. J. Evans, *NC* (1894), p. 207, no. 1, pl. 7:7.

[23] Op.cit., footnote 20, p. 134, nos. 14 and 15.

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the profile rendering gives his work an old-fashioned quality[24]. He was a man of mature years, if not already old, when he cut his dies at Syracuse, and one is even led to question whether he was a Syracusan by birth. Numbers of Geloans and Kamarinians as well as citizens of Megara Hyblaia and Likodeia Euboia had been brought to Syracuse by Gelon in the years after 485. Was the Damareteion master one of these? The sudden appearance of his style in a dominant role at the mint of Syracuse lends support to such a speculation. The sudden disappearance of his work after the execution of his masterpiece at the moment when he had embarked on the cutting of dies for the standard tetradrachm series suggests a further inference. His years in Syracuse were few, and by the end of 479 he was dead.

R. Ross Holloway

[24] Close inspection of the Brussels tetradrachm by the Damareteion master (Plate II, 10) in a magnified slide shows that the upper and lower lids are drawn frontally with an opening at the lacrimal gland and that the eyeball is frontal: . This is the treatment given the eye in the Damareteion dies. In fact the eye of the head of the Brussels tetradrachm is almost an exact duplicate of the eye of the head of the Boston Damareteion reverse. The Damareteion master's Leontinoi tetradrachm (Plate I, 4) has the same frontal lids, but the eyeball is not indicated.

Illustrations:

1. London, British Museum. Boehringer, *Die Münzen von Syrakus*, no. 376, *BMCat. Sicily*, Syracuse no. 63. Photo, ANS.
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. J. Babelon, *De Luynes Cat.*, no. 990. Photo, Bibliothèque Nationale.
3. London, British Museum. *BMCat. Sicily*, Leontinoi no. 10. Photo, ANS, after G. E. Rizzo, *Monete Greche della Sicilia*, pls. 22 and 24.
4. New York, American Numismatic Society. Photo, ANS.
5. Brussels, Bibliothèque Nationale. P. Naster, *De Hirsch Cat.*, no. 269. Photo, Bibliothèque Nationale.
6. New York, American Numismatic Society. Photo, ANS.

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7. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale. Detail of exterior of Attic red-figure kylix by Oltos. Photo after Arias-Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre Griechische Vasenkunst*, pl. 102.

8. London, British Museum. *BMCat. Sicily*, Catane no. 2. Photo, ANS, after G. E. Rizzo, *Monete Greche della Sicilia*, pl. 9.

9. Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, inv. 54492, from the Ognina Hoard, S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*^{2}, no. 749. Photo, Museo Nazionale.

10. Brussels, Bibliothèque Nationale. Boehringer, *Die Münzen von Syrakus*, no. 387. Photo, Bibliothèque Nationale.

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NOTES ON ABDALONYMOS AND THE DATED ALEXANDER COINAGE OF SIDON AND AKE

In 1916 E. T. Newell published a study of the coinage of Sidon and Ake, and this has formed the basis for all subsequent investigation of these two mints.[1] Newell claimed that the gold staters and silver tetradrachms struck at Sidon and lettered consecutively were issued between 333/2 and 306/5. At first the mint initials and the numbering were in Phoenician letters, i.e., coins marked *aleph* and *beth* indicating years 1 and 2, with a *tsadik* indicating Sidon. Later the mint mark is indicated by the Greek letters Σ or ΣΙ, with *zayin*, *cheth*, *teth* and *yodh* for the years 7, 8, 9 and 10 of the era. Later the Greek alphabet is used for the numbering, beginning with Κ, which stands for the tenth year, indicating that the changeover came in that year, and continuing (Λ is missing) to Ω which stands for 24. After Ω the die cutters began at the beginning of the alphabet again, but they added Μ or Μ to differentiate these coins from the earlier ones. In this series the coins are dated from Α to Δ, 1 to 4 (25 to 28). Thus we can identify coins struck in Sidon in the years 1, 2, 7–10, 12–28 of some era. Newell has shown that the earliest of these coins were struck in Alexander's lifetime, because the coins marked Ν, Ξ, Ο and Π (years 13–16) were struck in the name of Philip III who died in 317. The era established by Newell for these coins was inaugurated by the battle of Issos in the fall of 333.

The basis of the present article is a Sidon issue with Ptolemaic types which is of the utmost significance for the chronology of the Alexander coinage.[2] On the obverse in a circle of dots is a head of

[1] *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, Yale Oriental Series— Researches, Vol. II (New Haven, 1916).

[2] E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes* (London, 1927), p. 40, n. 52; A. B. Brett, "The Aphlaston, Symbol of Naval Victory or Supremacy on Greek and Roman Coins," *Trans. Int. Num. Cong.* (London, 1938), p. 26 and pl. IV, 7; M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos* (Paris, 1939), pp. 410f., no. 6371, pl. XC; G. Kleiner, "Alexanders Reichsmünzen," *Abh. Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1947), nr. 5, p. 51, n. 46; A. B. Brett, "Athena ΑΛΚΙΔΗΜΟΣ of Pella,"

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Alexander r. with ram's horns and wearing an elephant's scalp. On the reverse in a circle of dots is Athena Alkidemos r. with spear and shield, to l. upwards ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, in field l. ΣΙ, in field r. X and eagle perched on thunderbolt. The ΣΙ clearly indicates the mint of Sidon. The X shows that it was struck in the 22nd year of an era used at Sidon, most probably the same era as on the Alexanders of Sidon. Ptolemy controlled Phoenicia from 320 to 315,[3] for a short time in the year 312,[4] and after 287.[5] If this issue was struck in 315 or before, some of the coins with Philip III's name struck in the years 13 to 16 would have been struck before Alexander's death, a patent impossibility. Ptolemy assumed the diadem in 306, and consequently satrapal types after this date are quite improbable—the Philip coins also militate against so late a date. The only possible solution to the problem is to date the coin in 312, equate X with 22, and thus accept Newell's chronology which begins the Alexander coinage of Sidon in the year 333/2 and ends it in 306/5.

As far as I know there are only two coins with Alexander types from Sidon of the year 312/1. One of these was known to Newell and is illustrated in his work (pl. IV, 16). The other was in the hoard found in the excavations at Byblos.[6] Bellinger has shown that the OX in the

ANSMN, IV (1950), p. 60, pl. XI, 6; A. R. Bellinger, "An Alexander Hoard from Byblos," *Berytus*, X (1952–53), p. 47, pl. VI; Brooks Emmons, "The Overstruck Coinage of Ptolemy I," *ANSMN*, VI (1954), p. 75.

[3] On Alexander's death Syria had been assigned to Laomedon of Mytilene (Diod. XVIII, 3, 1), and in the division at Triparadeisos Laomedon was confirmed in his office (Diod. XVIII, 39, 6). In 320 Ptolemy seized Phoenicia and Koile Syria (Diod. XVIII, 43); Appian, *Syriaka*, 52; Marmor Parium, *FGrH* 239 B 12). Diodoros places this seizure in the archon year 320/19, while the Marmor Parium places it in 319/8. In 318/7 Eumenes led an army into Phoenicia, but was almost immediately forced out (Diod. XVIII, 63, 6 and 73, 2). Ptolemy held the territory until 315 when it was taken by Antigonos Monophthalmos (Diod. XIX, 58, 1–4).

[4] In the spring of 312 Ptolemy defeated Demetrios, the son of Antigonos, near Gaza, and all of Phoenicia and Koile Syria lay open to the Ptolemaic army. Ptolemy won over Sidon (Diod. XIX, 86, 1), but when Antigonos appeared on the scene, Ptolemy prudently retired to Egypt (Diod. XIX, 93). It seems quite certain that Ptolemy held the city for only several months (cf. Plut., *Demetr.*, 5–6 and Paus. I, 6, 5).

[5] E. T. Newell, *Tyrus Rediviva* (New York, 1922), pp. 21–23; W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 104ff., esp. p. 105, n. 33.

[6] A. R. Bellinger, *Berytus*, X (1952–53), p. 42, no. 53 (Maurice Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, p. 410, no. 6339, and pl. LXXXVII).

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field l. is an error for X and the fact that the two coins share the same obverse die confirms it. He also states that the error is probably a sign of the disorder in the mint attendant on the Ptolemaic evacuation of the city. There are also only two coins with Ptolemaic types and the letter X. One, in the possession of E. T. Newell and now in the trays of the American Numismatic Society, came from the Abu Hommos hoard. The other was in the Byblos hoard.[7] These two coins share the same obverse die, but the reverse dies are different.

In 1947 G. Kleiner attempted to prove that Alexander's own coinage (the Herakles and seated Zeus silver and Athena and Nike gold) was first issued after the fall of Tyre in 332/1. Obviously this theory flounders if the coins of Sidon dated in the year 1 belong in 333/2 (Newell, no. 8, pl. I, 10–12).[8] Kleiner, therefore, tried to date the first year of this coinage to 332/1. The able reviewers of Kleiner's work,[9] although they generally reject Kleiner's basic premises, do not condemn explicitly his redating of the Sidonian coinage. But his redating must be condemned on the basis of the Ptolemaic coins with ΣI and X. We have, therefore, another proof of the untenability of Kleiner's main thesis that the Alexander coinage was first struck after the capture of Tyre.

The dated coinage of Ake is a different matter.[10] Newell has shown that the coins of Ake are numbered from 20 to 39 and from 8 to 11. The obverse die of coins marked 39 was used for a coin marked 8, leading to the conclusion that the lower series immediately follows the higher one. The paucity of coins marked 8 leads one to assume that 39 and 8 represent the coinage of one year during which the dating system was changed.[11] The 8 should represent the eighth year of a

[7] A. R. Bellinger, *Berytus*, X (1952–53), p. 47, no. 140 (Maurice Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, pp. 410f., no. 6371, and pl. XC).

[8] Newell described the coin in *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, p. 40, n. 52. Kleiner knew of this passage, p. 51, n. 46, but misinterpreted Newell's note by taking Newell's X to mean ten rather than *chi* = 22.

[9] There are three reviews that discuss Kleiner's work in detail, *CR*, LXIV (1950), pp. 66f. (Seltman); *AJA*, LVI (1952), pp. 227f. (Wallace); *JHS*, LXIX (1949), p. 121 (Jenkins). Recently G. K. Jenkins, "An Early Ptolemaic Hoard from Phacous," *ANSMN*, IX (1960), pp. 27f., and Brigitte Kuschel, "Die neuen Münzbilder des Ptolemaios Soter," *J.f.N.u.G.*, XI (1961), pp. 9–16, have recognized the significance of the coin and rejected Kleiner's date.

[10] See Newell, *The Dated Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, pp. 39–63.

[11] Ibid., pp. 62f.

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new era to which the Ake mint conformed. Perhaps it is an era reflecting Antigonid control of the city. Newell placed the year 20 in 326 and continued the series down to 304. Kleiner, after a note of Regling, tries to show, on the basis of the hoard evidence, that Ake's dates are one year earlier than Newell suspected, and that Sidon 6 is equated with Ake 20.[12] We know a number of sizable hoards of Alexander coins with the dated coins of both Sidon and Ake. The logical assumption is that the last dated coins of these two mints in each hoard ought to be contemporary.

In the Saida hoards (Noe, nos. 881, 882, 884) the last Sidonian coin is from the year K (10) = 324/3, while the latest Ake coin is marked 24.[13] The equation gives the result, Sidon's K (10) = Ake's 24 = 324/3 B.C. In the Demanhur hoard (Noe, no. 324) the last Sidon coin is dated O (15) = 319/8, while the last Ake coin is from the year 29.[14] Therefore, Sidon 15 = Ake 29 = 319/8. A similar situation is to be seen in the Byblos hoard (Noe, no. 175).[15] Here the last coin of Sidon is dated Ω (24) = 310/09, while the last coin of Ake is dated 38. Sidon 24 = Ake 38 = 310/09. In the Aleppo hoard (Noe, no. 29) the last coins of Sidon were dated $\frac{M}{B}$ (26) = 308/7, and the last coins of Ake were 39 of the old era and 9 of the new.[16] Sidon 26 = Ake 9 = 308/7. Using these equations, and the equation Sidon X (22) = 312/11, we arrive at the following table, from which it would seem that these two mints stopped striking Alexander coins at the same time in 306/5 B.C.[17] Newell gave two possible explanations for the phenomenon. He thought that the mints of Sidon and Ake might have stopped striking because of the economic dislocation attendant

[12] Kleiner, op.cit., p. 50, n. 41.
[13] Newell, *Sidon and Ake*, p. 57; K. Regling, "Zur Münzprägung der Brettier," *Festschrift C. F. Lehmann-Haupt* (1921), p. 83, n. 2.
[14] Newell, *NNM*, 19, pp. 55f. Ibid., pp. 134ff., we have a reference to Ake 29 corresponding to the year 319/8, and several references to Ake 20 corresponding to 327/6. A glance will show that one or the other must be wrong. From the context it seems that the first correlation was probably a lapsus calami or a typographical error, although it is possible that Newell realized the difficulty of his dating of the Ake coins in the Demanhur hoard without thinking it through for the rest of the Ake coins.
[15] A. R. Bellinger, *Berytus*, X (1952–53), p. 47.
[16] *Sidon and Ake*, p. 58.
[17] For the reasons see *Sidon and Ake* pp. 37f.; also Kleiner, p. 52, n. 46.

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Year	*Sidon*			*Ake* (*1* = 347/6)	
333/2	𐤀	(1)			
332/1	𐤁	(2)			
331/0		(3)			
330/29		(4)			
329/8		(5)			
328/7		(6)		= (20)	
327/6	𐤍	(7)		| = (21)	
326/5	𐤎	(8)		|| = (22)	
325/4	𐤏	(9)		||| = (23)	
324/3	𐤐𐤊	(10)		|||| = (24)	
323/2		(11)		||||| = (25)	
322/1	M	(12)		|||||| = (26)	
321/0	N	(13)	*Philip III*	||||||| = (27)	
320/19	Ŧ	(14)		|||||||| = (28)	
319/8	O	(15)		||||||||| = (29)	
318/7	Π	(16)		≡ (30)	
317/6	P	(17)		| ≡ (31)	
316/5	Σ	(18)		|| ≡ (32)	[1]
315/4	T	(19)		||| ≡ (33)	[2]
314/3	Y	(20)		|||| ≡ (34)	[3]
313/2	Φ	(21)		||||| ≡ (35)	[4]
312/1	X	(22)		|||||| ≡ (36)	[5]
311/0	Ψ	(23)		||||||| ≡ (37)	[6]
310/09	Ω	(24)		|||||||| ≡ (38)	[7]
309/8	M	(25)		||||||||| ≡ (39)	||||||| (8)
	A				
308/7	M	(26)		||||||||| (9)	
	B				
307/6	M	(27)		– (10)	
	Γ				
306/5	M	(28)		| – (11)	
	Δ				

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upon the siege of Rhodes in 305/4, connected with the renewed importance of the city of Tyre.[18] Alternately he suggested, and this seems to me much more probable, a connection with the inauguration of a series of Tyrian Alexanders. Antigonos Monophthalmos began the striking of Alexander coinage at Tyre about the year 306, perhaps in connection with his Egyption expedition of that year. He then closed down the mints at Sidon and Ake and transferred their function to the mint at Tyre.

What conclusions can be drawn from this table about the eras used by these two mints? The first era of Ake began in the year 347/6, and was used on the coins from 328/7 to 309/8. Since we have no sources for the internal history of Ake in this period, we can only point out that 347/6 is about the end of the great revolt of the satraps. Newell has suggested that this era is that of the reign of the local kinglet[19] about whom we know nothing. Thus, he would come to the throne toward the end of the great Phoenician revolt and would die in his thirty-ninth year of office. At this point, Newell suggests, a new era connected with Antigonos was introduced. Kleiner suggests, because the same thing did not happen at Sidon, that the kinglet revolted and was replaced by Antigonos.[20] Aside from the coins we have no knowledge of the internal history of Ake in this period, but it is surprising that Diodoros did not mention such an event if it really did happen.

In Sidon the situation is somewhat different. Here the coins are numbered consecutively from 1 to 28, and we know something of the internal history of Sidon in this period. But what era is in use at Sidon? It can be either an era of Alexander the Great; either the battle of Issos or of Alexander's taking of the city of Sidon, or it can be an era of the local king, Abdalonymos. If it is the latter, this means that Abdalonymos held on as ruler of Sidon through thick and thin until at least 306/5. The Ptolemaic coins from Sidon in 312/11 mili-

[18] H. Seyrig, "Sur une prétendue ère tyrienne," *Syria*, XXXIV (1957), pp. 93–98, has shown that Tyre quickly recovered her prosperity after her destruction by Alexander and struck coins between 331 and 306. This would tend to discount the importance of the economic reasons for the end of the dated Alexanders of Sidon and Ake.

[19] *Sidon and Ake*, p. 59.

[20] Op.cit., p. 28.

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tate against this, for they would indicate that Abdalonymos was more than expert at switching sides, and for this reason it does seem that the era in use at Sidon is an era of Alexander.

When Alexander appeared in Phoenicia after his victory at Issos in 333 he was welcomed by the local populations, and as he proceeded south he received the surrender of a number of cities including Sidon. Actually the Sidonians, who had revolted against the Persians in 351/0 and were virtually annihilated by them, summoned Alexander to free them from the Persian yoke. Strato, the King of Sidon who was compromised by his friendship with the Persian King, was expelled and Abdalonymos replaced him as King of Sidon. All our sources stress the fact that Abdalonymos was a descendant of the old royal family, and his accession to the throne would please both Alexander, who wanted to secure Sidon and remove an ally of the Persian King, and the Sidonians, who probably hated the ruler imposed on them by the Persians. After this Abdalonymos disappears from our sources.[21]

Despite this lack of evidence, or rather because of it, scholars have constructed ingenious theories about Abdalonymos. One theory holds that Abdalonymos was able to maintain himself until 312/11 when Antigonos removed him from his position after the Antigonids regained the city because of his basic loyalty to Ptolemy.[22] Another assumes that the era appearing on the coins of Sidon is not an era of Alexander, but of Abdalonymos, and that he ruled at least until his twenty-eighth year. According to this theory Abdalonymos stands for *Reichseinheit*, i.e., he was a partisan of Antigonos.[23]

Until new evidence turns up we shall not be able to say anything further about Abdalonymos. We can, however, outline the history of Sidon in this period.[24] On Alexander's death the city along with the

[21] Arrian, *Anabasis*, II, xv, 6; Diod. XVI, 41–45; Arrian does not mention this incident at all. Justin, XI, 10, 7–9 and Curtius, IV, 1, 16–26 call him Abdalonymus and place this at Sidon. Diodorus, XVII, 46–47 calls him Ballonymus and places it at Tyre. Plut., *De Alex. Fort.*, II, 8 gives him the usual name, but puts it at Paphos.

[22] G. Moser, *Untersuchungen über die Politik Ptolemaios I in Griechenland (323–285 a. Chr. n.)* (Diss. Leipzig, 1914), pp. 113–116.

[23] Kleiner, op.cit., pp. 25, 28.

[24] See above and notes 4, 5, 6, 7.

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rest of Phoenicia passed under the control of Laomedon of Mytilene until 320. From 320 to 315 the city was in the hands of Ptolemy. In 315 Antigonos entered Phoenicia and summoned the kings of the Phoenician cities to meet him. The King of Sidon was probably among them. Antigonos established a shipyard at Sidon and he or his son Demetrios held the city until 287 B.C. with the exception of a short period in 312, when Ptolemy defeated Demetrios in the battle of Gaza and won over Sidon. A short time later the city was abandoned to Antigonos. In 302, shortly before the battle of Ipsos, Ptolemy besieged Sidon, but did not take the city.[25] Any one of these shifts in power i.e., 323, 320, 315, or 312 could have brought Abdalonymos' reign to an end, if he were still alive.

IRWIN L. MERKER

[25] Diod. XX, 113, 1–2.

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THE KOZANI HOARD OF 1955

(See Plates III–VI)

The small hoard of 27 coins which is the subject of this paper was stated by the dealer from whom it was secured to have been found near Kozani in southern Macedonia in 1955. Number 28, the much worn Aesillas tetradrachm, was specifically stated by the dealer to have been found along with the others; it cannot, obviously, have been buried with them originally. No details of the circumstances of the find were available. The hoard is on exhibition in The Money Museum at the National Bank of Detroit, Detroit. The coins in the hoard are as follows:

Chalkis drachms (5)

Obv.: Head of nymph r.
Rev.: Eagle tearing snake. XAΛ. Symbol.

1. Symbol: ⋿ below eagle. 3.30 gms. ↙ Much worn.
There is no doubt about the symbol, although it is illegible on this specimen, for the obverse die is the same as that of CH 301 in the possession of W. P. Wallace, on which the symbol is clear. Obverse dies do not seem to have been carried over from one symbol group to another among these Chalkis drachms.

2. Symbol: ⊞ above wing. 3.27 gms. ↑c Much worn.
The coin probably, but not certainly, belongs to this symbol group.
By ↑c is meant that the axis of the head has been taken, as we would do it, through the top of the head and the center of the neck. In some series it is taken through the brow and the nape of the neck: ↑n, in others through the crown and the front of the neck: ↑f.

3. Symbol: ⊞ above wing. 3.30 gms. ↑c Much worn.

4. Symbol: ⊞ above wing. 3.43 gms. ↑c Worn.

5. Symbol: caduceus to r. 3.63 gms. ↑n Very slightly worn.

Athenian tetradrachms (8)

Obv.: Head of Athena r.
Rev.: Owl r., olive branch and crescent behind, AΘE in front.

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6. 16.81 gms. ← Much worn.

7. 16.79 gms. ← Worn.

8. 16.69 gms. ↙ Worn.

9. 16.82 gms. ← Somewhat worn.

10. 16.87 gms. ↙ Somewhat worn.

11. 17.00 gms. ↙ Somewhat worn.

12. 16.79 gms. ↙ Slightly worn.

13. 17.06 gms. ← Slightly worn.

Ptolemaic tetradrachms (14)

Obv.: Head of Ptolemy I r.
Rev.: Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on 26 and 27). Letters and monograms.

14. Ptolemy I. 13.80 gms. ↑f ⏃ ⋀P Much worn.
I. N. Svoronos, Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους των Πτολεμαίων no. 246, pl. viii, 26.
10 or 12 punches on obv. and 2 on rev.

15. Ptolemy I. 13.76 gms. ↗ ⏃ ⋀P Worn.
Sv. no. 246, pl. viii, 26.
About 4 punches on obv. and about 8 on rev. Probably an overstrike.

16. Ptolemy I. 13.80 gms. ↗ ⏃ ⋀P Worn.
Sv. no. 246, pl. viii, 26.
2 punches on obv. and at least 3 on rev. Perhaps an overstrike.

17. Ptolemy I. 13.85 gms. ↑f P A Worn.
Sv. no. 247, pl. ix, 1.
3 or 4 punches on obv. and 3 or 4 on rev.

18. Ptolemy I. 13.60 gms. ↑cf P Ɐ Worn.
Sv. no. 250, pl. ix, 4.
About 5 punches on obv. and 1 or 2 on rev. An overstrike.

19. Ptolemy I. 13.89 gms. ↑cf P ⋀ Slightly worn.
Sv. no. 252, pl. ix, 8.
No punches.

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20. Ptolemy I. 13.80 gms. ↑f P [illegible] Somewhat worn.
Sv. no. 255, pl. ix, 11.
About 7 punches on obv. and 3 or 4 on rev. A very small sickle-shaped punch is impressed twice on the obv.—by the nose and by the chin.

21. Ptolemy I. 13.69 gms. ↑cf P [illegible] Somewhat worn.
Sv. no. 255, pl. ix, 11.
5 or 6 punches on obv. and perhaps 1 on rev. Probably an overstrike.

22. Ptolemy II. Tyre. 13.80 gms. ↑cf H club Worn.
Sv. no. 637 (279 B.C.), pl. xix, 9.
2 round punches on obv. and 2 punches on rev. Probably an overstrike.

23. Ptolemy II. 14.12 gms. ↑cf ΣΤ [illegible] Slightly worn.
Sv. no. 368 (285–271 B.C.), pl. viii, 27.
1 oval punch near mouth and perhaps 1 or 2 on rev. An overstrike.

24. Ptolemy II. Tyre. 14.13 gms. ↑f [illegible] club Somewhat worn.
Sv. no. 644 (267 B.C.), pl. xix, 14.
1 or 2 punches on obv. and 1 or 2 on rev. An overstrike.

25. Ptolemy II. Tyre. 14.11 gms. ↑c [illegible] club Somewhat worn.
Sv. no. 644 (267 B.C.), pl. xix, 14.
An annulet before mouth and at least 2 punches on rev. Probably an overstrike.

26. Ptolemy II. 14.01 gms. ↑c Τ ΜΕ Λ (= Year 30) ⊙ Somewhat worn. Legend—ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.
Sv. no. 770 (256 B.C.), pl. xxv, 7.
1 or 2 punches on each of obv. and rev. Probably an overstrike.

27. Ptolemy II. 14.17 gms. ↑c Τ ΜΕ ΛΒ (= Year 32) ⊙ Very slightly worn. Legend—ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.
Sv. no. 775 (254 B.C.), pl. xxv, 11. No punches.

Aesillas tetradrachm (1)

Obv.: Head of Alexander r. ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ. Β
Rev.: Club between money-chest and quaestor's chair. AESILLAS Q.

28. 13.87 gms. ↑c Very much worn. 92–88 B.C.
This coin is clearly an intrusion in the hoard, for it is both much later and more worn than any of the other coins.

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At least half of the Ptolemaic tetradrachms in this hoard seem to be overstrikes,[1] and all but two of them (nos. 19 and 27) have received small punches on both obverse and reverse. The shapes of the punches are sometimes hard to distinguish, but many of them are simple and obvious:

A plain round punch is common—see nos. 14, 15, and 22 (where the punches are so deep that they show through on the other side).

An oval punch occurs—see nos. 22 rev. and 23 obv. The trace of a central spine perhaps suggests that it is intended to represent a Macedonian shield.

A small deep square punch occurs once—on the eagle in no. 24.

A triangular punch occurs on no. 25, between the eagle and the club.

A crescent-shaped punch is the most common of all; sometimes, as on the reverse of no. 20, it seems to have been imprinted several times. Care is needed in distinguishing these punches, for traces of the undertype in restruck coins sometimes look like a crescent punch.

Two more complicated punches with clear devices are the *leaf* on the cheek of no. 24, and the *cross* on the rev. of no. 16.

As none of the other coins in the hoard was punched it seems safe to assume that the Ptolemaic tetradrachms received their punches before they reached Greece. These punches are presumably the marks of private bankers, but it is not clear for what reason or reasons they were impressed.

The Greek hoards containing Ptolemaic coins have been studied by Mme Irene Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou in an important article[2] in which she shows that most of them were buried in the Peloponnesos or in Euboia. She also shows that Ptolemaic coins found in Greece were mostly struck by the first two Ptolemies. Our hoard extends to

[1] In "The Overstruck Coinage of Ptolemy I," *ANSMN* VI (1954), 69–84, Brooks Emmons deals with an earlier series of tetradrachms of Ptolemy I ("Type D" *Obv.*: Alexander in elephant skin headdress, *Rev.*: Athena Alkidemos) all of which seem to have been overstruck on preceding issues of heavier weight which, she suggests, were called in for the purpose. The Ptolemy I tetradrachms in our hoard belong to still later issues with further reduced weights; about half of them seem to be overstruck. Of the six tetradrachms of Ptolemy II in our hoard all but the last appear to be overstrikes.

[2] Πτολεμαϊκὰ νομίσματα στὴν κυρίως Ἑλλάδα by Εἰρ. Βαρούχα-Χριστοδουλοπούλου, pp. 668–679 in Ἐπιτύμβιον Χρ. Τσουντᾶ Athens, 1941.

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southern Macedonia the area in which we have evidence that this money circulated. The largest of these hoards is the Eretria hoard of 1937 which is also discussed in *The Euboian League and its Coinage* (*NNM* 134, New York, 1956, 41–49) where ca. 235 B.C. is suggested as its burial date. Several of the issues which appear in our hoard (e.g., nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26) appear also in it, and show on the whole very similar wear. Attention may also be called to the recent discoveries of Ptolemaic coins—mostly issues of Ptolemy II—in Attica.[3]

The tetradrachms of Ptolemy II in our hoard provide a reasonably good date for its burial. The two latest of them carry regnal dates—30 and 32—which place them respectively in 256 and 254 B.C. The second of these coins shows very little wear, but the first gives the impression of having circulated for a considerable number of years. The three coins minted at Tyre show a good deal of wear; the earliest of them (number 22) carries the regnal date H = 7 and so was minted in 279 B.C., the other two are dated ca. 267 by Svoronos. The burial of the hoard must clearly be put after the middle of the century, but not very long after, and near the date of the Eretria hoard of 1937; it is perhaps reasonable to guess ca. 240–230 B.C.

This burial date is consistent enough with the worn condition of the first four of the Chalkis drachms, which are usually dated in the late fourth century.[4] Of these drachms, number 1 belongs to the "trident l." group; it is hard to say whether the single specimen is more or less worn than nos. 2, 3 and 4, which belong to the "円 above wing"

[3] See "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attica," by E. Vanderpool, J. R. McCredie and A. Steinberg, in *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 26–61, and "Συμβολὴ εἰς τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον Πόλεμον 266/5–263/2 π. Χ." by Εἰρ. βαρούχα-Χριστοδουλοπούλου, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1953–4 (In memory of G. P. Oikonomos), Part III (Athens, 1961), 321–349.

[4] B. V. Head, in *Historia Numorum*[2] (Oxford, 1911), dates these Chalkis drachms "369–336 B.C.," but this is clearly rather too early, and E. T. Newell remarks in *Alexander Hoards* IV, *Olympia*, *NNM* 39 (New York, 1929), 17, that "the accepted dating of these pieces in the last half of the fourth century is probably correct." That they in fact run down into the third century is suggested in *The Euboian League and its Coinage* by W. P. Wallace (*NNM* 134, New York, 1956), 32, n. 68. The only attempt so far to arrange the different symbol groups chronologically—a very rough attempt, for which the evidence was not presented—is to be found in "Impurities in Euboean Monetary Silver," by E. J. Allin and W. P. Wallace in *ANSMN* VI (1954), 37, n. 5, and pl. ix.

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group. These three coins show the poor style which earns the group the designation "barbarous" in the *British Museum Catalogue of Central Greece*.[5] Number 5, which belongs to the "caduceus" group, is as little worn as any coin in the hoard; it should, accordingly, be dated close to 250 B.C. This conclusion, confirming that the caduceus group belongs in the third century (as has already been suggested—see note 4 above), and indeed towards the middle of it, would be of some importance if the appearance of the coin did not, unfortunately, raise the question whether it too, like number 28, may not be an intrusion. Its shinier and cleaner surface certainly distinguishes it from all of the other coins of the hoard, and one cannot feel confident that it was originally buried with them.[6] Under the circumstances its value as evidence is slight.

The Athenian coins in the hoard differ a good deal among themselves in the amount of circulation they have seen: the first three are considerably worn, the last two much less so. The owls on these two least worn specimens are represented in a curious manner which makes them appear to be wearing skirts. While there is nothing exactly similar among the numerous specimens illustrated by Svoronos in *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, still numbers 2, 3 and 4 on his plate 23 (illustrating the latest period before the New Style) are fairly close.[7] The olive branch behind these owls has leaves which are pointed, and smaller than is usual. Again, there are no exact parallels in Svoronos, but similarly small olive leaves seem to occur only on this same plate: numbers 4 and 11, and numbers 20–24 among the final group of tetradrachms with symbols. These parallels suggest that our two least worn tetradrachms should be put near the end of the Old Style series, not long before the owls with symbols which seem to have been the immediate precursors of the New Style. Four drachms of this issue with symbols appeared in "fresh and uncirculated" condition in the

[5] *BMC Central Greece*, p. 111. This group is much more numerous than any of the other groups of Chalkis drachms, so that its poor style is probably the result of pressing poor workmen into service when a large issue was suddenly required and competent die cutters were not available (see *NC*, 1962, 25, n. 2).
[6] We are greatly indebted to Professor Hansjorg Bloesch, of Winterthur, and to Miss Margaret Thompson, for examining and discussing this coin. They felt that it is possible, but perhaps improbable, that it formed part of the original burial.
[7] Cf. also drachms 14–16 on this plate.

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Corinth hoard of 1938, which was buried about 215 B.C.,[8] and so should be dated no earlier than about 220 B.C. These two latest Athenian tetradrachms of our hoard will thus be earlier than the beginning (perhaps ca. 229 B.C.?) of the issue with symbols—perhaps considerably earlier, for there may have been a gap between the last regular Old Style issues and the group with symbols.[9]

Miss Margaret Thompson has pointed out an interesting difference in the form of the decoration of Athena's helmet, between that characteristic of most (if not all) of the fourth century issues, and that which is found on the gold issue of 295/4 B.C.[10] The decorative tendril changes from form 1 to form 2 (see the diagram below). She also pointed out to us a third form, contemporary with or slightly later than form 2,[11] and the distinctive, rather sprawling, tendril of the issue with symbols. The four forms may be represented as follows:



The difference between forms 2 and 3 may be clearly seen by comparing PLATE III, 6 with PLATE III, 9. The sequence suggested seems to be borne out by a consideration of the hoards illustrated by Svoronos on his plates 26–32. In his first hoard, from Egypt, illustrated on plate 26, the coins with form 1 decoration (numbers 1–19) are more worn than those with form 2 decoration (numbers 22–31);

[8] Numbers 138–141, illustrated on pl. II, in "The Corinth Hoard of 1938" by Sydney P. Noe, *ANSMN* X (1962), 9–14.

[9] Such a gap is perhaps suggested by the fact that none of the 72 Athenian tetradrachms in the large 1938 hoard from Thessaly at the American Numismatic Society (unpublished) is in very fresh condition; indeed all show some and most show very considerable wear. This hoard has not yet been fully studied, but the existence in it of tetradrachms of Antigonos Gonatas in mint condition suggests a *terminus arte quem* of ca. 235 B.C., and I. L. Merker, in *ANSMN* IX (1960), 42, proposes a burial date "during the decade of the 240's, shortly after c. 250." The Athenian tetradrachms in the Eretria hoard of 1937 were similarly worn; see note 14.

[10] See "A Hoard of Athenian Fractions," *ANSMN* VII (1957), p. 6.

[11] In the Thessaly hoard mentioned above (note 9) all 72 specimens seem to belong (about 20 are hard to be sure about as the back of the helmet is often more or less off flan) either to type 2 (34 or 35 of them) or to type 3 (17 or 18 of them), and there seems not much difference in the degree of wear of the two groups, although the specimens with type 3 helmets seem to be slightly less worn. Most of the coins which Svoronos puts latest (his plate 23) show type 3 helmets, and the long curling tendrils of the series with symbols (also illustrated on plate 23) are an obvious development from type 3.

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types 3 and 4 do not occur. In Svoronos' Hoard VI, from Kiouleler in Thessaly,[12] illustrated on his plate 31, all issues seem to be of types 2 or 3, those with type 2 (for instance, nos. 2, 12, 24 and 38) being perhaps slightly more worn than those with type 3 (such as nos. 4, 17, 20, 31 and 32). In his hoard III, from Sophiko,[13] illustrated on his plate 28, most of the pieces seem to have type 3 decoration, but some specimens, like numbers 31 and 34, have type 2, and these seem perhaps rather more worn than the others.

In our hoard the three most worn Athenian tetradrachms apparently show type 2 helmet decoration (not visible in number 7) while the last five probably have type 3 (in number 9 the shape of the tendril is clear, in number 10 it is certain although somewhat obscured by die-breaks, in numbers 11, 12, and 13 it is uncertain but probable).[14] Since type 2 was already established at the beginning of the century, and type 3 had suffered further elaboration by the time of the issues with symbols (which perhaps begins about 229 B.C.), it seems reasonable to date our Athenian tetradrachms over a fairly long period in the first half of the third century.

In short, this small hoard was probably buried about 240–230 B.C. It supports Mme Varoucha's observation that most of the Ptolemaic coins found in Greece were struck by the first two Ptolemies, and extends the area from which these have been reported. It provides doubtful evidence (since coin no. 5 may be an intrusion) that the Chalkis drachms with the caduceus symbol were struck towards the middle of the third century, and good, though not extensive evidence for the arrangement of the third century tetradrachms of Athens.

O. H. Dodson and W. P. Wallace

[12] E. T. Newell, in *Western Seleucid Mints, ANS Numismatic Studies* 4, New York, 1941, p. 42, n. 20, suggests a burial date for this hoard of 279 B.C.

[13] Newell, loc.cit., p. 187, refers to "the Sophiko Hoard, which was probably buried during the lifetime of Seleucus II ..." The dates of Seleukos II are 246–226 B.C.

[14] Many of the 31 Athenian tetradrachms of the Eretria hoard of 1937 were badly corroded and have not been cleaned. However, examination of photographs of about twenty of them seems to show that the "owls" of this hoard were closely comparable to those under discussion here—the helmets show either type 2 or type 3 decoration, all show definite wear, and those with type 3 seem slightly less worn than those with type 2, although the difference is not striking.

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PHILIPPI IN MACEDONIA

(See Plates VI–XI)

GOLD AND SILVER

The acquisition by the American Numismatic Society of two coins of Philippi, a gold stater and a drachm, as a gift from Mr. Berry (*SNG The Burton Y. Berry Collection*, New York, 1961: 45 and 46) gives occasion for a general study of the gold and silver of that mint, since its organization, though simple, has never been discussed.

On Philippi we have some explicit ancient testimony. Diodorus reports (XVI.3.7) that in 360–59 the people of Thasos settled a place called Krenides. In 357 they appealed to Philip for protection against the Thracians (Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Φίλιπποι), and when he had defeated them he put new settlers in the town, renamed it for himself and developed the neighboring gold mines until they produced an income of over 1,000 talents.[1] There are no coins with the name Krenides, but gold and bronze is known of "The Mainland Thasians" which without question comes from that settlement.[2]

"Krenides"
360–356 B.C.
Gold Stater

1. Head of young Heracles r. in lion's skin headdress. His neck ends in a curved line with no sign of the lion's paws. Except just before and behind the ear, the hair is entirely covered by the lion's head,

[1] Diodorus XVI.8.6; Strabo VII.34.42; Beloch III.1, pp. 230–232. As to the ambiguous evidence on the early name and fortunes of the place, which does not concern us here, cf. G. F. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 79, n. 1 and H. L. Jones, *Strabo*, Loeb Edition, Vol. III, pp. 358 f., n. 4.

[2] Stanley Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, Oxford, 1926, p. 70, says "There seems no special reason to assume, with Head, that they were struck at Philippi." The special reason is the identity of style. George Le Rider, "Trésor de Monnaies trouvé à Thasos," *BCH*, 1956, pp. 1–19, suggests that they were struck at Thasos (pp. 10 f.) but again the identity of style with the first issues of Philippi seems to me conclusive.

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whose open mouth shows a single prominent tooth above and below. The mane is shown by stiffly curved lines. *Rev.*: ΘA ΣION to l. upward. HΓ EIPO to r. upward. Tripod with three handles, the middle leg a double line; from the two handles at the sides fillets ending in three bunches. Above, laurel branch, butt to l. In field lower l. cantharus. PLATE VI, 1

8.55 gm. Paris. Gaebler, *Die Antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, Zweite Abt., p. 100,1.

2. Similar head.
Rev.: ΘAΣION above. HΓEIPO beneath. Club, behind which is a strung bow. PLATE VI, 2

11 mm. Gaebler, op.cit., p. 101, no. 2; 11 mm. 1.27 gm. *ANS-Newell; 12 mm. 1.37 gm. ANS-Newell; 11 mm. 1.10 gm. *SNG Copenhagen* no. 290, *BCH*, 1936, p. 173.

Philippi
(Of the same style as "Krenides")
Gold Staters

1. Head of young Heracles r. in lion's skin headdress. The neck ends in a curved line. Except just before and behind the ear, the hair is covered entirely by lion's head, whose open mouth shows a single prominent tooth above and below. The mane is formed by a line of close strokes curving around the mouth with two lines behind it of slightly curved, very narrow V's.
Rev.: ΦIΛIΓΓΩN to l. upward. Tripod with three handles, the middle leg a double line; from the two handles at the sides fillets ending in three bunches. Above, laurel branch, butt to l. In field upper r. Phrygian cap. PLATE VI, 3

8.62 gm. B. V. Head, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, London, 1959, p. 38, 16.

2. Same.
Rev.: Similar but in field r. caduceus. PLATE VI, 4

8.60 gm. *De Luynes*, no. 1571; 8.59 gm. *Königliche Museum zu Berlin Beschreibung der antiken Münzen*, p. 117,1.

The resemblance of both types to the gold with ΘAΣION HΓEIPO makes it certain that these followed immediately and are, therefore, the first issue of Philippi.

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Silver Tetradrachms

3. Head of young Heracles r. like that on the gold staters.
Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ to l. upward. Tripod like that on the gold staters. In field r. long handled axe. PLATE VI, 5
13.24 gm. Gaebler, op.cit., p. 101,4; 13.25 gm. *Hirsch Sale* 1910, no. 146; 12.86 gm. **De Luynes* no. 1572; 13.2 gm. *Beschreibung* p. 118,7; 13.23 gm. *Lucien de Hirsch Coll. Brussels*, no. 985.

4. Same.
Rev.: Similar but in field r. dolphin downward. PLATE VI, 6
13.4 gm. *Rhousopoulos* no. 943; 13.0 gm. **De Luynes* no. 1573; 13.23 gm. *SNG Copenhagen* no. 292.

Drachms

5. Similar head of young Heracles.
Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ to l. upward. Similar tripod. In field l. long handled axe. PLATE VI 7,
3.18 gm. *De Luynes* no. 1574; 3.28 gm. *ANS-Berry.

6. Same.
Rev.: Similar but in field r. dolphin downward.
3.24 gm. (holed). Gaebler, op.cit., p. 101; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, 90.109; 3.11 gm. *Ratto Sale*, 1927, no. 509; 3.10 gm. *Hirsch Sale* 25, 1909 (Philipsen), no. 414; 3.12 gm. *Beschreibung*, p. 118,9.

7. Same.
Rev.: Similar but in field r. race torch.
3.11 gm. *SNG Lockett* no. 1364 = *Pozzi Coll.* Geneva 1921, no. 812.

8. Same.
Rev.: Similar but in field r., strung bow.
PLATE VI, 8
3.05 gm. *ANS-Newell; 3.10 gm. *BMC*, p. 96, no. 4; 3.24 gm. *SNG Copenhagen* no. 293.

Hemidrachms

9. Similar head of young Heracles r.
Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ to l. curving upward. In field r. long handled axe.
1.65 gm. *Hirsch* 33, 1913, no. 625; 1.61 gm. *Naville* XV, 1930, no. 462; 1.52 gm. ANS-Newell; 1.77 gm. *Beschreibung*, p. 118,12.

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10. Same.
Rev.: Similar but in field r. dolphin downward.

PLATE VI, 9

1.58 gm. *Pozzi Coll.* no. 814; 1.54 gm. Rhousopoulos no. 944; 1.5 gm. *Adolph Hess Nachf.* 1936, no. 643; 1.48 gm. *Naville* XIII, 1928, no. 449; 1.49 gm. *ANS-Newell; 1.46 gm. ANS-Newell (Pierced); 1.33 gm. *Weber*, no. 1992; 1.61 gm. *SNG Lockett*, no. 1365; 1.54 gm. Ashmolean ex Milne (Pierced).

11. Same.
Rev.: Similar but in field r. strung bow. PLATE VI, 10

1.60 gm. *De Luynes* no. 1575; 1.59 gm. *Pozzi Coll.* no. 813; 1.55 gm. *Weber 1908 Hirsch* 21, no. 1134; *Burel, Feuardent* 1913, no. 143; 1.55 gm. *ANS-Newell; 1.38 gm. ANS-Newell (Pierced); 1.55 gm. *Beschreibung*, p. 118,10; 1.52 gm. Ibid., no. 11; 1.54 gm. *BMC* p. 97,5.

12. Same.
Rcv.: Similar but in field r. grain of wheat. PLATE VII, 11
1.63 gm. Gaebler, op.cit., p. 101,6; 1.52 gm. *Sir Hermann Weber Coll, Spink* 1922, no. 1991; 1.49 gm. *Bement Sale* I *Naville* VI, 1923, no. 677; *Collignon Feuardent* 1919, no. 186; 1.55 gm. *ANS-Newell; 1.5 gm. *Beschreibung*, p. 118,13; 1.56 gm., 1.52 gm. *BMC*, p. 97, 6f.; 1.63 gm. *SNG Copenhagen*, no. 294.

13. Same.
Rev.: Similar but in field r. ear of wheat.
1.5 gm. *Schlesinger* 13, *Hermitage* 1935, no. 605.
1. grain of wheat.

14. Same.
Rcv.: ΦΙΛΙΠ to r. downward, ΠΩΝ to l. downward. In field lower l. grain of wheat.
1.6 gm. *Hirsch* 12, 1904, no. 97; 1.58 gm. *Ratto Sale* 1927, no. 510; 1.91 gm. ANS.

Philippi
(Second style)
Gold Staters

15. Head of young Heracles r. in lion's skin headdress, the paws wrapped around the neck. The mane is formed by two rows of wavy lines. The wide-open jaws show no conspicuous teeth and allow Heracles' hair to be seen from forehead to ear. His features are more rounded and less severe.

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Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ to l. upward. Tripod with three handles, the legs ending in lion's feet. No laurel above. In field r. horse's head r.

PLATE VII, 12

8.59 gm., P. Lambros, *Sur six Médallions d'Or inédites de Philippi*, Corfu, 1855; two other specimens, ibid.; **BMC*, p. 96, no. 2; 8.59 gm. *Pozzi Coll*, no. 811; 8.58 gm. *Rhousopoulos*, no. 942; 8.58 gm. *Bement Sale* I no. 675; 8.6 gm. *Beschreibung*, p. 117,3; 8.58 gm. *SNG Copenhagen* no. 291; 8.48 gm. *Lucien de Hirsch Coll. Brussels*, no. 984.

16. Same.

Rev.: Similar but in field r. horse's head l.

8.605 gm. Lambros, loc.cit.; 8.58 gm. *Egger* 40, *Prowe* 1912, no. 527; 8.55 gm. *Hirsch* 1906, no. 214; 8.57 gm. *Hamburger* 98, 1933, no. 494; 8.59 gm. *Beschreibung*, p. 117,2.

17. Same.

Rev.: Similar but in field r. lion's head r.

8.615 gm. Lambros, loc.cit.; 8.58 gm. *Sotheby* 1904, no. 47; same reverse die, *Collignon Feuardent*; 8.52 *De Nanteuil Coll.* 1925, no. 751 = *Weber*, no. 1988 = *Bement*, no. 124; 8.62 gm. BM ex Seltman.

18. Same.

Rev.: Similar but in field r. stag's head r.

8.62 gm. Lambros, loc. cit.; two other specimens ibid.; *BMC*, p. 96, no. 3; 8.6 gm. *Hess Vogel Coll.*, 1929, no. 208; 8.59 gm. *Naville* XVII, 1934, no. 340; 8.57 gm. *Boston MFA Warren Coll.*, no. 593; *Montagu* II, *Sotheby*, 1897, no. 107; *Bunbury*, *Sotheby* 1896, no. 679; ibid., no. 680; *R. and F. Durufle*, 1910, no. 316; 8.57 gm. *Beschreibung*, p. 117,4.

19. Same.

Rev.: Similar but in field r. stag's head l. PLATE VII, 13

8.63 gm. Lambros, loc.cit.; 8.62 gm. *Jameson* I, no. 960; 8.59 gm. *Weber*, no. 1989; 8.58 gm. *Hirsch* 35 *Philipsen*, no. 413; 8.58 gm. *ANS-Berry; 8.57 gm. *Hirsch* 21 *Weber*, no. 1131; *Late Collector*, *Sotheby*, 1900, no. 196.

20. Same.

Rev.: Similar but in field r. bunch of grapes.

8.655 gm. Lambros, loc.cit.; 8.59 gm. *De Luynes*, no. 1570; 8.62 gm. *Sotheby*, 1921, no. 225; 8.58 gm. *Beschreibung*, p. 117,5; 8.57 gm. Ibid., p. 118,6.

Silver tetradrachms

21. Head of young Heracles r. like that on the gold staters.

Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ to r. downward. Tripod with three handles, the middle leg a double line; from the two handles at the sides fillets

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ending in three bunches. Above, laurel branch, butt l. In field l. club, handle down. In ex. HPA.

14.27 gm. *Weber, Hirsch* 21, no. 1132 = *Sir Hermann Weber, Spink* 1922, no. 1990; 14.20 gm. *Schlesinger* 13 *Hermitage*, 1935; 14.27 gm. *BM NC* 1920, p. 107; 13.95 gm. *Beschreibung*, p. 118,8 (no mention of HPA).

22. Same.

Rev.: Similar but in field l. ear of wheat. No inscription in ex.

PLATE VII, 14

14.07 gm. ANS-Newell (*Bement* I, no. 676).

Something must be said of the weights. The gold is simple. The weights cluster about 8.58 gm.; the single piece of Krenides of 8.55 gm. obviously belongs to the same standard, the Attic, which had already been issued by the Chalcidic League, whose gold seems to have influenced that of Philip.[3] The silver, however, is surprising. The early tetradrachms average 13.17 gm., and even applying Hill's formula of the frequency norm plus 1 per cent raises it only to 13.37 gm. As usual, the fractional issues are somewhat below standard: the drachms average 3.15 gm., the hemidrachms 1.55. But we have enough data to give a consistent picture and that obviously has nothing to do with Olynthus, whose tetradrachms show a standard of 14.50 gm.[4] Nor has it anything to do with the misnamed "Persic" standard of Philip's predecessors or the standard of Philip himself. It is, however, clearly related to the standard inaccurately called "Paeonian" on which the abundant coinage of Damastion was based, and to that phase of it which extended down to 360, for in the immediately succeeding period the weight of Damastion coins drops sharply, perhaps a devaluation intended to hold their market against interference from other mints.[5] Damastion was very obviously much affected by the Chalcidic League, but it would seem that Philippi

[3] For the Chalcidic gold, D. M. Robinson and P. A. Clement, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part IX, Baltimore, 1938; Group L, 392–383 (p. 44); Group S, 364–361 (p. 68); Group T, 361–358 (p. 71); Group W, 352–350 (p. 83).

On Philip's use of the Chalcidic standard, Percy Gardner, *A History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 423, "Philip seems to have taken the standard alike of his gold and silver coins from Olynthus." On his borrowing the obverse type from Olynthus, A. B. West, "The Early Diplomacy of Philip II of Macedon Illustrated by His Coins," *NC*, 1923, pp. 174f.

[4] *Olynthus* IX, pp. 208f.

[5] J. M. F. May, *The Coinage of Damastion*, Oxford, 1939, pp. 12f., p. 83, n. 1.

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proposed to compete for influence in the Paeonian region, and she may be considered one element in the circumstances that finally put an end to Damastion's coinage.[6]

Philippi did not, however, persist in her original plan, for the tetradrachms of the Second Style are heavier, and though the four weights that we have are not full, they must be regarded as belonging with the tetradrachms of Philip which continued the standard of the League. An attractive hypothesis is that this change came at the time of the conquest of Olynthus in 348 and the ending of the League's coinage. Philippi, either independently or under Philip's direction, may have been prepared to supply the place of that important silver, and the short duration of the Second Style will then have resulted from Philip's decision to make his own greatly increased output of tetradrachms do that work.[7]

Did the gold cease at the same time? Apparently not. A feature of all the First Style coins is the laurel branch over the tripod, and this the Second Style silver retains, but the gold does not. The inference is that the silver is an intermediate step between the two classes, a product of the very first use of the Second Style. The symbols on its two varieties: club and ear of wheat, do not occur on the gold, but the First Style gold and silver also have different symbols. Probably the Second Style gold was coined as soon, or nearly as soon as the silver, but not sooner because it has no laurel. There are six varieties of the gold, or four if we make the probable assumption that the horse's head r. and l. and the stag's head r. and l. each belong to a single emission. If the gold was coined annually it continued for four

[6] May, op.cit., pp. 162f.

[7] An ambiguous statement of Newell's must be cleared up. In *Royal Greek Portrait Coins*, p. 10, he says, "We may be sure that these two cities (Pella and Amphipolis) were throughout his reign the principal centers of coining. In addition, a series of gold staters, silver tetradrachms, drachms and hemidrachms, as well as copper coins, all with autonomous types and inscriptions—were coined at Philippi." On this and the following page he then describes the early tetradrachm having the bearded rider with the kausia, after which come the words, "About 358 B.C. Philip secured Crenides and renamed the little mining town Philippi. He at once commenced to strike here the gold and silver coins mentioned above." By this he certainly meant the autonomous gold and silver of Philippi, but the juxtaposition has deceived the editors of *SNG Copenhagen* into assigning, on Newell's authority, the bearded horseman tetradrachms to Philippi, an attribution which the autonomous silver makes impossible.

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years after the introduction of the Second Style. But it is not certain that it was coined annually. In the case of the Chalcidic League, the four issues of gold came 392–383, 364–361, 361–358, 352–350, and while we need not assume a duration of 30 to 40 years for Philippi (which would extend through the reign of Alexander) there is nothing impossible in the assumption of a dozen years (which would extend through that of Philip).

This is opposed to the orthodox view. The authorities all agree that the right of coining gold and silver was taken from Philippi and that thereafter the town was used as a mint for Philip's own coins. The basis for this is Müller's identification of three staters and a diobol (Nos. 86–89) with a tripod as symbol as from the mint of Philippi. With these go a stater, a tetradrachm and a drachm of Alexander (Nos. 145–147). But an article of von Sallet in 1882 (*ZfN* 9, pp. 138–189) discusses the sharing of an obverse die by Müller's No. 88 and a stater with the symbol of his No. 233, with the conclusion that they were issued by a mint other than Philippi. The implications seem to have been overlooked by later writers, but confirmation comes from the Demanhur Hoard where Müller's tetradrachm No. 146 is assigned to Amphipolis (*Demanhur* 1458). The fact is that the royal mint of Philippi is a myth. There is no evidence that Philip's gold or silver—or Alexander's—were ever struck there.

To sum up the dating of the autonomous types: the upper limit of the First Style is 356 when the town got its new name. Of the First Style there are two varieties of gold, two of tetradrachms, four of drachms, five of hemidrachms. We may consider a total of six issues certain, for all the symbols of the larger silver are repeated on the hemidrachms, except the race torch. Either in the year of that issue there were no hemidrachms or there is one with a race torch not known to me; in either case six issues of silver are accounted for, which means six years. Assuming the earliest beginning, assuming that silver was struck every year, and assuming that we know all the varieties, the First Style would have continued from 356–351. There is nothing in the latter year which seems likely to have occasioned the change in style, the heavier standard for tetradrachms and the abandonment of drachms and hemidrachms but, as already suggested, the taking of Olynthus in 348 and the end of Chalcidic League coinage

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would provide just such an occasion. It is not worth while to spin theories accounting for the extra year or two; we may confidently date the First Style 356–349 B.C. The Second Style silver, then, will have been struck ca. 348, 347 and the gold 348–345 at the very least. The phenomenon of the longer continuation of autonomous gold than of autonomous silver is certainly unexpected, but that is what the evidence shows.[8]

THE DRAMA HOARD

In Newell's trays is a bronze hoard said to have been found at Drama in Macedonia (Noe 338) composed of coins of the city of Philippi, of Philip II and of Alexander III. Drama is 10 miles northwest of the site of Philippi, 25 miles northwest of that of Amphipolis. Recently the American Numismatic Society acquired another larger lot of nearly exactly parallel composition though the condition of the coins was not as good: there is more corrosion and there are more illegible specimens. But it had been in the possession of the dealer from whom it was purchased for many years and it seems evident that it is the residue from which the better pieces had been picked out for Newell's hoard. There is no evidence of any further body of material;

[8] When did Philip's own gold begin? It is the general assumption that it was in 356 at the beginning of his reign. To this West objects (op.cit., pp. 176f.). His first point is very well taken. Plutarch, *Alexander* 3.5, speaks of the simultaneous announcement of the victory of Philip's horse at Olympia and of the birth of Alexander, i.e., 356. In *Alexander* 4.5 he records the fact that Philip used his victorious Olympic chariot as a type for his coins. It is sometimes assumed that the horse and the chariot were victorious at the same time, but West rightly urges that such a double Olympic triumph would certainly have been reported, whereas Plutarch mentions only the horse in 356. If that is not the year for the chariot then presumably it is 352, 348 or 344. The first has nothing particular to recommend it; 348 would make his gold a continuation of that of the League; in 344 came the reorganization of Thessaly when the towns were deprived of their independence. West suggests that Philippi's right of coinage may have ended at the same time and that would, of course, explain very neatly the cessation of our Second Style gold. This point is made with all due reservations and only because there is so much unsettled about Philip's coinage. The use of Plutarch's remark for dating purposes is dangerous; it is likely enough that the tale is only an attempt to explain the type. It is worth recalling, however, that in the early years of his reign Philip was by no means well provided with gold. There is a story which goes back to Duris of Samos that he owned one gold cup weighing 50 drachmae which he took to bed with him and kept under his pillow (Athenaeus IV. 155 c, d).

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that is always a possibility but in any case the number we now have is quite enough to justify analysis. In the catalogue I have listed the two lots separately under *1* and *2*, *1* being Newell's Drama Hoard. Coins illustrated on the plates are denoted by an asterisk preceding the entry number.

Philippi

The civic coins fall into four groups.

Group I

Head of young Heracles in lion's skin headdress.
Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ to r. downward. Tripod. Above, laurel branch.

a. No paws around neck. Small tripod with fillets from side handles.
b. Paws around neck. Small tripod without fillets.
c. Paws around neck. Large tripod without fillets.

Group II

Similar head.
Rev.: Similar but without laurel branch.

Group III

Similar head.
Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ to l. upward. Same type.

Group IV

Similar head.
Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ to r. downward. Same type.
The coins are as follows.

			1	*2*
		Group I a		
*1. Head r.	*Rev.*:	to l. ivy leaf	4	4
2. Head l.		Same		4
3. Head r.		to l. grapes	1	1
		Group I b		
*4. Head r.		to l. grapes	1	3

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Group I c

*5. Head l.	to l. ⊙	3	2
6. Head l.	to l. ⊕		2

Group II

7. Head r.	to l. upright club and grain of wheat	4	7
*8. Head l.	Same	8	3
*9. Head l.	to l. race torch	7	4
*10. Head l.	to l. M and ear of grain	3	7
*11. Head l.	to l. bow in case	6	14
*12. Head l.	to l. cantharus	1	

Group III

*13. Head l.	to r. cantharus	4	4
*14. Head r.	to r. grapes		1
*15. Head r.	to r. IΠ and amphora	1	
16. Head l.	no symbol	1	

Group IV

*17. Head r.	no symbol	18	45
	Uncertain Group I		1
	Uncertain Group III		3
		62	105

This is not an exhaustive list of varieties. From the easily accessible *BMC*, Gaebler and *SNG Copenhagen* I get the following supplements.

Group I

Fraction. Head r. Gaebler, pl. XX, 9. To r. crescent. *SNG* 302, 303. Symbol obscure. 1.40 gm., 1.05 gm.

Group II

Head r. To l. ꟿ over ear of grain. *BMC* 11.
Head l. To l. wreath. *BMC* 19.

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Head l. To l. cista. *BMC* 21; *SNG* 298.
Head r. To l. K over ear of grain; to r. H. *BMC* 10.

Group III

Head r. To r. ear of grain *BMC* 9.
Head l. To r. grapes over IΓ *BMC* 12.

The criterion of style is not so easy to apply to the bronze as to the silver and gold since the cutting is less fine, and only Group I a is to be connected with assurance with the First Style, 356–349. But since Nos. 3 and 4 both have the symbol grapes it is reasonable to suppose that Group I b is a continuation of I a and that the two together provide issues datable in the time of the First Style which might be adequate for 8 years. The Second Style silver, however, has been dated to the years 348, 347 and it is obviously impossible to squeeze all the rest of the bronze into so short a time. If we assume that Nos. 5 and 6 are varieties of the same issue; likewise Nos. 7 and 8; No. 10, *BMC* 9, 10, and 11; Nos. 12 and 13; No. 15 and *BMC* 12; Nos. 16 and 17, there are 11 issues (neglecting others that my casual search has not encountered). At the rate of the earliest bronze, 1 in 2 years, that would give us a span of 22 years and would bring us down to 327 B.C. when Alexander was on the point of invading India. If we suppose an issue every year the coinage of this civic money will still continue to 335, that is through the reign of Philip and for a year after his death. We have already seen the likelihood that the gold coinage lasted through his lifetime. We are now forced to the conclusion that the bronze extended into the reign of Alexander. The condition of these fine fourth century pieces is so nearly uniform as to give us no indication of their order of issue.

Philip II

Head of Apollo

Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Horseman

	No symbol	*1*	*2*
*18. Head r.	Horseman r. wearing kausia	2	1

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		Symbol only	*1*	*2*
19.	Head r.	Horseman r. wearing taenia as always hereafter.		
		barley grain	1	4
*20.	Head r.	Horseman r. bucranium	3	7
21.	Head l.	Horseman r. same		3
*22.	Head r.	Horseman r. serpent	1	4
*23.	Head r.	Horseman r. spearhead	11	6
24.	Head r.	Horseman l. same		2
25.	Head l.	Horseman r. spearhead downward		1
*26.	Head r.	Horseman r. prow	1	2
*27.	Head r.	Horseman r. helmet facing	2	1
*28.	Head r.	Horseman r. star	5	4
*39.	Head r.	Horseman r. crescent	1	
*30.	Head r.	Horseman r. forepart of bull	2	
21.	Head r.	Horseman r. dolphin	1	2
*32.	Head r.	Horseman r. ivy leaf	1	2
*33.	Head r.	Horseman r. club	1	1
34.	Head r.	Horseman r. trident	2	2
*35.	Head r.	Horseman l. same	1	
*36.	Head l.	Horseman l. ✠ (this common symbol is impossible to identify. It has been suggested that it is an insect, an ill-made prow or a degenerate thunderbolt. None of the possibilities is likely)	7	11
37.	Head l.	Horseman r. head of goat	1	2
*38.	Head r.	Horseman r. same	3	
*39.	Head r.	Horseman r. kausia	4	11
40.	Head l.	Horseman r. kausia (?)	1	
41.	Head l.	Horseman r. thunderbolt lateral		6
42.	Head l.	Horseman r. thunderbolt vertical	4	16
*43.	Head r.	Horseman r. thunderbolt lateral	3	7
44.	Head r.	Horseman r. thunderbolt vertical	1	4
45.	Head r.	Horseman r. fly		1
46.	Head r.	Horseman r. grapes		1
47.	Head r.	Horseman r. cantherus		1

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	With letter or monogram	*1*	*2*
48. Head r.	Horseman r. A/	4	6
*49. Head r.	Horseman r. A/ B	3	4
*50. Head r.	Horseman r. A/ club	1	1
*51. Head r.	Horseman r. A/ bow	1	1
52. Head r.	Horseman r. A/ trident	2	
*53. Head r.	Horseman r. A/ trident	4	1
54. Head r.	Horseman r. A/		3
55. Head r.	Horseman r. N		3
*56. Head r.	Horseman r. NI	1	4
57. Head r.	Horseman r. N trident	1	4
*58. Head r.	Horseman l. N	4	2
59. Head r.	Horseman r. E	2	17
60. Head r.	Horseman r. ∃	4	2
61. Head l.	Horseman r. ⊰E		2
62. Head r.	Horseman r. A	3	7
*63. Head r.	Horseman r. A	6	4
64. Head r.	Horseman r. A	2	
65. Head r.	Horseman r. Γ	9	16
66. Head r.	Horseman r. Γ dolphin		1
67. Head r.	Horseman l. Γ		1
68. Head l.	Horseman r. thunderbolt in Γ		1
69. Head r.	Horseman r. ΔI	2	2
*70. Head r.	Horseman r. H/	1	4
71. Head r.	Horseman r. ⅂H		2
*72. Head r.	Horseman r. I	1	3
*73. Head r.	Horseman r. ⊙	4	3
74. Head r.	Horseman r. ⚲		4
*75. Head r.	Horseman r. ⊙P	4	3
76. Head r.	Horseman r. A⚲		1
*77. Head r.	Horseman r. /E	1	1
78. Head r.	Horseman r. ΛA		1
79. Head r.	Horseman r. ΛY		1
80. Head r.	Horseman r. Δ?	1	
*81. Head r.	(A on *obv.*) Horseman r. E	4	7
82. Head l.	(A on *obv.*) Horseman r. E	2	1

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	1	2
83. Head r. (A on *obv.*) Horseman r. A	6	1
*84. Head r. (A on *obv.*) Horseman r. Γ	1	
Head r. (A on *obv.*) Horseman r. uncertain symbol	1	1
	135	217

Doubles

*85. Head r. Horseman r. E thunderbolt 8.932 gm.	1	
*86. Head r. Horseman r. Ǝ 7.660 gm.	1	
*87. Head r. Horseman r. A 8.027 gm.	1	
Head r. Horseman r. uncertain symbol		3
	3	3

There are two indications of the order of striking of Philip's coins. No. 18 shows the horseman wearing a kausia, the broad-brimmed Macedonian hat. There is also silver on which the horseman wears a kausia; he is bearded, but the scale of the bronze is too small to show whether our horseman is intended to be bearded or not. That silver is generally put first[9] and presumably the associated bronze should be also. Then, a specimen of No. 83 is struck over a coin like No. 51: a portion of the bow shows beneath the later striking. Except for the instance noted, the contemporary silver issues seem to give no help with the arrangement. It is immediately apparent how badly we need a systematic study of Philip's coinage when we begin to face the question of the time it took to produce all these varieties. The neatest arrangement would be to have an issue each year with its distinctive magistrate's mark, but clearly this will not do without some adjustment, for we should have more years than there were in Philip's reign, 359–336. There are 31 varieties with no symbol or with symbol only, which is more than enough to take care of his maximum of 24 years, assuming that we have all the varieties. The number of varieties may be reduced to 24 by making the probable combination of the same symbol with different positions of the head or horseman. But, in addition, disregarding the uncertain symbols, our list shows 36 entries with letter or monogram. This can and should be reduced by com-

[9] West, *NC*, 1923, pp. 174f.

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bining various forms of the same letter and issues whose only difference is the position of head or horseman; it is also reasonable to combine N and NI, ⊙, ♀ and ⊙P and, more doubtfully perhaps, the varieties having A on the obverse with the others bearing the same reverse letter. Another means of reduction is to combine Nos. 48–52 and assume that AV is the magistrate for the year. This raises the interesting question whether his subordinates: B, club, bow, trident served for part of a year each or worked simultaneously in different places (with AV working sometimes alone without subordinate). Similarly Nos. 55–58 may be assumed to be the product of N working sometimes alone, sometimes with a subordinate: trident. But this is as far as consolidation can go and we are left with 14 issues with letter or monogram which is still too many. Consideration of the problem must be postponed until we have listed the coins of Alexander.

Alexander III

Head of young Heracles r. in lion's skin headdress.
Rev.: ΑΛΕ ΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ between club and bow-in-case.

		1	*2*
88.	Club below, handle l. no symbol	2	4
*89.	Club below, handle l. one handled cup below	4	
*90.	Club below, handle l. ear of grain below		1
*91.	Club above, off flan dolphin below		2

With letter

*92.	Club above, handle l. E below	10	11
*93.	Club above, handle l. ΔI below	1	
94.	Club above, handle l. I below		1
95.	Club above, handle l. K below		1
96.	Club below, handle l. Λ below	1	
97.	Club below, handle l. ♈ below		1
98.	Club below, handle l. A below		1
	Club below, handle l. uncertain symbol	1	
	Club above, handle l. no visible symbol		3

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Same type.		
Rev.: Club and quiver instead of bow-in-case.	*1*	*2*
99. Club above, handle l. no symbol	3	11
100. Club below, handle l. no symbol		5
*101. Club below, handle l. upright caduceus above	2	
102. Club above, handle l. lateral caduceus above, star below		1
*103. Club below, handle l. thunderbolt above	4	3
With letter		
104. Club above, handle l. thunderbolt above, Δ below	9	8
105. Club above, handle l. thunderbolt above, ∇ below	1	
*106. Club below, handle r. Δ above, thunderbolt below		1
*107. Same but *head l.* on *obv.*		1
*108. Club below, handle r. Δ above, ear of grain below	1	
*109. Club below, handle r. ∇ above, ear of grain below	1	
*110. Club below, handle r. Δ above, trident below	1	2
111. Club above, handle r. trident above, Δ below (?)		1
112. Club below, handle r. Δ above, star below	3	1
*113. Club below, handle l. ∇ above, grapes below, stem l.	1	6
*114. Club below, handle r. Δ above, grapes below, stem r.	1	1
*115. Club below, handle r. ∇ above, grapes below, stem at top	1	
*116. Club below, handle r. Δ above, ivy leaf below		1
*117. Club below, handle l. Δ above	1	
*118. Club above, handle l. Δ above	1	2
119. Club above, handle l. Δ below		1
*120. Club above, handle l. A above	1	1
121. Club below, handle l. A below		2
*122. Club above, handle l. Γ above	5	13
123. Club below, handle r. Γ below		1
*124. Club below, handle r. Γ below	1	
125. Club below, handle r. Γ (?)	1	
*126. Club above, handle l. ϘC above		1
127. Club above, handle l. ⋈ (?) below		1
128. Club above, handle r. ⊙ in field l., I below		1

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			1	2
*129.	Club above, handle l.	Λ above	2	2
*130.	Club above, handle l.	⊁ above	24	31
*131.	Club below, handle r.	⋈ below	1	1
*132.	Club above, handle l.	⊁ above	1	
*133.	Club above, handle l.	K above	1	1
*134.	Club below, handle r.	K below	2	1
*135.	Club below, handle r.	ΛA below	1	
*136.	Club below, handle l.	Φ below		1
137.	Club below, handle r.	Φ below		4
*138.	Club below, handle r.	ΦI below	2	2
139.	Club below, handle r.	IN below		1
	Club below, handle l.	uncertain symbol		3
	Club off flan	symbol off flan	1	
			92	137

Similar head of Heracles
Rev.: BA between quiver above and club below, handle r. Serpent below.

*140. *SNG Copenhagen, Macedonia*, pl. 27, 1026–1028. "C. 320 B.C." 1

Similar types. Uncertain symbol.

141. 1

Head of Apollo r.
Rev.: ΑΛΕ ΞΑΝΔΡ Horseman l., thunderbolt below.

*142. Ibid., pl. 27, 1030. "Amphipoli c. 310–300" 1

Similar head of Heracles
Rev.: ΣA above ΑΛΕ ΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ between club, handle r., above and strung how surrounding bow case. Below, P.

*143. Ibid., pl. 27, 1049. "Cyprus, Salamis, c. 332–320 B.C." 1

Similar head of Heracles.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ between bow-in-case above and club below, handle l.
Race torch below. Countermarked lion's head r.

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*144. Ibid., pl. 29, 1117. "Anonymous bronze after c. 311 B.C." 1

Head of Nymph r.
Rev.: Tripod, to l. and r. KY and Π. Cantharus lower l., monogram lower r.

*145. *BMC, Mysia*, p. 37, no. 137. "Cyzicus" 1

Total 292 462

On the standard type the difference between the bow-in-case and the quiver is not always recognized but it is quite obvious that we have to do here with separate series. No symbol is common to both classes and only one letter: Λ which appears below with the bow-in-case and above with the quiver. Is the difference in place of striking or in time? There are difficulties either way. To assume that there is a difference in time is to suppose that one class used first symbol alone and then letter, and that the second reverted to symbol alone before beginning its longer output of letters. The difference is of a kind generally associated with difference of mint, but I cannot separate them on stylistic grounds and both classes share letters with coins of Philip which do not seem possible to divide. Perhaps under Alexander there were two workshops in the town at the beginning but the bow-in-case soon ceased.

To return to the problem of Philip's too numerous strikings. I had thought of the hypothesis of simultaneous issues of different varieties not apparently connected, which would reduce the number of years when bronze was struck by an amount impossible to calculate. But Miss Thompson suggests a more plausible theory. It will be noticed that the majority of Philip's issues (if we accept the consolidated list) have neither letter nor monogram, whereas only 5 of Alexander's have symbols alone. Two of these are dolphin and thunderbolt which also occur as symbols under Philip. The list will show that some of the letters also are common to both kings: E, Ξ, A, Γ, ΔI, I, ⊙, ΛA. While this is not a long list it is not negligible. The theory suggested is that Philip's own issues used symbols alone, and that those bearing his name with letters or monograms are posthumous, struck parallel with Alexander's types. The posthumous striking of gold and silver with Philip's types is well established, and this would only extend the

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principle to the small change. To be sure, Philip's posthumous tetradrachms were on a different standard from Alexander's and so may have served an economic purpose, but that was not true of the gold which would be, like this, a concession to sentiment and custom. The problem of getting all the issues into the years available would then be settled. Nos. 18–47 of Philip would be those of his lifetime while Nos. 48–80 would very well fit into that of Alexander.

As may be seen from the list, which has been organized with this possibility in mind, Alexander's coins can be arranged in the same way: first the issues with symbols only (the dolphin and thunderbolt being shared with Philip); then a large output of Δ and his subordinates: thunderbolt, ear of grain, trident, star, grapes and ivy leaf, which would be parallel to Philip's group (probably of a different year) under AV, with AP and N showing the latest examples of letter and symbol combined. Thereafter would come Alexander's letters and monograms: 12 varieties after Δ. The presence of Nos. 140–144, which are probably posthumous, assures us that these bronzes lasted through Alexander's reign—and perhaps for some years thereafter. There would therefore be ample time to take care of the Philip and Alexander coins we know without resorting to the possibility of simultaneous issues not apparently related. That might later be forced on us by the discovery of a large number of varieties not in the Drama Hoard, but with our present information, it seems most likely that posthumous bronze of Philip continued to be struck with a regularity and in a quantity matching Alexander's own issues, the two series sometimes being entrusted to one official, but more generally to different ones.

Where were our royal coins struck? Newell seems to have begun the arrangement of this hoard—to which he never gave more than passing attention—on the assumption that the coins came from Amphipolis, and then to have been assailed by doubts. Almost all of Alexander's coins with Δ were labelled "Amphipolis" but thereafter there is no indication, except that Nos. 50 and 94 are marked "Mint"? For there is a difficulty that he himself had made it impossible to overlook. The letters and symbols on these bronzes do not agree with the symbols on the silver. It is true that the tetradrachms show thunderbolt, grapes and ear of grain, but it is clear that on the

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bronze it is Δ that is the important differential, and Δ does not appear on the silver. This in itself would be no necessary bar to considering Amphipolis as the probable mint, for Newell had already recognized that the systems of symbols on bronze and silver might be quite independent of each other.[10] But, as it happens, there are bronzes with different types whose symbols do agree with those of the silver of Amphipolis, and which he assigned to that city. In his *Reattribution*, pp. 12 f., he dealt with the fractions of the tetradrachms, five denominations of silver and two of bronze, whose reverses show one or two eagles on a thunderbolt, or a thunderbolt alone, which had been regarded as the first issue of the reign. He showed that, instead, they were connected by symbols with the sequence of tetradrachms (then attributed to Pella, but subsequently corrected to Amphipolis) which was the central part of his study. The bronzes then known to him bore the symbols wreath (cf. tetradrachm type VIII), ivy leaf (cf. tetradrachm type X) and crescent (cf. tetradrachm type XXIX). There is a bronze at Yale with a bunch of grapes as symbol (cf. tetradrachm type XI); there are also some with no symbol which apparently he did not then know, but he said of fractional silver with no symbol, "these, I think, we may reasonably attribute to the opening years of the tetradrachm series" (i.e., types I–VI). If this be allowed, the minor silver and bronze combined show 15 correspondences with the tetradrachms, types I–XXXIV, of Series A. This is a reasonable proportion, since the fractions are clearly not struck with the regularity of the tetradrachms. But this carries us only down to 327 according to Newell's later calculation. What is the bronze of Amphipolis for the rest of the reign and the interregnum? There are two candidates: bronze of the same types of Heracles head and eagle on thunderbolt, one having Λ and one A in place of symbol. They can hardly be separated from the others in place of minting, but they do not have the same reason for being attributed to Amphipolis: Λ and A do not appear on the tetradrachms of that city (except for the late ones with Λ and a race torch). It is not impossible that the bronze,

[10] *Demetrius*, p. 120. "It is probable that the less valuable metal was coined either in a special *officina* of the mint and under the supervision of an entirely different set of magistrates or, as is very likely, the coining of bronze pieces was farmed out to private individuals. Such a practice may have been more prevalent in ancient times than we suspect or have the means of determining."

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originally entrusted to the same officials who issued the tetradrachms, was later given over, as Newell suggests, to a separate officina or to private individuals. But it compromises the neatness of the original argument for Amphipolis.

Now the dilemma is obvious. If the Alexanders of the Drama Hoard belong to Amphipolis, as Newell's earlier labels assert, what are we to do with the other type? Are we to suppose that the two alternated, or that the eagles belong only to the earlier years, the bows and clubs to the later? In either case, why are the eagles not represented in the hoard? Style and condition give no indication of a break between our Philips and our Alexanders, and it can hardly be seriously suggested that some discriminating individual, ancient or modern, weeded out all the eagles from preference. A further complication is the fact that the weights of the two types are different. While the bow and club coins weigh over 6.00 gm., the eagles weigh about 4.00 gm. Should the second be regarded as a fraction of the first? That might explain their non-appearance in the hoard, but it would not get rid of the difficulty of having fractions (in two denominations: Newell's Bronze II, *Reattribution*, pp. 12 f.) whose symbols paralleled the silver while those of the larger denomination did not. Nor does the appearance of the two types suggest that they belong together.

Apparently we must relegate one group to some other mint. In favor of Amphipolis for the royal coins of the Drama Hoard is the general probability that this mint of the first importance would provide the largest amount of money in all metals; against it is the problem of the two types: the equally difficult alternatives of combining them or of displacing to another site the home of that type definitely connected with Amphipolis by symbols. In favor of Philippi is the homogeneous appearance of the royal and civic coins in the hoard. If there were no critical decision involved it would certainly be agreed that they all came from the same mint. Against Philippi is the fact that we should be forced to accept unexpected consequences. It would mean that the city of Philippi, which was not the capital,[11] was

[11] Is it not possible that Philip originally intended it to replace the old capital of Pella, as Pella had earlier replaced the still older capital of Aegae? This is the first instance known to us of the naming of a town after its human founder—a practice to become so familiar under Alexander—and it may be that the special circumstances of its origin entitled it to special treatment thereafter.

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allowed to strike its own types and simultaneously those of the king.[12] What would be the purpose of this double function? Was the right of coining bronze so early recognized to be a source of revenue, as it came to be later, and was Philippi being allowed in this way her share in the king's profit? This question cannot be avoided by assigning the royal bronze to Amphipolis. Why was the striking of civic bronze permitted to continue at Philippi into the period of the kings when it did nowhere else?[13]

And the issuance of the king's bronze would not be merely a minor function. Philippi would appear to have been the main source of royal Macedonian bronze. Neither the eagles nor any other group can compete in size with the types of Philip and Alexander represented in the Drama Hoard, and unless same means can be found hereafter to distribute those types among several mints, we must believe that the bulk of the small change designed for Macedonia was the product of one city. No one would have supposed *a priori* that the city was Philippi.

There is nothing to be gained by pressing a solution for which the evidence is not sufficient. It can only be said that a new possibility has arisen as to the location of the main Macedonian mint for bronze. However, other considerations may be useful in the future study of the Alexander coinage. It is well to know that regal and civic issues could be simultaneous in the same district, whether or not in the same city. It is clear that bronze may have a set of symbols quite independent of silver and gold. This is not always true,[14] but attention to the eagle series shows that there may be both correspondence and lack of correspondence within the same group, so that we must be on our guard against preconceptions and too great reliance on analogy. It is well to

[12] Amphipolis is the only other place for which such a combination can possibly be suggested. It is taken for granted that the autonomous issues ceased when Amphipolis became a royal mint (e.g., Gaebler, pp. 32f.) and the three denominations of bronze are consequently dated before 357. But that is probable rather than proven. No other town presents even a doubtful case.

[13] An old theory needs to be repeatedly denied since it is repeatedly asserted: that bronze coins had no value outside the city of their origin. The evidence of hoards and excavations combine to refute it. To the possessor of the Drama Hoard the bronzes of Philippi 10 miles away were certainly as worth keeping as those of the kings.

[14] E.g., *Tarsos*, pp. 38–40.

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know that a bronze issue may be so large as to employ a senior official with subordinates, and well to be aware of the possibility that Philip's small currency in Macedonia persisted through the reign of his successor.

These are cautionary matters which may make the study of Alexander's bronze safer, but are not likely to make it easier. There is no need to point out how inconclusive this investigation has been, but I do not believe that it requires apology. It was not undertaken in the expectation of finding easy answers, but in the conviction that no answers at all were possible until the questions had been asked. We need a great deal more information before we can have much confidence in our conclusions, but where there are so many problems unsolved one must begin somewhere and it is to be hoped that this will be received, as it is intended, as a beginning only, which may lead to more profitable studies in the future.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

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SELEUCID COINS FROM CILICIA CA. 220–150 B.C.

(See PLATES XII–XIII)

I. THE MINT OF TARSUS

It has long been considered an enigma that practically no Seleucid silver coinage from the period ca. 220–150 B.C. can be attributed to the district of Cilicia. It is particularly surprising that we have apparently no silver coins from the great and important city of Tarsus, renamed Antiochia on the Cydnus in the third century B.C.,[1] between the first years of Antiochus III and the reign of Alexander Balas (150–145), when a peculiar local type, the hero Sandan standing on a horned animal, was first introduced on the royal silver.[2]

Since the publication of E. T. Newell's masterly studies on the *Eastern* and *Western Seleucid Mints* we have at our disposal a complete record of the Seleucid coinage down to and including Antiochus III. Perhaps a careful investigation of the coinages of Antiochus III may help us to solve the "Cilician riddle." Let us first consider the iconography of Antiochus III as exemplified by the continuous coin series from the prolific mint at the western capital, Antioch on the Orontes. Antiochus III ascended the Seleucid throne at the age of 18 in 223. His first coin series (ca. 223–213) shows a very young and smooth face, untouched by the toils of governing the extensive empire.[3] The second series (ca. 213–208) shows a transitional portrait, the smooth youthfulness giving way to a more mature expression.[4] The hair at the side of the head recedes, leaving a bald patch at the temple below the diadem. With the third series yet another portrait appears. Here the king looks still older, his face is lean, sometimes nearly emaciated, the bald forehead and the long pointed

[1] Cf. *RE* Zweite Reihe IV, s.v. Tarsos, col. 2418f.
[2] Cf. D. H. Cox in Goldman, *Tarsus* I, 52. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, 433, no. 96.
[3] *WSM* nos. 1044–1053, pl. xxvi, 11–18; xxvii, 1–7.
[4] *WSM* nos. 1067–1074, pl. xxviii, 1–11.

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nose are the most prominent features.[5] With several variations and a greater or lesser degree of idealization, this type is carried on to the end of the reign. We have thus two easily distinguishable portraits, the first and the third here mentioned, joined by a small group of transitional style. According to Newell's chronological scheme the intermediate group dates between 213 and 209/8.[6]

The same general stylistic development of the royal portrait can be traced at other mints as well. It goes without saying that the evolution did not run absolutely parallel at all places. Sometimes the "transitional" style comprises only very few obverses while at other mints it appears on a substantial quantity of dies. The same stylistic features might make their appearance at different mints at different times.[7] However, Newell was certainly right in his main conclusions on the portraiture of Antiochus III.

Only at one mint does Newell's arrangement seem to me to contradict his own general principles. At Tyre we find the line of stylistic development rather confused.[8] For the sake of brevity and clarity I give a list of the tetradrachms attributed to Tyre arranged according to my view of the evolution of the portrait style:

WSM nos. 1251–52	pl. XLV 1–2
1253	pl. XLV 3
1268	pl. XLVI 3–4
1261–64, 1266–67	pl. XLV 12–15, 18; pl. XLVI 1–2
1260	pl. XLV 11
1255	pl. XLV 5–6
1270	pl. XLVI 6

This arrangement, as compared with Newell's classification, calls for a few comments. Let us first look at the dating of *WSM* nos. 1253 and 1268. As to the first coin Newell describes the portrait as "still somewhat youthful." In my opinion this is a clear understatement. The portrait is very youthful indeed, and closely related in style to the preceding coins, *WSM* nos. 1251–52, as well as to the first series

[5] *WSM* nos. 1088ff., pl. xxix, 8ff. The first coin of Series III is especially characteristic, the following coins being more idealized. Cf. *WSM*, 150.
[6] *WSM*, 143.
[7] *WSM*, 396.
[8] *WSM*, 200–208.

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from Antioch. It is, consequently, most surprising that Newell dates this obverse die to the period ca. 201–197, when all parallels point to a date 15–20 years earlier. Much the same applies to *WSM* no. 1268, only here the incongruity is made more striking by the dating which is to the last period of Antiochus III's reign, 197–187. On the other hand, Newell's dating of *WSM* no. 1255, ca. 201–197, is quite consistent with the parallel material from other mints, but the place in the Tyrian sequence is questionable. To place this coin, clearly showing the late portrait, before *WSM* no. 1268 with the youthful head comes close to destroying all argumentation from the position of portrait style.

All the difficulties inherent in Newell's classification derive from a single fact. Except for a very short period, 219–217, where Newell places *WSM* nos. 1251–52, Antiochus III was only able to strike coins in Tyre after his final acquisition of Coelesyria in 201–200, while the silver coins attributed to Tyre would fit much better as the output of a mint working for Antiochus III continually throughout his reign. Of course one can object that the development of portrait style at Tyre might possibly differ from that of other mints. Even if one accepts some modifications of Newell's arrangement, the attribution to Tyre might be saved in this way. In principle this attitude is justified, but in this particular case it will not do. From the bronze issues certainly struck at Tyre after 201 (*WSM* nos. 1256–59 and 1272–1280), many of which are dated according to the Seleucid Era, we know that at Tyre at this period a "late" portrait of Antiochus with bald forehead, long pointed nose, and hollow cheeks, was used. The conspicuous discrepancy between the portraits such as *WSM* pl. XLVI, 3–4 (silver dated by Newell ca. 197–187), and *WSM* pl. XLVI, 8–10 (bronze issues of 197/6, 196/5 and 194/3), cannot be explained away. We can hardly assume that the silver coins of a certain mint lagged behind the less important bronze issues of the same place stylistically.

Let us now examine Newell's reasons for attributing this silver to Tyre. In his first work on the subject[9] he adduces, as far as I can see, four arguments:

[9] *NNM* 10 (1921). Newell's later works on this series (*NNM* 73 [1936] and *WSM*, 200–208) seem to present no new arguments for the attribution.

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1. It is "difficult to believe," nay "in fact, impossible," that the important commercial town of Tyre should have stopped issuing silver coins between 201 and 150, when the well known series with "eagle" reverse of Phoenician weight was introduced by Alexander Balas.[10]

It is always difficult to argue for or against probabilities. In this connection I should like to point out that the equally important commercial and maritime centers of Sidon and Berytus did not, as far as I know, produce any silver coins during this period,[11] the only certain issues of Seleucid silver from a Phoenician city before Alexander Balas being the coins of Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV, and Antiochus V from Ace-Ptolemais.[12]

2. Newell finds a close connection between the Tyrian bronze coins and some of the tetradrachms, pointing to the similarity between the portraits and in the style of the die-cutting.[13]

Stylistic similarity is a rather vague and subjective criterion. In my opinion the parallels adduced by Newell are not conclusive, all the portraits being of the same "late" type. This gives them a certain similarity, which need not imply a common place of origin.

3. On some of the tetradrachms and drachms (*WSM* nos. 1260, 1263, 1266–68, 1271) a club appears as symbol—"the customary attribute of Tyrian Heracles and the usual symbol of the mint of Tyre."[14]

Here we arrive at Newell's best argument for the attribution to Tyre, and I have a strong suspicion that this club-symbol was the point of departure for his theory. As the club is also found on most of the related issues of Antiochus III's successors down to Demetrius I, Newell was undoubtedly right in concluding that this symbol was the mint mark of the city where the coins were issued, not a magistrate's personal badge. Equally certain is the fact that the club as the attribute of Heracles-Melqart was one of the most important

[10] *NNM* 10 (1921), 2–3.
[11] We have no statistics on the relative importance of the Phoenician cities during the first half of the second century. During the latter half, Tyre certainly acquires a dominant position, but until 150, Sidon and Berytus were at least equally important. It is my impression that during this period Sidon has the best claim to be regarded as the *prima inter pares* of the Phoenician communities.
[12] See, most recently, Mørkholm, *Studies in the Coinage of Antiochus IV* (1963), 44ff.
[13] *NNM* 10 (1921), 7.
[14] *NNM* 10 (1921), 16.

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numismatic types and symbols used at Tyre.[15] However, two points may be made in this connection. On the Tyrian issues of Ptolemy V, struck immediately before the Seleucid conquest, as well as on the Tyrian coins of Alexander Balas the club symbol is never used alone but always surmounted by the monogram of Tyre.[16] Here the reference is explicit, but the use of a club alone has not the same significance. As a coin type or symbol the club may be found nearly anywhere in the Greek world, as there are any number of cities where the cult of Heracles was prominent.

4. The tetradrachms of Demetrius I from our series "closely resemble in style and technique" the succeeding Phoenician tetradrachms of Alexander Balas.[17]

Again a subjective argument from style, which is not conclusive. To stress a more tangible aspect of numismatics, it is worth pointing out that there is absolutely no connection between these two issues as regards moneyers' monograms, which one might expect if they derived from the same mint.

No one of Newell's arguments for attributing our silver to Tyre is decisive, and the development of the portrait of Antiochus III tells strongly against it, indicating, as already stated, a mint under Seleucid control throughout the reign. On the other hand, Newell was undoubtedly right in ascribing the coins "to a mint whose location could not have been at any very great distance from Antioch, that is to say, as far away as Asia Minor or Babylonia. We must, therefore, look nearer home—perhaps in Cilicia, Syria, or along the Phoenician coast."[18] Having accepted the western origin of the coin series, we must now find a mint which was in the possession of Antiochus III throughout his reign (thus ruling out Phoenicia) and where the cult of Heracles took a prominent place. Both conditions are best satisfied by Tarsus, whose local hero, Sandan, was identified

[15] Cf. *BMC Phoenicia*, pl. xxix, 18–19; pl. xxx; pl. xxxi, 9 and 14; pl. xxxii, 1 and 4. Cf. also the bronze coin *WSM*, pl. xlvi, 14.

[16] Svoronos, Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, nos. 1297–98, pl. xlii, 23. *NNM* 34 (1927), 15–17.

[17] *NNM* 10 (1921), 38.

[18] *NNM* 10 (1921), 6. After the peace of Apamea, 188, a mint in Asia Minor outside Cilicia is, of course, excluded.

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by the Greeks with Heracles.[19] On a Tarsian bronze issue of this period the club of the hero is actually used as the obverse type.[20] Consequently, in my opinion, Tarsus has the best claim as the mint of the silver series here under discussion. However, a difficulty is created by the existence of *WSM* nos. 1328–29, two early coins of Antiochus III, the only silver of this reign which has up to the present day been attributed to Tarsus. In my opinion these coins belong elsewhere, and quite provisionally I venture to suggest an attribution to Laodicea ad mare.

Thus the existence of a continuous issue of silver coins from Tarsus down to the reign of Demetrius I has been established.[21] In passing, I should like to point out that under Seleucus IV more coins were issued here than appears from the material listed by Newell. An issue with the symbol *Nike* ascribed by him to Antioch[22] shows so close a resemblance to some of the Tarsus coins, that it must originate in the same mint (PLATE XII, 1–3, 5).

II. THE MINT OF SOLI

The attribution to Tarsus of the silver formerly ascribed to Tyre has consequences for another Seleucid series. As *WSM* nos. 1282 to 1287 Newell has listed a small and compact group of tetradrachms, which show a marked stylistic affinity with his "Tyrian" silver.[23] Before we proceed to discuss this issue it will be necessary to list the coins struck by Antiochus III's successors at the same mint. They are all in silver. The die-position is ↑↑ with small variations.

[19] Cf. *RE* Zweite Reihe I, s.v. Sandon.

[20] See D. H. Cox in Goldman, *Tarsus* I, 49.

[21] A drachm of Antiochus IV with the symbol club was actually found during the excavations in Tarsus. Cf. D. H. Cox in Goldman, *Tarsus* I, 46. Of course, the find spot of a single coin is not very revealing for its place of origin.

[22] *SMA*, 14, no. 33. Of this issue the following specimens are known to me: a) New York, ANS; 16.97 gm. (PLATE XII, 2). b) Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 472; 17.10 gm. c) Athens, 16.75 gm. d) Vienna, 17.0 gm. (PLATE XII, 5). e) Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 38, no. 2; 17.14 gm. f) Paris, from the excavations at Susa. g) Cambridge, *General Coll.*; 17.08 gm. h) Beirut, American University Coll. no. 2487. Specimens a–c were struck from one obverse die, d–g from another.

[23] *WSM* no. 1281 may belong to the same mint. The bird symbol in the l. field is by Newell taken to be the dove of Ascalon, but it might well be an owl.

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Seleucus IV

187–175 B.C.

1. *Obv.*: Diademed head of the king r.; fillet border.
   Rev.: Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding in r. hand arrow, l. hand resting on bow; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ; in l. field *head of Athena* l.; in exergue 𐤀 and ΣΑ. Tetradrachm.
   a. 17.03 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 38, no. 9, pl. lxvi, 3. PLATE XII, 6.

2. Same types and inscription as preceding. *Rev.*: in l. field ΔΙ above *owl*: in r. field ΟΝ. Drachms.
   a. 4.07 New York, ANS. Chisel cut. PLATE XII, 4.
   b. 4.12 Berlin. *Rev.*: Letters and symbol in l. field off flan.

Antiochus IV

175–164 B.C.

1. *Obv.*: Diademed head of the king r.; fillet border.
   Rev.: Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding in r. hand arrow, l. hand resting on bow; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; in l. field 𐤍 𐤏 above *head of Athena*; in r. field ΣΑ. Tetradrachms.
   a. Paris, from the Susa excavations.[24] PLATE XII, 7.
   b. 17.15 Turin, *Fabretti*, no. 4628.[25]

2. Same types and inscription as preceding. *Rev.*: in l. field 𐤀 above *owl perched on bunch of grapes*; in r. field 𐤏. Tetradrachm.
   a. 16.85 Paris, *Rois de Syrie*, no. 517. PLATE XIII, 1.

3. Same types and inscription as no. 1. *Rev.*: in l. field 𐤏 above *owl*; in r. field ΣΑ. Tetradrachms.[26]
   a. 17.00 London, *BMC Seleucid Kings*, III, no. 4a. PLATE XIII, 3.
   b. 16.96 Paris, new acquisition ex *SNG* III (Lockett Coll.), no. 3123 ex Naville Sale VII, 1924 (Bement Coll.), no. 1680.
   c. 17.05 Turin, *Fabretti*, no. 4631.

[24] I am much indebted to M. le Rider of the Bibliothèque Nationale for sending me a plaster cast of this important coin and allowing me to publish it.
[25] Nos. 1a–b are from the same pair of dies. I owe my best thanks for photographs of the coins in Turin to Dr. Anna Serena Fava.
[26] Nos. 3a–c are from the same dies and share the obverse die with no. 2a.

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Demetrius I

162–150 B.C.

1. *Obv.*: Diademed head of the king r.; laurel wreath.
   Rev.: Tyche seated l. holding in r. hand short staff, in l. hand cornucopiae; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ; in l. field ΝΚ above *owl*; in r. field ΗΕ. Tetradrachms.[27]
   a. 16.74 *Coll. Jameson* III, no. 2349. PLATE XIII, 4.
   b. 16.69 Hess/Leu Auction Sale, April 16, 1964, no. 239.

Demetrius II

First reign, 146–138 B.C.

1. *Obv.*: Diademed head of the king r.; fillet border.
   Rev.: Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding in r. hand arrow, l. hand resting on bow; [Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [Δ]ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ [ΦΙ]ΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ [ΝΙ]ΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ; in l. field *owl*; in exergue ΑΡ. Drachm.
   a. 4.02 New York, ANS. PLATE XIII, 5.

As already stated, the general similarity in style and fabric of *WSM* nos. 1282–87 with the silver thought to be Tyrian was pointed out by Newell, and consequently he attributed the coins to an uncertain mint in southern Coelesyria, mentioning Sidon, Ace-Ptolemais, and Damascus as possibilities.[28] A survey of the whole series listed here confirms the accuracy of Newell's stylistic observation. Furthermore, some moneyers' monograms and initials such as ΣΑ, Φ, ΝΚ are common to both series, revealing most probably the same persons working at two mints within the same area. With the removal of the "Tyrian" silver to Tarsus in Cilicia we must look for the mint of our coins in the same province. Besides stylistic similarity and the reappearance of various monograms, there is another feature which marks the coins under discussion as a coherent series issued by one mint: the symbols *head of Athena* and *owl*. As they appear from the time of Antiochus III until the first reign of Demetrius II, we can

[27] Nos. 1a–b are from the same dies.
[28] *WSM*, 211.

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assume with confidence that they must stand for the city in the same way as the club on the preceding series. Thus we have to look for a mint in Cilicia, where Athena and her owl were prominent. Unfortunately we are left with several possibilities. Mallus, or its harbour Magarsus, could boast of the famous cult of Athena Magarsis.[29] At Seleucia ad Calycadnum Athena was the dominant coin type during the Hellenistic period[30] and the same applies to Soli, where the owl also occurs on some bronzes.[31] However, a curious detail may strengthen Soli's claims to be the mint of our series. While Athenas and owls occur frequently on coins from all parts of the Greek world, the symbol *owl perched on bunch of grapes* is, as far as I know, of the greatest rarity. But during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the stock reverse type of the silver coins from Soli was a bunch of grapes. A fourth century issue, a specimen of which is illustrated (PLATE XIII, 6), even shows the owl as a symbol standing in the field beside the bunch of grapes.[32] As the obverse of this coin shows the head of Athena, we have here combined the same three elements which appear as symbols on the Seleucid coins. This can hardly be due to pure coincidence.

The attribution to Soli of the silver coins here described seems to me by far the most probable. However, the city was only acquired by Antiochus III in 197 during his general attack on the Ptolemaic possessions along the southern coast of Asia Minor.[33] In keeping with the date is the fact that no coins of this mint show the early portrait of Antiochus III. A further confirmation of the Cilician origin of the coins may be found in the following consideration. I have pointed out that the peculiar symbol *owl perched on bunch of grapes* (Antiochus IV, no. 2) is also found together with the monogram ⍓ on a tetradrachm struck by Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia (PLATE XIII, 2); I explained this as an indication of a political alliance between Syria and Cap-

[29] See Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques*, 130f. During the first half of the second century Magarsus, under the name Antioch on the Pyramus, was apparently more important than Mallus.
[30] Cf. *SNG Cop.*, 33, nos. 196ff.
[31] Cf. *BMC Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, pl. xxvi, nos. 11–13 and 15; pl. xxvii, 2.
[32] Cf. *BMC Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, pl. xxvi, 4–7; *SNG Cop.*, 33, nos. 235–36.
[33] Livy XXXIII, 20, 4; Hieronymus, *Comm. in Daniel* 11, 15–16 (= Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* II C, no. 260, p. 1224, F 46).

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padocia during the reign of Antiochus IV.[34] At the time of this discovery I thought that Antiochus IV had supplied his neighbour with personnel for the establishment of a mint in Cappadocia, even if it seemed rather odd that he should have chosen to send people from a mint in distant Coelesyria to Cappadocia. If, as I now believe, the symbol *owl perched on bunch of grapes* is a mint-mark of Soli, we must assume that the mint of that city was placed at the disposal of Ariarathes IV, who struck his coin there. In any case, Cilicia was the Syrian province bordering Cappadocia, so that the relation between the coins of Antiochus IV and Ariarathes IV makes better sense if we assume that the Seleucid coins originated in this province.

OTTO MØRKHOLM

[34] Mørkholm, "Some Cappadocian Problems," *NC* 1962, 409f.

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THE ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHOS IV OF SYRIA

A Numismatic Comment*

(See PLATES XIV–XVI)

During the last decade several papers have been devoted to an analysis of the events leading up to and immediately following the accession of Antiochos IV to the Seleucid throne. A most valuable Babylonian cuneiform king list published in 1954 has stimulated research on the chronology of these events[1] and at the same time offered some new evidence on the other intricate question related to the accession, namely the identity of the boy Antiochos, whose portrait appears on a series of silver coins struck at the mint of Antioch about this time.[2] Prior to 1953 the *communis opinio* was that a son of Seleukos IV was represented,[3] but in that year A. Aymard in a penetrating study of the problem arrived at the conclusion that the boy

* This paper is an enlarged version of a lecture delivered at the ANS summer seminar 1962. For valuable help and guidance through the intricacies of the English language I am much indebted to Joan Fagerlie and Margaret Thompson.

The following abbreviations are used: ANS, American Numismatic Society Collection; *BMC, Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*; *CAH, Cambridge Ancient History*; *Fabretti, Regio museo di Torino ordinato e descritto da A. Fabretti, F. Rossi e R. V. Lanzone ...*, vol. III, *Monete greche*, Turin, 1883; *Hunter Coll.*, Macdonald, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Glasgow 1899–1905; *JIAN, Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, Athènes; *NNM*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs edited by the American Numismatic Society; *OGIS*, Dittenberger, *Orientis Graecae Inscriptions Selectae*, Leipzig 1903–05; *REA, Revue des études anciennes*, Paris; *RFIC, Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, Turin; *Rois de Syrie*, E. Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliotheque Nationale, Les Rois de Syrie*, Paris 1890; *S. E.*, Seleucid era; *SMA*, E. T. Newell, "The Seleucid Mint of Antioch," *American Journal of Numismatics*, 1917/1918.

[1] A. J. Sachs & D. J. Wiseman, "A Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period," *Iraq* XVI, 1954, 202–211. Cf. J. Schaumberger, "Die neue Seleukidenliste BM 35603 und die makkabäische Chronologie," *Biblica* XXXVI, 1955, 423–435; A. Aymard, "Du nouveau sur la chronologie des Séleucides," *REA* LVII, 1955, 102–112; E. Manni, "A proposita di una nuova lista babilonese di re ellenistici," *RFIC* XXXIV, 1956, 273–278.

[2] The time and place of minting of these coins were definitely established by Newell in *SMA* 19–21.

[3] Cf. E. Bevan, *CAH* VIII, 713–14 and Newell, *NNM* 73, 1936, 11–12.

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was a son of Antiochos IV appointed co-ruler by the father shortly after his accession.[4] The clinching evidence was thought to be afforded by a Babylonian tablet dated August 14, 173 B.C. under "Antiochos and Antiochos his son kings." The king list mentioned above seems to support Aymard's thesis in the most explicit way by giving the exact dates of the co-regency of father and son.

To take up the problem anew may seem unprofitable or even unnecessary. However, I am convinced that an important body of material bearing on the question has not yet been properly evaluated. The coins are frequently mentioned and used for illustration but in my opinion their value goes further than that. Only by collecting all available specimens and arranging them into a series on the basis of a study of the dies from which the coins were struck, can the historian hope to extract all the information offered by the numismatic material towards a solution of the problem in question. Accordingly a *corpus*, comprising the silver coins of the boy king Antiochos from the mint of Antioch together with the first series of silver issued at the same mint by Antiochos IV, is here published.[5]

THE BOY KING ANTIOCHOS[6]

Obv.: Diademed head of young boy r.; fillet border.

Rev.: Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding in r. hand arrow, l. hand resting on bow; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; in outer l. field tripod; in exergue monogram or letter.

[4] A. Aymard, "Autour de l'avènement d'Antiochos IV," *Historia* II, 1953/54, 49–73. Aymard's identification is accepted by G. le Rider, Congresso internazionale di numismatica 1961, *Relazioni* I, 78. On the other hand M. Zambelli, "L'ascesa al trono di Antioco IV Epifane di Siria," *RFIC* XXXVIII, 1960, 363–389, reverts to the view of Bevan. This paper only came to my knowledge recently and even if I agree with Zambelli on the question of the boy's identity, on many points I cannot subscribe to his arguments.

[5] The boy king also struck tetradrachms at Tyre (cf. *NNM* 73, 1936, no. 28a) and Susa (Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 332), but these few specimens are of no special importance for our purpose. Nor do the bronze coins of Antioch offer any help. The series: veiled female bust r./elephant's head l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (*SMA* 21) may have been issued by both kings.

[6] In the list of coins the dies have been numbered, A 1, A 2, etc. denoting the obverse (anvil) dies, P 1, P 2, etc. the reverse (punch) dies of the tetradrachms. The same system, but with small letters, is used for the few drachms. The

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1. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in exergue ΑΡ.

A 1–P 1	16.97	London, *BMC* (Seleucid Kings) 24, no. 2.
A 1–P 2	17.00	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (PLATE XIV, 1).
A 1–P 2	16.91	Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 53, no. 2.
	17.21	Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4582.[7]

2. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in exergue ΗΡ.

A 1–P 3	17.08	London, *BMC* (Seleucid Kings) 24, no. 1 (PLATE XIV, 2).
A 1–P 4	17.05	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 329.
A 2–P 5	16.79	Munich. (PLATE XIV, 3).
A 2–P 5	17.11	Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 53, no. 1, pl. lxvii, 1.
A 2–P 6	17.08	New York, ANS ex Hirsch Sale XXV, 1909 (Philipsen Coll.) no. 2901. *SMA* pl. iii, 45.

3. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in exergue Δ.

A 1–P 7	16.60	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (PLATE XIV, 4).
A 1–P 8	17.22	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 325.
A 1–P 9	17.01	The Hague, Six Foundation.
A 2–P 10	15.72	New York, ANS (oxydized and cleaned). *SMA* pl. iii, 52.
	16.93	Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4581.

4. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in exergue Β.

A 2–P 11	17.03	London, *BMC* (Seleucid Kings) 24, no. 3, pl. viii, 1. *SMA* pl. iii, 51.
A 2–P 11	17.05	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 330, pl. viii, 17.
A 2–P 12	17.00	Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 53, no. 3 (PLATE XIV, 5).

5. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in exergue ΔΚ.

A 2–P 13	17.10	Budapest.
A 2–P 13	17.2	Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. *JIAN* 13, 1911, 152, no. 382.
A 2–P 14	17.17	Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer (PLATE XIV, 6).

6. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in exergue Ϟ.

A 2–P 15	16.3	Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. *JIAN* 13, 1911, 153, no. 383 (oxydized).

second column gives the weights in grammes. The die position has not been indicated. It is generally ↑↑ with very few and insignificant deviations of the type ↑↖ or ↑↗. Most of the specimens come from well-known public collections. The sales catalogues are listed by dealers, the name of the owner, when known, appearing in parentheses. For their permission to publish coins in their charge and for their kindness in providing me with casts or photos I am indebted to the curators of the various collections.

[7] The coins in the Turin collection being for the time inaccessible, I have not been able to indicate their dies.

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A 2–P 15	17.01	Coll. Jameson, *Monnaies grecques antiques*, Vol. I (Paris, 1913) no. 1683 ex Sotheby Sale 1908 (O'Hagan Coll.) no. 652. *SMA* pl. iii, 46.
A 2–P 15	17.09	*Weber Coll.* vol. III, part II (London, 1929) no. 7896 ex Sotheby Sale 1884 (Whittall Coll.) no. 1422.
A 2–P 16	16.85	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 328. Pellerin, *Mélanges de Médailles* I, 135, pl. iii, 17, (from Latakia hoard, *NNM* 78, 1937, no. 603).
A 2–P 17	17.18	P & P Santamaria Sale, October, 1949, no. 82 (17.27 gr.) ex Schlessinger Sale, February, 1935, no. 1451. *JIAN* 13, 1911, 153, no. 384 (PLATE XIV, 7).

7. Drachms. *Rev.*: in exergue 𐡀.

a 1–p 1	3.95	New York, ANS. (PLATE XV, 1).
a 2–p 2	3.67	Paris, new acquisition (PLATE XV, 2).

8. Tetradrachm. *Rev.*: in exergue 𐡀.

A 2–P 18	17.09	Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 945 ex Sotheby Sale 1896 (Montagu Coll.) no. 700 (PLATE XV, 3).

9. Tetradrachm. *Rev.*: in exergue 𐡀𐡍.

A 3–P 19	16.50	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 327 (PLATE XV, 4).

10. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in exergue 𐡓𐡐.

A 3–P 20	16.69	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 326 (the weight given there, 17.70 gr., is a mistake).
A 3–P 20	17.18	Berlin (PLATE XV, 5).

On the following tetradrachms the monogram or letter in the exergue is off flan:

A 1–P 21	17.10	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 331. *Coll. de Luynes* no. 3296, pl. cxx (PLATE XV, 6).
A 3–P 22	17.08	Brussels, Coll. de Hirsch no. 1672.
A 3–P 22	16.99	Ward Coll., *Greek Coins and their Parent Cities* (London, 1902) no. 782 ex Sotheby Sale 1896 (Bunbury Coll. II) no. 465.
A 3–P 22	16.62	A. E. Cahn Sale, November, 1933, no. 406 ex Glendining Sale, March, 1931, no. 1150 ex Helbing Sale, November, 1928, no. 4061 ex Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1049 (PLATE XV, 7).

ANTIOCHOS IV

Obv.: Diademed head of the King r.; fillet border.

Rev.: Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding in r. hand arrow, l. hand resting on bow; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; in l. and r. fields one or two symbols; in exergue monogram.

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1. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in l. field tripod, in r. lyre, in exergue ΓΡ.

A 1–P 1	17.05	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 516 (PLATE XV, 8).
A 1–P 1	17.11	New York, ANS.
	16.91	Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4630.

2. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in l. field tripod, in r. lyre, in exergue 𐡀.

A 2–P 2	16.82	Berlin.
A 2–P 3	16.93	London, *BMC* (Seleucid Kings) 34, no. 3.
A 2–P 3	16.97	The Hague, Six Foundation (PLATE XVI, 1).
A 2–P 4	17.01	Milan, former Brera Coll. no. 3160.
A 2–P 4	16.70	Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1024 ex Naville Sale V, 1923, no. 2798.
A 3–P 5	17.05	The Hague, inv. no. 7041 (PLATE XVI, 2).
A 3–P 5	17.02	London, *BMC* (Seleucid Kings) 34, no. 4, pl. xi, 2. *SMA* pl. iii, 44.

3. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in r. field lyre, in exergue 𐡀. In l. field erasure of tripod.

A 3–P 6	17.00	The Hague, inv. no. 7043 (PLATE XVI, 3).
A 3–P 6	17.06	Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 41, no. 3, pl. lxvi, 8.
A 3–P 6	16.70	Vinchon Sale, May, 1959, no. 587 (chisel cut).
	15.41	Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4627.

4. Drachm. *Rev.*: in r. field lyre, in exergue 𐡀.

a 1–p 1	3.91	Paris, *Revue Num.* 1959–60, 13, no. 16, pl. ii ex Coll. Chandon de Briailles (PLATE XVI, 4).

5. Tetradrachms. *Rev.*: in l. field lyre, in exergue 𐡀.

A 3–P 7	17.1	The Hague, inv. no. 7044 (PLATE XVI, 5).
A 3–P 7	17.10	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, General Coll.
A 3–P 7	16.90	Copenhagen, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* 35, no. 183.
A 3–P 8	17.00	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 515.
A 3–P 8	16.96	Berlin.
A 3–P 9	16.98	New York, ANS ex Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1023.
A 3–P 9	17.15	Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 514, pl. xii, 1. *Coll. de Luynes* no. 3309, pl. cxx. *SMA* pl. iii, 42.
A 3–P 10	16.91	London, British Museum ex Sotheby Sale, 1896 (Bunbury Coll. II) no. 488.
A 3–P 11	17.04	Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 41, no. 2.
A 3–P 12		Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Fixed Price List 226, Sept.-Oct., 1962, no. 10.
A 4–P 13	17.13	Berlin (PLATE XVI, 6).
	17.2	*JIAN* 13, 1911, 150, no. 329.

A discussion of the chronology of the two coin series listed above may profitably start with the first series of Antiochos IV. The beginning of this coinage must undoubtedly coincide with the king's accession to the Syrian throne late in the year 175 B.C. But for how

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long were these coins struck? The acknowledged authority on the Seleucid coinages, E. T. Newell, gives the dates 176/5 to 170/69 B.C.[8] However, a comparison with the two later series of Antiochene tetradrachms of the same king shows this to be highly improbable. The material at my disposal, including the coins from practically all important coin cabinets as well as the illustrated sales catalogues within my reach, comprises the following number of tetradrachms:[9]

Series I 23 specimens struck from 4 obverse dies
Series II 89 specimens struck from 17 obverse dies
Series III 136 specimens struck from 36 obverse dies

Even assuming that the first, rather uneventful, years of Antiochos IV might have demanded a lesser output of coins than the period after 170 B.C., which saw the war with Egypt and the Maccabean revolt in Judaea, it does not seem possible that only four obverse dies should have been used at Antioch for nearly half the reign, five years out of eleven.[10] On the basis of the numbers recorded above I should suggest the dates 175–173 for Series I, 173–169 for Series II, and 169–164 for Series III. This distribution of the coins takes into account the probable increase in the coinage of the later years of the reign. The introduction of the title Νικηφόρος on Series III will then be connected with the first campaign of Antiochos IV in Egypt in 169 B.C., certainly

[8] *SMA* 17ff.

[9] The list only comprises the specimens the dies of which are known to me. Series II (*SMA* 22ff.) consists of the tetradrachms with seated Zeus as the reverse type and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. On the coins of the third series (*SMA* 28ff.) the royal title is amplified by adding ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. The obverse dies are counted separately for each series in spite of the fact that one die is carried over from Series I to II and another one from Series II to III. Thus the total of obverse dies used by Antiochos IV at Antioch amounts to 55. See Mørkholm, "Studies in the Coinage of Antiochus IV of Syria," *Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.* 40, no. 3 (Copenhagen, 1963), 11ff. and 24ff.

[10] This implies that our record of obverse dies used in Series I is virtually complete. In fact this assumption seems to be valid, when the ratio of known specimens to obverse dies is 6:1 or above. See M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, 1961, 711. It now happens that three tetradrachms of Series II were struck with the obverse die A 4, which was carried over from Series I (PLATE XVI, 7), bringing the total of coins certainly struck from the first four obverse dies to 26 or more than 6 coins per obverse die. In any event the numbers given in the text show that our record is more complete for the first series than for the two succeeding, which is a further argument for rejecting Newell's dates.

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an event apt to produce this amplification of the royal title. The date 173 B.C. for the transition from Series I to II is rather arbitrary, of course, but the coinage of the first series seems to have been produced over a period of some length. Especially instructive is the use of the obverse die A 3 with three different reverse types (nos. 2, 3, and 5 in the list above), the one of which (no. 3) was made by the difficult process of erasing a symbol on an already finished die. The natural conclusion to be drawn from the material at hand is that for some time A 3 was the only obverse die in use at the mint of Antioch,[11] the output being reduced to a small fraction of its normal volume.

Turning now to the coins of the boy king Antiochos the problem is whether these coins were issued simultaneously with the first series of Antiochos IV, as assumed by Newell in *SMA* on the basis of a rather small body of material, or before that series, i.e., filling a gap between the coinages of Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV. The coins themselves definitely suggest the latter possibility. How else are we to explain the occurrence on this series of eight different moneyer's monograms,[12] only two of which are found on the first series of Antiochos IV? Why should six moneyers have restricted their activity to the coins of the boy king if both series were struck at the same time? Furthermore there is nothing comparable to the changing use of symbols on the reverses of the first series of Antiochos IV. We are here dealing with a homogenous group of coins, which may very well have been minted during a very short period. A few months will suffice.[13] The conclusion imposed by the coin material, when studied

[11] This die may very well have been used for a year or more. The life span of an obverse die obviously depends on the production rate of the mint. According to M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, 1961, 721, the obverse dies at Athens in the second century B.C. lasted from one to five months. However, the dated Alexander coinage from the small mints at Sidon and Ake in the late fourth century B.C. shows the same obverse dies used with reverses dated to three or even four successive years. Cf. E. T. Newell, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, 1916, 19f. (obverse dies XXXII and XXXIII) and 45ff. (obverse dies XX and XXIV). See also G. F. Hill, *BMC* (Phoenicia) Introduction p. xxxiii for an obverse die of Arados used during four years.

[12]  and  are taken to represent the same moneyer.

[13] For comparison see the posthumous coinage of Antiochos IV at Antioch in the year 146/45 B.C. (*NC* 1960, 25–30). This issue which can have covered only a few months comprises 39 silver coins (tetradrachms and drachms) struck from 12 obverse dies and signed by 11 moneyers.

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without any preconceived ideas, is that the issue of the boy king did in fact precede the first issue of Antiochos IV, even if we cannot rule out the possibility of a partial overlapping of the two series.

To get a clear notion of the historical background for the coin series we must now direct our attention towards the evidence available from other sources. Of prime importance is the Babylonian cuneiform king list mentioned above. The following translation of its paragraphs relating to Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV is reproduced from the first edition:[14]

Rev. vv. 8–9

"The same year (125 S.E.), Se(leukos IV) his son sat on the throne. He ruled 12 years. Year 137 (S.E.), month VI, day 10, Se(leukos) the king died ..."

Rev. vv. 10–15

"The same month (VI, 137 S.E.) An(tiochos) his son sat on the throne. He reigned 11 years. The same [year] (137 S.E.), month VIII, An(tiochos) and An(tiochos) his son (ruled) as kings. [Year 1]42 (S.E.), month V, at the command of An(tiochos IV) the king, An(tiochos) the (co)-regent, his son, was put to death. [Year 14]3 (S.E.), An(tiochos ruled as) king (alone). [Year 148 S.E., month] IX it was heard that king An(tiochos) [died ...]"

Substituting Julian dates[15] for the Babylonian of the tablet it appears that Seleukos IV died on September 3, 175 B.C. In the same Babylonian month, i.e., before September 22 his son (sic) Antiochos IV ascended the throne. A few months later, between October 23 and November 20, 175 B.C., Antiochos appointed his son also named Antiochos, co-ruler of the Seleucid kingdom. The two kings ruled

[14] Cf. *Iraq* XVI, 1954, 208. On p. 204 the editors give the following comment on their translation: "Brackets [ ] enclose whatever is completely broken away in the text, and parentheses () contain anything which, strictly speaking, is not in the original text but may be needed occasionally to make the translation intelligible."

[15] The dates here given are taken from Parker & Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626* B.C.–A.D. *75*, 1956, 23. They differ slightly from the dates of Sachs and Wiseman. The speculations of E. Manni, *RFIC* 1956, 273–278, on the possible use in the king list of a modified Babylonian calendar, the year beginning in autumn instead of spring and the Babylonian names of the months being transposed according to this, are quite unfounded. Cf. Zambelli, *RFIC* 1960, 363, note 2.

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together for nearly five years, until Antiochos the father during the Babylonian month July 31 to August 28, 170 B.C.had his son killed.

Despite its short and factual style the evidence of the tablet cannot be accepted without question. In the first place the compiler of this list has made a blunder in calling the Antiochos of v. 10 the son of Seleukos IV. The following sentence, mentioning his 11 years of reign, shows beyond doubt that Antiochos IV, the brother of Seleukos IV, was meant. The next difficulty arises from the chronology of the events. From Appian we happen to know that Antiochos, while he was staying at Athens, received the news of the murder of his brother by his prime minister Heliodoros. With the help of King Eumenes of Pergamon and his brother Attalos he was able to drive Heliodoros from Syria and ascend the Seleucid throne.[16] The rôle played by the Pergamene princes in this affair is further elucidated by an Athenian decree found in Pergamon praising Eumenes and his brothers for their ready assistance to Antiochos, the friend of the Athenian people. The inscription tells us, that the Pergamenians escorted Antiochos to the Syrian border, provided him with money and an army, and gave him the diadem and the other royal insignia.[17] It seems quite impossible that this whole chain of events, the news of Seleukos' death travelling to Athens, Antiochos' journey from Athens to somewhere in the Pergamene kingdom, his consultation with Eumenes, the assembling of troops etc., and the advance to Syria, can have taken place in the 19 days intervening, according to the maximal interpretation of the king list, between the death of Seleukos and the accession of his brother.[18] Common sense suggests that Antiochos IV can, at the

[16] Appian, *Syr.* VIII, 45.

[17] *OGIS* 248, vv. 15–18:

Μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας συμπρο-
ελθόντες καὶ χρήμασι χορηγήσαντες καὶ
δυνάμεις παρασκευάσαντες καὶ τῶι διαδήματι
μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς κοσμήσαντες (sc. the Pergamene princes)

The Athenian origin of the decree has been established by M. Holleaux, "Un prétendu décret d'Antioche sur l'Oronte," *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* II, 1938, 127–147 (reprinted from *Revue des études grecques* XIII, 1900, 258–280).

[18] On the travelling speed in antiquity see Louis E. Lord, "The Date of Julius Caesar's Departure from Alexandria," *Journal of Roman Studies* XXXVIII, 1938, 19–40. Even if we accept the suggestion of Zambelli, *RFIC* 1960, 373, that Antiochos IV dated his accession from the day when he received the royal

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earliest, have arrived in Syria about the time which the king list gives for the nomination of his son as co-regent, October–November 175 B.C. A confirmation of this dating can be found in a bronze coin of Tyre, struck with the portrait and name of Seleukos IV in the year 138 S.E.,[19] which according to the Macedonian calendar used in the western part of the Seleucid empire ran from October, 175 to October, 174 B.C. While it is quite feasible that this coin might have been struck in a period of turmoil after the death of Seleukos, its minting is hardly possible once Antiochos IV was in power. However, the inaccuracy of the Babylonian king list, written about 140 B.C., can be easily explained. Antiochos IV was naturally eager to suppress the memory of Heliodoros and the irregular circumstances of his own accession, and this was done most effectively by reckoning the beginning of his reign from the moment of his brother's death, thus simply forgetting about the unpleasant interval of a few months between the two reigns. The same pious fiction caused the author of Maccabees I to date the beginning of Antiochos IV's reign to 137 S.E. = October, 176 to October, 175 B.C.[20]

So far two facts have been ascertained. In the first place the coins of the boy king were issued, at least in part, before the coins of Antiochos IV, that is to say before the latter's arrival in Syria. Secondly a *vacuum* of a few months existed between the death of Seleukos IV and the accession of his brother Antiochos IV, a period of sufficient length for the striking of these coins. If this be granted, the question of the identity of the boy on the coins is also settled. Only a son of Seleukos IV could have issued coins before the arrival of Antiochos IV at Antioch. According to the portrait he was about five

diadem from Eumenes of Pergamon before entering Syria, the 19 days seem hardly sufficient. In any case, what is essential to my argument is the date of Antiochos IV's arrival at Antioch, the mint of the coins issued by the boy king. Zambelli, ibid., 386f. accepting the date of the king list for the accession of Antiochos IV, goes on to use the extraordinary speed in the movements of the Syrian prince and the Pergamenians as an argument that they were really privy to the murder of Seleukos IV. Of this as well as the supposed Roman sanction of the plan we have not a single shred of evidence.

[19] Cf. E. T. Newell, *NNM* 10, 1921, 19, no. 27. I have inspected the coin, which is now in the ANS. Newell's reading of the date is beyond doubt.

[20] Cf. Macc. I, 1, 10. On the question of the two different Seleucid eras used in Macc. I, see J. C. Dancy, *I Maccabees: A Commentary*, 1954, 48–51 and Schaumberger, *Biblica* 1955, 423–435.

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years of age. Presumably he was put on the throne by Heliodoros to conceal the minister's usurpation of power. In fact we have in our literary sources a few scattered references to this boy. A fragment of John of Antioch says that Antiochos IV had a son of Seleukos IV killed but shifting the blame of the murder to some other people (presumably his helpers) he put those to death also. The same incident is mentioned by Diodoros. Here Antiochos IV is not referred to explicitly, but the actual murderer of the young prince is named Andronikos. This Andronikos has generally, and I think rightly, been identified with the homonymous person who according to the Jewish tradition was put to death by Antiochos IV about 171/70 B.C. for the murder of the former Jewish High Priest Onias III, then living in exile near Antioch.[21] It is unlikely that two high Seleucid court officials, both named Andronikos, should have been executed on a charge of murder during the first half of Antiochos IV's reign. From these references it seems certain that Seleukos IV at his death left a son in Syria. The coins show that he was named Antiochos, and the portrait indicates that he was a younger brother of the later Demetrios I, who was at that time a hostage in Rome.[22]

It now remains to explain the Babylonian sources mentioning a son of Antiochos IV as co-regent from 175 to 170 B.C.[23] The first thing which leaps to the eye is the strange parallelism in the destinies of the two boys, the nephew of Antiochos IV known from the coins and the Greek historical tradition, and his son known only from the Babylonian tablets. Both of them occupied the Seleucid throne as minors, and

[21] Cf. John of Antioch, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (ed. C. Müller) IV, 558, fr. 58; Diod. Sic. XXX, 7, 2; Macc. II, 4, 34–38.

[22] It has been thought unlikely that Seleukos IV would send his elder son as a hostage to Rome, but if the Romans demanded a Seleucid prince in exchange for Antiochos (IV), who had been kept as hostage since 189 B.C., Seleukos would have had no choice. Certainly the Romans would not have accepted the younger son, a 4–5 year old child in 176 B.C. As to the name Demetrios, it is surprising that the elder son and heir to the throne got a name without precedent in the Seleucid dynasty. (Cf. Aymard, *Historia* II, 1953, 57). However, we cannot but accept the fact, strange as it is.

[23] Besides the king list we have a Babylonian tablet dated August 14, 173 B.C. under "Antiochos and Antiochos his son kings." Cf. A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* II, 1913, 86, no. 38. See Aymard, *Historia* II, 1953, 59, for other cuneiform documents mentioning the co-regency without giving the relationship between the two kings.

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both of them lost their lives at the instigaton of Antiochos IV, even at approximately the same time if we accept the identification of the Andronikos of Macc. II with the one mentioned by Diodoros. This striking coincidence has not failed to arouse some curiosity and various explanations have been offered. Aymard thought that the Babylonian scribe of the king list confused the murder of the nephew with the natural death of the son and co-regent, stressing the inherent improbability that Antiochos IV could have murdered his own son without scandalizing his contemporaries and evoking some comment on his atrocity in the Greek historical tradition which is generally not too friendly to him.[24] The last writer to discuss the problem, M. Zambelli, also finds the answer in a supposed error of the scribe. According to his view the king list here, as at other places, gives a wrong filiation by calling the co-regent Antiochos the son of Antiochos IV instead of nephew.[25] This attempt at an explanation is extremely weak, because Zambelli has to assume that exactly the same mistake was made quite independently by the scribe of the tablet dated August 14, 173 B.C. A telling point against both explanations is the fact that they can fit the evidence of the king list into their respective conceptions of the political situation only by assuming grave errors on the part of the Babylonian scribe.

The only solution to this crucial problem, so far as I can see, consists in assuming that the nephew and son mentioned in the various branches of the historical tradition, was in fact one and the same person, a son of Seleukos IV proclaimed king by Heliodoros after his father's death and later, at the accession of Antiochos IV, adopted by his uncle. The theory of an adoption is the only one which can reconcile the divergent elements of the tradition.[26] It must be borne in mind that we have no reason to reject one part of the evidence in favour of the other. The Greek historical tradition is practically contemporary, going ultimately back to Polybios, and the Babylonian appears in a contemporary cuneiform tablet. Both traditions apparently are of equal value.

[24] Cf. Aymard, *REA* 1955, 110–112.
[25] Cf. Zambelli, *RFIC* 1960, 371.
[26] If we have no other cases of adoptions within the Seleucid dynasty, this is simply because sons and heirs were always present.

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If the son of Seleukos IV was adopted by Antiochos IV, who definitely intended to be the ruler of Syria,[27] this most likely was a result of some kind of compromise between various political factions in Syria. We have some rather vague indication that Antiochos IV was not received with equal enthusiasm in all quarters.[28] From Polybios we know that a certain Apollonios, a high official of Seleukos IV, retired to the city of Miletos. The words of Polybios imply that he did so at the accession of Antiochos IV, but this was clearly not the case as he can be identified with the Apollonios mentioned in Macc. II, first as governor of the province of Koile Syria and Phoenicia under Seleukos IV and later as the trusted ambassador of Antiochos IV to the Ptolemaic court during the first years of his reign.[29] Presumably the same Apollonios headed an embassy to Rome in 173 B.C., where his position at the Seleucid court and his influence with the king were acknowledged by a handsome gift.[30] His service under Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV, his subsequent retirement to Miletos at some unknown date, and the later connection between his sons and Demetrios, the surviving son of Seleukos IV and in the eyes of some people the legitimate heir to the Syrian throne, combine to suggest that during the first years of Antiochos IV's reign this Apollonios belonged to a faction loyal to the young co-regent. This would also give a reasonable ex-

[27] In Appian's account of the accession (*Syr.* VIII, 45) and the Athenian decree *OGIS* 248 the boy king is not mentioned at all. There is no evidence that Antiochos IV ever thought of himself as a guardian, preserving the rights of his nephew until he came of age (so Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, 1938, 19). On the contrary he wanted to rule in his own right. The existence of the boy, already proclaimed king before the arrival of Antiochos IV in Syria, necessitated the adoption and the acceptance of the boy as co-regent as the only workable solution for the moment.

[28] Cf. Hieronymus, *Comm. in Dan.* 11, 21 ff. (Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* II, B, no. 260 [Porphyrios of Tyre] fr. 49), who speaks of an Egyptianizing faction. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XII, 236 tells the story of the Jew Hyrkanos, who killed himself at the accession of Antiochos IV from fear of the new king.

[29] Cf. Polyb. XXXI, 13, 2–3 and Macc. II, 4, 4 & 21–22. The identification rests on the fact that Macc. II records the name of Apollonios' father Menestheus, while among the three sons of the Polybian Apollonios we meet another Menestheus. This is quite in accordance with the normal Greek usage of naming a son after his grandfather.

[30] Cf. Livy XLII, 6, 6. This identification is, of course, not certain, but probable in view of the other known data of Apollonios' career.

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planation of the murder of the boy. As the rallying-point of a political faction, he was, in spite of his extreme youth, a potential menace to Antiochos IV. If my date of 173 B.C. for the introduction of the second series of tetradrachms at Antioch is correct, this year saw a definite step in the direction of exalting Antiochos IV at the cost of his co-regent. Of course the boy had always been a *collega minor*,[31] but now Antiochos IV effectively separated himself from the rest of mankind by indroducing his devine title Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής on his coinage. During the same year, most probably, a son of his own flesh, the later Antiochos V, was born to Antiochos IV.[32] It is easy to see how these events might have strained the relations between uncle and nephew and their respective followers. After all Antiochos IV was a very ambitious man, well aware of his own capability and imbued with the most exalted ideas of his position. Once his rule in Syria was consolidated, he would certainly be most impatient of any real or imaginary check on his political power. Exactly how the situation developed in the years following 173 B.C. we do not know, but in 170 B.C. it became critical. On the eve of the war with Egypt the tension within the Seleucid dynasty resulted in the murder of the young co-regent, the nephew of Antiochos IV and his son by adoption. This ill-fated boy has left very few traces in history, the most important being perhaps his coins, which show what is undoubtedly the best and most natural child portrait of the Hellenistic Age.[33]

OTTO MØRKHOLM

[31] On this conception see Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 22 f.

[32] We have two traditions on the birth date of Antiochos V. According to Appian, *Syr.* 46 and 66 he was nine years old at the death of Antiochos IV in 164 B.C., while Porphyrios (Jacoby, *Fragments der griechischen Historiker* II, B, no. 260, fr. 32,13) puts his birth twelve years before the same event, i.e., a full year before the accession of Antiochos IV to the Syrian throne. But in my opinion Antiochos IV could hardly have contracted a suitable marriage, while he was still held as hostage in Rome. Accordingly the date of Appian seems to me the most probable.

[33] After the conclusion of my manuscript a most interesting coin has turned up: a gold octodrachm showing on the obverse the jugate heads of the boy king and a female, who from the age can only be his mother. The reverse with the monogram ⊬ corresponds exactly to the silver coins listed above as no. 2. This coin confirms my argument and proves that the coins of the boy king were issued before the appearance of Antiochos IV in Syria. The implications for the rôle of Heliodoros and the Queen, Laodike, in the plot against Seleukos IV can only be dealt with after the publication of the new coin.

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A HOARD FROM THESSALY

(See Plates XVII–XVIII)

In the spring of 1962 a small lot of hoard coins, tetradrachms of Perseus and of Athens in good to excellent condition, was offered on the Paris market. The Athenian pieces without exception belonged to the early New Style series with monograms and abbreviated names. Four specimens of each coinage were purchased by the dealer but five had been sold before word of the find reached me. The remaining tetradrachms, two of Athens and one of Perseus, are reproduced on Plate XVII, 1–3.[1]

Subsequent investigation has provided additional data on the hoard and although it has now been dispersed beyond hope of precise reconstitution, its general composition seems well established and definitely worth recording. Over 100 coins were in the original deposit which was unearthed in Thessaly, probably at or near Tricca, in 1961 or 1962.[2] In addition to the tetradrachms which went up to Northern Europe, a substantial number of pieces from the hoard came on the Greek market in 1962. Perseus coins in excellent to FDC state appeared in Athens (Plate XVII, 4); thirty other examples of the same issues in equally fine condition were seen at Tricca and with them uncleaned New Style tetradrachms, all of the first series (196–169 B.C.).[3] The hoard was also said to have contained two tetradrachms of Philip V with shield obverse and some tetradrachms of Thasos, all early strikings of good style.

Only six coins can be identified with certainty as coming from the hoard:

[1] This hoard, under the heading *Greece 1961*, was mentioned briefly in "Athens Again" (*NC* 1962, 318f.) but at the time my earlier article went to press I had information only on the Paris coins and had not yet received casts of them.

For the record as it appears here, I am indebted to Georges Le Rider, Peter R. Franke, Christof Boehringer, and several European dealers.

[2] The earlier date is the more likely in that part of the hoard was already in Paris early in 1962.

[3] A tetradrachm of 170/69 (Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, no. 304) is specifically cited as the latest of the Athenian pieces.

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Perseus

2 heavy tetradrachms of 173–171 B.C. (*ZfN* 1928, 23, no. 15) from the same pair of dies.
Münzen und Medaillen XXV, 444, gr. 16.75.
Commerce Athens ↑. PLATE XVII, 4.

1 light tetradrachm of 170–168 (*ZfN* 1928, 26, no. 23).
Commerce Paris, gr. 15.43 ↑. PLATE XVII, 3.

Athens

1 tetradrachm of 179/8 (Thompson 127 with new reverse).
Münz. u. Med. List 222, 12.

1 tetradrachm of 176/5 (T. 171 with new reverse).
Commerce Paris, gr. 17.01 ↑. PLATE XVII, 1.

1 tetradrachm of 171/0 (T. 271 with new reverse).
Commerce Paris, gr. 16.88 ↑. PLATE XVII, 2.

There are other pieces which may be linked tentatively with this Thessalian deposit. According to one report three separate finds of Perseus tetradrachms were made during 1961–1962: the hoard under present discussion, another from Tricca, and still another from an unspecified location. The coins represented as coming from the three deposits were all in very good to FDC condition. Prima facie, this is suspicious, especially in view of the fact that Perseus tetradrachms are not often found in a hoard context.[4] It is possible, of course, that three new lots of almost uncirculated Perseus coins turned up at approximately the same time, two of them at least with a Tricca association, but it seems more likely that we have again the familiar pattern of a single hoard dispersed through different channels. If this is so, four tetradrachms described as belonging to the Tricca hoard (PLATE XVII, 5–7 and Kress Catalogue 123, 116) should be included in our Thessalian find.

Well-preserved examples of the early New Style series are also uncommon in a hoard context. Thirteen such coins covering the years between 193/2 and 171/0, all in good or very good condition, were offered to the Athens Cabinet in 1961 or 1962 (*BCH* 1962, 422, no. 9).

[4] Noe (*NNM* 78) lists only five deposits and although others have undoubtedly been discovered since 1937, the total can scarcely be very high.

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One wonders if they did not come from the same source as the New Style tetradrachms seen in Paris and Tricca.

Regardless of the uncertainties involved in identifying individual hoard coins, the basic composition and chronological termini of the deposit are well defined:

Tetradrachms of Philip V	186–179
Tetradrachms of Thasos	early 2nd century
Tetradrachms of Athens	196–169
Tetradrachms of Perseus	178–168

A single report links the Thasos and Philip tetradrachms with the Athens and Perseus material but the source is reliable and there is no reason to doubt the association. Head (*HN*, 265 f.) assigns the spread-flan coinage of Thasos to the period after ca. 146 B.C., connecting its inception with the closing of the Macedonian mints in 148, and this date has been generally accepted. There is, however, considerable stylistic variation in the series as a whole. Without question the crude and degenerate specimens which comprise the bulk of the coinage are the characteristic output of a mint operating in the late second and early first centuries, but there are also coins of superior workmanship and execution. The ΔΙ issue in particular, with its carefully-modelled types and neat inscriptions struck on large flans with hammered edges, should on grounds of style alone be placed in the first half of the second century.[5] Heretofore there has been no precise hoard evidence to challenge the traditional dating for the spread-flan coinage of Thasos. Now the presence of early tetradrachms in a hoard which

[5] A coin from the ANS Collection (PLATE XVIII, A) illustrates the excellent workmanship of this issue. Another example is to be found in List 220 of Münzen und Medaillen where the piece is dated ca. 180 B.C.

The hammering of the flan, clearly visible on both coins, is characteristic of Thasian tetradrachms of good style. This peculiar technique seems to have been especially prevalent in the Euxine region, in Thrace and in Northwestern Anatolia, appearing on regnal issues of the late third and early second centuries and on a variety of civic strikings which must antedate 155 B.C. on the evidence of the Babylon hoard (*ZfN* 1928, 92 ff.). Unfortunately it cannot be considered a firm chronological criterion since hammered edges do occur at a later date, commonly on the money of the Bithynian kings and sporadically elsewhere, but the technique is basically a phenomenon of the first half of the second century.

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cannot have been buried much later than 168 B.C. makes it apparent that the chronology of the series must be revised. It can no longer be maintained that Thasos, after regaining independence in 196, waited fifty years before re-opening her mint. Some autonomous silver was produced in the period between Cynoscephalae and Pydna.

Several sources attest the association of Perseus and early New Style tetradrachms in this Thessalian hoard. Estimates of wear for individual specimens range from good to FDC, and these reports on condition are confirmed by the six pieces specifically identified as hoard coins. The three Perseus tetradrachms are dated by Mamroth to 173–171 and 170–168 B.C. None has had much use. The Athenian tetradrachms of 179/8 and 176/5 have circulated but are still very well preserved, while the later striking of 171/0 is in even better condition.[6] The evidence of wear for these six hoard coins is in complete accord with the recorded chronologies of the two series; the Athenian and Macedonian issues are clearly contemporary.

The obvious historical occasion for the interment of a substantial number of well-preserved tetradrachms of 178–168 B.C. is the Third Macedonian War. During that struggle Thessaly was repeatedly invaded by the Roman and Macedonian forces and the situation of Tricca, at the eastern end of the important Metsovon pass, was particularly vulnerable. The burial of our hoard may plausibly be connected with the campaigns leading up to Pydna or with Paullus' punitive expedition into Epirus shortly after the defeat of Perseus.

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[6] The Nike tetradrachm was struck from a badly worn obverse die which has produced a weak impression marred by breaks and flaws. All three coins, curiously enough, have been maltreated. On the trident piece (Münz. u. Med. List 222) the lower wing of the owl has been gouged, while on the thyrsos and Nike tetradrachms (PLATE XVII, 1–2) metal has been shaved from the bodies of the two amphoras and there are unmistakable indications of scraping on the plumage of the owls. Except for this surface damage, however, the details of the Nike reverse are very sharp.

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THE LATE HELLENISTIC TETROBOLS OF KOS

(See Plates XVIII–XXIV)

In 1960 the American Numismatic Society was bequeathed, as part of the collection of the late David M. Robinson, a hoard of 70 Koan coins all belonging to the series described as "drachms of reduced weight or tetrobols" and customarily dated to the period 166–88 B.C. The Robinson hoard, together with an unpublished hoard of 27 of these coins, purchased jointly by the Ashmolean and British Museums in 1935 (Noe 276), has practically doubled the number of extant coins of this type and has made a reasonably complete study of the entire coinage possible.[1] In addition to the new hoard material, photographs or casts of 118 pieces have been gathered from publications and from a number of unpublished museum collections, bringing the total number of coins examined in this study to 215. Probably no other Koan series survives in such quantity.

These coins bear on the obverse the profile head of Asklepios, bearded and wearing a wreath of laurel leaves in his hair. The reverse is stamped with an incuse square containing Asklepios' coiled snake, magistrates' names, and the ethnic ΚΩΙΩΝ, usually in abbreviated form. There is considerable variety in the form and information of these legends, some of which even record an abbreviation for a constitutional office or body. On the flan below the incuse square appears a letter or a combination of letters.

There is no longer any reason to consider these coins reduced drachms. Their standard weight, as obtained from a frequency analysis of 194 dependably weighed specimens (fig. 1), is, to the nearest

[1] I am indebted to the American Numismatic Society for providing me with the opportunity to undertake this study at the Society's 1963 Summer Seminar and to Margaret Thompson, whose generous assistance and advice was indispensable in the study's every phase. Grateful acknowledgement is also due to Lucy Turnbull, Hansjorg Bloesch, Colin Kraay, Kenneth Jenkins, Georges Le Rider, Jacques Yvon, Eberhard Erxleben and Peter Berghaus for help in collecting materials and to William Calder III and Sterling Dow for suggestions on epigraphical matters.

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.05, 2.05 gms.[2] This figure is almost exactly two-thirds the weight of second-century Koan drachms, 3.05 gms.,[3] and can only mean that, on the Rhodian standard traditionally in use at Kos, our Asklepios coins are most certainly tetrobols.

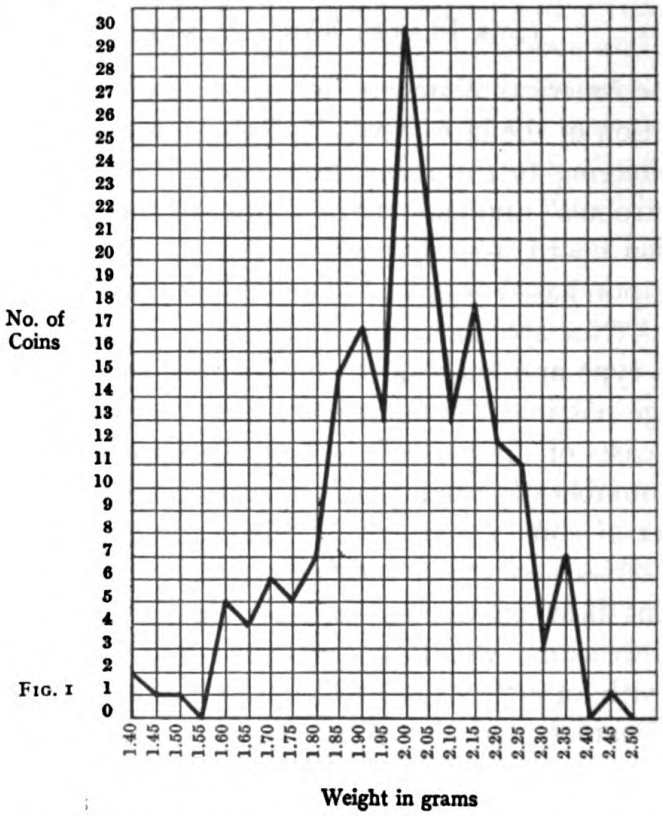


FIG. 1

[2] The frequency table shows a larger grouping at the 2.00 gm. mark, but taking into consideration a factor for wear and Hill's principle that the true weight is where the curve first jumps to a high peak (*NC*, 1924, 80), the heavier weight (2.05 gm.) is preferable.

[3] Frequency distribution of 21 of the drachms dated by Head to 190–166 B.C. (*BMC* 76–83) showed the greatest groupings at 3.00–3.05 gm. For reasons stated above the higher figure would seem the more accurate. The weights of only 15 drachms of the type assigned to 166–88 B.C. (*BMC* 117–118) were available for analysis, and they spread so widely on a frequency scale that the standard could be estimated only from an average of the 11 more typical weights. This average, 3.03 gm., plus a one per cent factor for wear (most of the coins are in relatively fine condition), gives a standard of about 3.05 gm. Admittedly, the sample number of both series of rare drachms provides an inadequate foundation for any firm conclusions as to their weight standards, but the approximations arrived at are dependable enough to allow safe comparison with the weights of our tetrobols.

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Although Head reasonably assigned these tetrobols and the incuse Koan drachms (*BMC* 117–118) to the years 166–88 B.C., he was mistaken in implying that the two coinages, which have no magistrates' names in common, were minted contemporaneously.[4] Indeed the names on the tetrobols do not correspond to names on any other Koan coinage, bronze or silver, indicating that when the tetrobols were minted, they were minted exclusively, without larger or smaller denominations. The incuse drachms must have been earlier than the tetrobols and, as Head plausibly deduced, were probably first struck after 166 B.C. in imitation of the restored incuse drachms of Rhodes.[5]

A hoard from Kalymna, published by E. S. G. Robinson (*NC* 1936, 190ff.), confirms Head's association of the Koan and Rhodian incuse drachms and establishes the relative chronology of the major second century coinages of Kos. The deposit contained pre-166 drachms of Rhodes and Kos and pre-166 bronze of Kos in worn or somewhat worn condition; post-166 drachms and hemidrachms of Kos and hemidrachms of Rhodes in fine to FDC state of preservation; and silver of Kalymna with and without magistrates' names, the latter slightly rubbed and the former very fine. Robinson dates the inscribed Kalymnian coins, of which two issues are recorded, ca. 125 B.C. and suggests that the hoard was buried "shortly before 100 B.C." This date seems unnecessarily late. All the Koan and Rhodian coins could have been minted in the first half of the second century. The fact that only pre-166 bronze and only a few issues of post-166 silver are present would point to an earlier period of deposit. As Robinson comments, the Kalymnian coins with magistrates' names look earlier than the date he assigns them; some reverses show the dotted frame which characterizes Koan silver of the third century. Now that Segre[6] has demonstrated that Kalymna had become fully integrated

[4] *BMC* xcvi.

[5] *BMC* xcvi and cix–cx. The heavy financial losses incurred by Rhodes in 166, which provide a plausible explanation for the revision of the weight and appearance of the Rhodian drachms, are explicitly documented by a statement in Polybios, xxx. 31. Head's chronology for the series is also confirmed by the Oreos hoard of ca. 173 B.C. (Noe 771) which contained nearly 600 Rhodian drachms of the type dated before 166. The absence of any of the later incuse drachms suggests that ca. 173 they were not yet in circulation.

[6] *Annuario*, 1944–45, pub. 1952, 12–17, 25–26 and 86. From the collected Kalymnian inscriptions Segre concluded that Kalymna had begun to be politi-

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into the Koan state after 190 B.C., all the Kalymnian pieces must have been struck prior to that date and those with the magistrates' names possibly in 191–190 B.C. during the brief period when Kalymna asserted her independence. In any case it is unlikely that the Kalymna hoard was buried much after 150 B.C. and it may have been in the ground before that date.

As Robinson notes, the absence of any Asklepios tetrobols in the hoard indicates that they were not minted until after the incuse drachms and related hemidrachms had ceased to be struck. This earlier Koan series was probably produced for a limited period of some twenty years after 166,[7] giving our tetrobols a *terminus post quem* of ca. 145 B.C.

For the next two or three generations the only historical events of any importance involving Kos were connected with the Mithradatic War, and there is no certainty that these would have affected the Koan domestic economy sufficiently to have caused a change in minting policies. It is true that in 88 the Koans remained hostile to Mithradates until he reached the island, but they apparently succeeded in appeasing him by delivering up the treasures which had been entrusted to their keeping by Kleopatra and affluent Jewish bankers.[8] One questions whether Mithradates, with such vast plunder in hand, would have antagonized the Koans by further extensive confiscations from public and private resources at a time when he was trying to win over the various Greek states by acts of patronage as well as by threats. A few years later, in 82 B.C., Kos may have been rewarded for her fidelity to Rome by some privilege granted by Sulla, but about this we cannot be certain.[9]

cally absorbed by Kos in the last decades of the third century but rebelled in 191 when Kos and Rhodes sided with Rome against Antiochos. After Antiochos' defeat in 190, Kalymna was completely incorporated into the Koan polity and this situation prevailed at least into the first century. It may have been Kalymna's bid for autonomy in 191 B.C. that inspired the distinctive and rare silver issues with magistrates' names and star symbol.

[7] That is, for no more than 20 issues. The magistrates' names listed by Paton-Hicks (*The Inscriptions of Cos*, 1891, nos. 139–144 and 219–227) can now be supplemented for a total of nine on the drachms and thirteen on the hemidrachms. Five names appear on both denominations, giving a present record of seventeen separate issues for the series.

[8] Tacitus *Ann.* vi.14; Appian *Mithr.* 23 and 115; Josephos *A.J.* xiv, 7,2.

[9] Paton-Hicks, xxxix–xl.

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The historical situation provides no conclusive reason for a break in the coinage which might serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the tetrobol series, and there is no way of establishing a burial date for the two lots of hoard coins which are associated with no other coinages.[10] Nevertheless, as Head remarks, it is scarcely likely that the Asklepios silver went on after the Mithradatic War. Apart from considerations of style, there is the circumstance that it is a substantial coinage[11] and its largest issues, which are not represented among the hoard coins, are the latest in date. It is quite improbable that such sizable strikings would have been put out in the post-Mithradatic period.

The present record gives us a total of 34 issues, determined by the magistrates' names on the reverses, and although there are perhaps a few issues which remain unknown, it seems unlikely that much new material will be added in the future. We cannot be certain that the issues were minted annually, or indeed at any regular interval, but the overlapping of obverse dies and the recurrence of magistrates' names strongly suggest that this was a compact coinage of rather limited duration and that it did not span the entire period between 145 and 88 B.C. Further than this we cannot go. Until additional hoard or other evidence turns up, the only safe chronological conclusion is that our Asklepios tetrobols were struck sometime in the second half of the second century B.C. and may have continued into the opening decades of the first century.[12]

[10] The interment of two hoards might be linked with Mithradates' occupation of Kos but there is good reason to believe that the American and English lots are actually two parts of a single hoard (see pp. 100 f.). Furthermore, the deposit seems to have been a savings accumulation rather than a currency hoard and there is, therefore, no need to postulate a military threat as the reason for its burial.

[11] See the Table of Issues on pp. 88 f. for the record of obverse dies. The fact that the proportion of known specimens per die is so low for almost all issues makes it clear that the coinage was originally much more extensive than the surviving record would indicate.

[12] It is impossible to restrict this dating from the prosopographical data. The inscriptions which list great numbers of Koan citizens come from the end of the third century and from the beginning of the second, at least two or three generations earlier than our coins. There are in fact very few prosopographically informative inscriptions which can be securely dated after the first decades of the second century. One exception is the list of Koans who served in the navy of Aulus Terentius Varro against Mithradates in 82 B.C. (*JÖAI*, 1898, 31–34). The only one of its names which corresponds to a name on our coins

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One wonders why the Koans decided to discontinue their conventional drachm-hemidrachm coinage and replace it with the curious minting of a tetrobol fraction. The answer must lie in the coins' ingenious bi-standard convertibility: on the Koan-Rhodian standard the coins are tetrobols but on the Attic standard they have the weight of hemidrachms.[13] In the second century the widespread minting of posthumous Alexander and Lysimachos tetradrachms and the popular New Style issues of Athens gave the Attic standard, to which they were all struck, an international character. At Rhodes and at Kos during this time most of the large silver being produced was of Attic weight,[14] for the Rhodians had stopped minting their own tetradrachms at least by 166 although they continued to strike abundant issues of drachms on their traditional local standard. The older Rhodian tetradrachms, however, undoubtedly continued to circulate along with the Attic money, presenting problems of exchange which the citizens of Kos met by minting for local transactions a fractional coin adaptable to both standards: eight of the Asklepios pieces equal an Attic tetradrachm and six a Rhodian. In the late Hellenistic period a minor state in the southern Aegean needing a small change currency could hardly have solved the bi-standard problem more neatly.

The following Table of Issues presents the statistical record of the coinage. The 34 known issues are of three kinds: those bearing two

is the name of the ναύαρχος of the fleet, Εὔδαμος, who was probably a Rhodian (*JÖAI*, 1891, Beiblatt, 92). Most of our magistrates' names are common and can be found on inscriptions of all periods. Notable exceptions are Θευφαμί(δας), a name which according to the major Greek prosopographies does not appear anywhere in the Greek world except on these coins; and Ἀνθεσ... which is otherwise unknown at Kos. Three of the names appear only once each in Koan inscriptions: Λόχος, in a dedication dated by Segre (*Annuario*, 1944–45, no. XXVIII = Paton-Hicks no. 60) to the middle part of the first century B.C.; Δεινίας, as monarchos in an undated decree published by Paton (*Rev. Ét. Gr.*, 1896, 419, no. 7); and Γενοκ(λῆς), partially restored in another undated decree Paton-Hicks no. 9). See also n. 63.

[13] Head (*BMC* xcvi) recognized this. Paton (Paton-Hicks, 314) labeled the coins Attic hemidrachms. The Rhodian standard in actual practice during the Hellenistic centuries (stater = ca. 13 gm.) was nearly equivalent to the Cistophoric standard (stater = ca. 12.5 gm.). The Athenian New Style tetradrachms were struck to a standard of 16.75–16.90 gm.

[14] Rhodes issued Alexanders as did Kos. The latter mint also put out a tetradrachm coinage with autonomous types on the Attic standard (*ZfN*, 1928, 124, nos. 77–78).

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magistrates' names (21 issues), those with one magistrate's name (5 issues), and those with one name together with an abbreviation for an official title or body, ΠΡΟΣ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ (6 issues) or ΒΟΥ (1 issue). The names and abbreviations are written within the reverse incuse square on either side of the coiled snake, usually from the bottom of the incuse to the top. In four exceptional issues (1–3 and 14) the writing is from top to bottom and in one issue (12) the writing usually runs in a different direction on each side of the snake.

The earlier coinages of Kos were regularly inscribed with the full ethnic ΚΩΙΟΝ or, after 166, ΚΩΙΩΝ above a single magistrate's name. This format was retained in our earlier one-magistrate issues where the full ethnic could be written alongside the snake in place of a second magistrate's name or a magisterial abbreviation; however in the two-magistrate issues and the ΒΟΥ and ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ issues, the ethnic was of necessity abbreviated ΚΩΙ, ΚΩ, or ΚΩΝ and located below the snake in the incuse. (The exception is coin 14b which has an unabbreviated ethnic squeezed into this space.) In the late one-magistrate issue, issue 34, the traditional formula was naturally revived but in reverse order, with name preceding ethnic. Apparently the Koans became accustomed to seeing the ethnic below the names on the long series of two-magistrate coins and had forgotten that in earlier times the ethnic was always in first position.

Since the ancients did not as a rule abbreviate by syncopation, the contracted ΚΩΝ should be regarded more as a vocalic representation of the full ethnic ΚΩΙΩΝ (Κῷων) than as an abbreviation proper. It shows that by the second half of the second century the citizens of Kos no longer pronounced the iota of the substantive adjective Κῶιος and did not articulate between the two omegas of its genitive plural. Thus ΚΩΝ is used like a full ethnic in the one-magistrate issues 11 and 34 in preference to ΚΩΙΩΝ, although room for the more complete spelling was available. The syncopated ΚΩΝ provided the most satisfactory solution to the problem of fitting a five-letter ethnic in a small space and one would expect it to be used on all the coins; but, as is seen from the Table of Issues, it was in fact employed less commonly than the abbreviations ΚΩΙ or ΚΩ.

The table also shows the vagaries of the puzzling letters at the bottom of the reverses. The letters, in relief outside of the protecting

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TABLE OF ISSUES

Solid lines indicate die linkage.
Dotted lines indicate close stylistic affinity.

	On l. and r. of Snake	*Below Snake*	*Below Incuse*	*No. of known Obvs.*	*No. of known Revs.*	*Total Collected*	*Total no. in Hoards*	*No. in DMR Hoard*	*No. in Noe 276 Hoard*
1.	ΑΝΔΡΟΣΘΕ/ΒΟΥ	ΚΩ	Δ	2	2	2	1		1
2.	ΚΛΕΩ/ΠΡΟΣ	ΚΩ	Δ	1	1	1			
3.	ΦΙΛΙΩΝ/ΠΡΟΣΤ	ΚΩΙ	Δ	1	1	1			
4.	ΠΡΟΣΤ/ΝΙΚΙΑΣ	ΚΩ	Δ	2	3	5	1	1	
5.	ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ/ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑ	ΚΩΙ	Δ	3	3	5	5	4	1
6.	ΠΡΟΣΤΑ/ΕΥΔΑΜ	ΚΩΙ	Δ	4	4	4	2	1	1
7.	ΠΡΟΣΤΑ/ΘΕΥΔΟΤ	ΚΩΙ	Δ	5	4	7	4	2	2
8.	ΚΩΙΩΝ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚ		Δ	2	5	11	11	9	2
9.	ΚΩΙΩΝ/ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ		ΠΙ	2	2	3	1	1	
10.	ΚΩΙΩΝ/ΝΙΚΟΜΗ		ΠΙ	1	1	1	1	1	
11.	ΚΩΝ/ΝΙΚΩΝ		ΠΙ	2	2	4	2	1	1
12.	ΚΩΙΩΝ/ΑΝΘΕΣ		A	4	6	9	3	1	2
13.	ΑΓΗΣΙ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟ	ΚΩΙ	A	2	6	9	6	6	
14.	ΠΑΡΜ/ΑΓΗΣΙ	ΚΩΙΩΝ, ΚΩΙ, ΚΩ	Δ	2	4	6	4	3	1
15.	ΑΛΚΙΔΑΜ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ	ΚΩΙ	Δ	3	6	7	4	3	1
16.	ΑΓΗΣΙΑ/ΘΕΥΦΑΜ	ΚΩΙ	Δ	4	7	11	6	3	3

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17. ΑΛΚΙΔΑΜΟ/ΑΓΗΣΙΑΣ	ΚΩΝ	Δ	3	3	4	4	4	
18. ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔ/ΘΕΥΦΑΜΙ	ΚΩΙ, ΚΩΝ	Δ	4	5	6	5	4	1
19. ΛΟΧΟΣ/ΠΑΡΜΕ	ΚΩ	Δ	4	5	5	4	3	1
20. ΠΑΡΜΕ/ΓΕΝΟΚΛΗ	ΚΩ	Δ	4	3	5	1		1
21. ΝΙΚΟΜΗ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟ	ΚΩ, ΚΩΝ	Δ	5	10	10	4	2	2
22. ΘΕΥΦΑΜ/ΑΓΗΣΙΑ	ΚΩ	Δ	2	2	6	4	3	1
23. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚ/ΛΟΧΟΣ	ΚΩΙ, ΚΩ	Δ, E	5	9	9	8	5	3
24. ΝΙΚΟΣΤ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ	ΚΩ	E	5	5	6	3	2	1
25. ΤΕΙΣΑ/ΑΛΚΙΔΑ	ΚΩ, ΚΩΝ	E	4	4	5	3	3	
26. ΦΙΛΟΦΡ/ΜΕΝΩΝ	ΚΩ, ΚΩΝ	E, Δ	6	8	10	5	4	1
27. ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ/ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡ	ΚΩ, ΚΩΝ	Δ, E	7	10	10	5	4	1
28. ΠΑΡΜΕ/ΛΟΧΟΣ	ΚΩ	E	1	1	2	1	1	
29. ΗΛΙΟΔΩ/ΕΥΑΡΑΤ	ΚΩΙ, ΚΩ, ΚΩΝ	H, N	13	16	18			
30. ΤΙΜΟΓ/ΕΥΔΑΜ	ΚΩΙ	H	2	2	2			
31. ΝΙΚΑΡΧΟΣ/ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙ	ΚΩΝ	H	2	2	2			

Δ *on Obv., star on Rev.*

32. ΤΙΜΟΞΕΝ/ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΥ	ΚΩΙ	Δ	5	9	10			
ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ/ΤΙΜΟΞΕΝ	ΚΩΙ	Δ	3	4	4			
33. ΕΚΑΤΑΙ/ΤΕΙΜΟΣ	ΚΩΙ	?	1	1	1			
34. ΑΝΔΡΟΣ/ΚΩΝ		Δ	8	14	14			
		Totals	124	170	215	98	71	27

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incuse square, were especially susceptible to rubbing and on many of the extant coins have been worn away entirely. The difficulty of obtaining an accurate reading of the letters is further complicated by careless die engraving and the inherent ambiguity among several of the letter forms, particularly between deltas and alphas.[15] As reverses struck from the same die demonstrate (see esp. nos. 8c 1–3, PLATE XIX, 6–8), the letters were cut in the reverse dies themselves, not added with a second stamp.

The most common letter in this position is Δ. In issues 32–34 deltas occur on the obverse below Asklepios' head as well as on the reverse. Presumably, this is nothing more than duplication. ΠΙ appears in three one-magistrate issues (9–11) and A in the one-magistrate issue 12 and the two-magistrate issue 13.[16] Epsilons occur in the later, extensively linked two-magistrate issues 23–28, and in issues 23, 26 and 27 occur together with deltas. Some of these epsilons lack a middle horizontal stroke and have the appearance Ε.[17] On the reverses of three issues (29–31) which are not represented in the hoards and therefore should be even later than the epsilon issues, there is usually the letter H; although N sometimes appears and on one coin (30b, PLATE XXIV, 10) a ⊓, which could be a pi but is more likely an eta whose upper half, as occasionally happens with the letters on other coins (see esp. 9b, 10, 32k, and 34i, PLATES XIX, 15, 17; XXIV, 16, 20), has disappeared at the edge of the incuse square. Apparently, if the letters were not cut far enough below the incuse part of the die, their tops tended to be obliterated in the striking process.

These letters must be related to the minting of the coins, but beyond that little more can be said with confidence. Several possible interpretations can be rejected. The letters cannot stand for months in the Koan year or localities on the island; and their behavior and distribution make it extremely improbable that they represent work-

[15] In the catalogue all ambiguous triangular letters have been listed as deltas (with a dot below) unless an unmistakable alpha occurs elsewhere in the issue.
[16] Issues 17 and 19 have reverses with alpha-like letters, but it is probable that they are carelessly cut deltas.
[17] In some instances the weak middle bar may have disappeared with wear but in others it seems that the bar was intentionally omitted, either to reproduce the simpler three-stroke epsilon form (which is commonly used in many of these coins' legends) or the Hellenistic form of the alphabetic numeral digamma or six. For a use of this numerical digamma at Kos see Paton-Hicks no. 43.

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shops.[18] Perhaps the most profitable line of approach is to consider these letters alphabetical numerals or, what is much the same thing, letters indicating positions in a sequence. We have A (1), Δ (4), E (5), Ϛ (6), possibly Z on its side (7), and H (8). Short diagonal lines to the lower left or right of the letter on two reverses (4b and 18c, PLATES XVIII, 5; XXI, 15) could be accidental marks caused by a slip of the die-engraving tool or they could be marks signifying that the letters were intended to be alphabetic numerals. There are of course difficulties with the interpretation of the letters as numerals: ΠI cannot be fitted into the series unless it be dubiously read as the numeral 6 in the earlier acrophontic numeral system whose pi's are elsewhere always inscribed in the older form Γ, not Π as they are in the legends of our one-magistrate issues; the readings of Ϛ as a numerical digamma and N as a zeta curiously turned on its side are at best questionable; and beta (2) and gamma (3) are missing from our coins altogether. But even if all or most of our letters are numerals, there is still no way of knowing what they mean.

The letters on our tetrobols may have served the same purpose as the isolated letters on earlier second-century Koan coinages: K, KE, and Δ on the post-166 B.C. drachms and A on the contemporaneous hemidrachms. These letters could be numerals also, but they certainly cannot indicate a sequence.

The behavior of the deltas and epsilons in the seven closely linked issues (22–28) is diagrammed in figure 2. The latest obverse die in issue 22, a delta issue, continued in use with epsilon reverses in the two successive issues: issue 23, a delta and epsilon issue, and issue 24, solely an epsilon issue. All the other obverse dies which continued to be used for two or more issues were always employed with epsilon reverses, even in issue 27 which is predominately a delta issue. It is hard to see what all this means. The letters simply defy any straightforward, convincing interpretation.

Since magisterial titles do not commonly appear on Greek coinages until Imperial times, the abbreviations ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ and ΒΟΥ are among the most interesting features of our tetrobols. As Paton and Head recognized, ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ refers to the Koan προστάται, a five-member board, comparable to the board of prytaneis at Athens and Rhodes,

[18] As Head conjectured (*BMC* xcvi).

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which was responsible for administering the most important business of the state.[19] Paton and Head[20] thought the abbreviations should be expanded in the singular, προστάτ(ης), as the title of the man whose name appears with it.[21] This is certainly the most obvious restoration

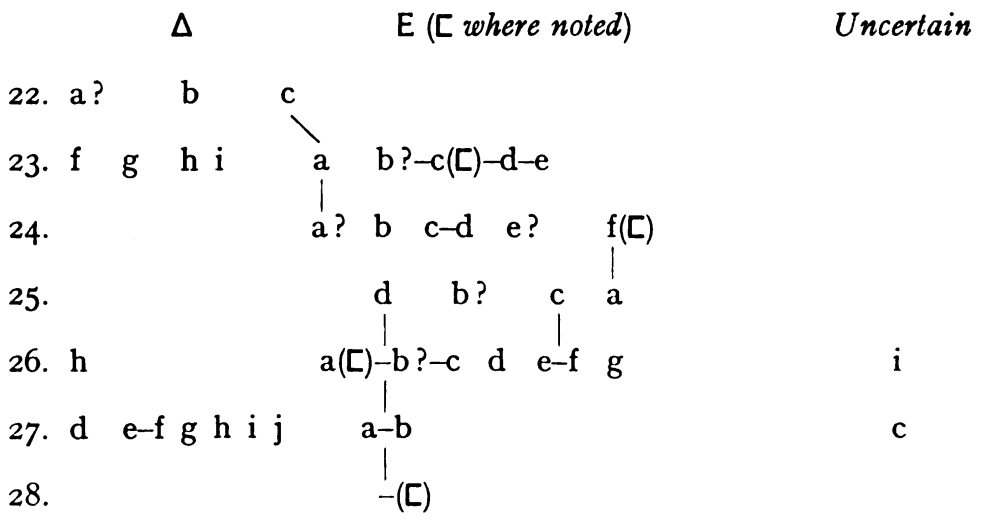


FIG. 2. Obverse dies are referred to by the letters assigned them in the Catalogue. Vertical connecting lines trace the progression of dies used in more than one issue. Coins whose reverse letters are missing or uncertain are classified with a question mark if their letters can be conjectured.

[19] The prostatai are frequently mentioned in the preamble of decrees as the Koan probouleutic executives. More scattered epigraphical references inform us that the prostatai presided in various religious, financial and judicial proceedings. S.v. προστάτης in Paton-Hicks; Segre, *Annuario* 1944–45; and R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetz von Kos* in *Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. hist. Kl.*, 1928. For the number of prostatai at Kos see M. Segre, *Riv. Filol.*, 1933, 368. The tenure of the prostatai is uncertain. Segre, the only scholar who has committed himself on this point (*Annuario*, 1944–45, 40), believed that they were rotated monthly, like the more numerous prytaneis at Athens; but his opinion is based on dangerously elaborate restorations in Kalymnian inscriptions, which in any case refer to Kalymnian not Koan prostatai. It is more probable that Kos followed the constitutional precedent of Rhodes, which rotated her similar five-member board of prytaneis semiannually (Hiller von Gaertrigen, *P-W*, Suppl. V., 1931, 767).

[20] Paton-Hicks 304 and *BMC* xcvi.

[21] Abbreviations as titles could precede proper names (as on our issues 4–7) or follow them (as on issues 1–3). Inscriptions use both word orders in mentioning a man and his title. On Greek imperial coins titles usually precede names.

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but it is not the only one possible. In the twenty or thirty Koan inscriptions which make reference to the prostatai, a single prostates is never mentioned; it is always the full board of prostatai who are said to be doing one thing or another. Constitutional authority was invested in the prostatai collectively, making it unlikely that an individual prostates ever acted officially on his own. For this reason we would be justified in expanding ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ in the plural and restoring the legends to read προστάτ(αι καὶ) δεῖνα or, at least in issues 4 through 7 in which abbreviation precedes proper name, προστάτ (αι τοὶ σὺν) δεῖνι, the prostatai under so and so.[22]

The ΒΟΥ in the heretofore unknown issue 1 presents similar problems of interpretation. It must stand either for βουλευτής or βουλά;[23] and although again the former restoration is the most natural, membership in the boula must have been so common that it is difficult to imagine why any man who was a bouleutes would take any pride in advertising it. We do not know how large the Koan boula was. It probably had well over a hundred members and in any case it was certainly large enough for any politically-minded citizen to be a member at least once in his lifetime. A more reasonable restoration of the legend involves expanding ΒΟΥ to denote the legislative body as a whole, allowing us to read 'Ανδροσθέ(νης καὶ) Βου(λά). But a fuller discussion of the significance of these ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ and ΒΟΥ legends is best postponed until after the other issues provide what clues they can.

About half of the magistrates' names which appear in the two-magistrate issues occur in more than one issue. For example, Hagesias appears in issues 13, 14, 16, 17 and 22; Parmeniskos in issues 14, 19, 20 and 28; Alkidamos in issues 15, 17 and 25; Theuphamidas in issues 16, 18 and 22. These recurrent names occur sometimes as the first of the two names, sometimes as second. There are three pairs of issues

[22] The legend ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΣ on a roughly contemporary gold stater from Smyrna (Head, *HN*, 1911, 593) furnishes an excellent parallel for a coinage issued in the name of a full executive body.

[23] ΒΟΥ cannot be an abbreviation for a proper name. No known Koan name begins with these three letters, and even if one did, it is almost certain that a longer abbreviation would have been used. On the two coins of issue 1 there is room for several more letters. ΒΟΥ on the other hand was a common abbreviation for βουλευτής or βουλή in the inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Imperial East (M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions, The Near East 200 B.C.–A.D. 1100*, 1940, 54).

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bearing the same two names but in a different order: issue 16 (Hagesias/Theuphamidas) and issue 22 (Theuphamidas/Hagesias); issue 19 (Lochos/Parmeniskos) and issue 28 (Parmeniskos/Lochos); issue 24 (Nikostratos/Deinias) and issue 27 (Deinias/Nikostratos). There is no reason to believe that such paired issues were minted consecutively. Die linkage in fact proves that the paired issues 24 and 27 are separated from each other by two other issues, and stylistic criteria indicate that the other two pairs are not contiguous either.

Issue 32 presents a possible exception. Nine of its known reverses are inscribed Timoxenos/Hekataios, five are inscribed Hekataios/Timoxenos. No die linkage exists between the two types of coins, but their stylistic features (star on reverse, delta on obverse) are identical, suggesting that they were struck consecutively. There is as yet no way of knowing whether the two types represent two independent issues or, as they are classified in our Catalogue and Table of Issues, two independent series within a single issue. In any case it is unlikely that we have here a single issue whose two names were freely interchangeable. Consistency in the order of names in all the other two-magistrate issues[24] indicates that there was some significance attached to the order in which the names were recorded.

Repeated attempts to place the unlinked two-magistrate issues in a sequence which would bring the names into some kind of fixed relationship have been singularly unsuccessful, and permit no other conclusion but that the names occur at random, quite as the Table of Issues shows.

Most Greek coinages, when they are inscribed with magistrates' signatures, bear the name of only one man, who is usually thought to be either an eponymous magistrate or some kind of minting official. Neither identification, however, will fit the names on our tetrobols. The eponymous magistrate at Kos was the monarchos. Now the monarchos might be the person mentioned with the prostatai in the

[24] Single exceptions occur in issues 13 and 29. The names on one reverse die in issue 13 (13g) and on one reverse die in issue 29 (29q) are inscribed in a different order than the names on the other reverses in the issues. The order of names on these two exceptional reverses may or may not have been altered intentionally, but in either case the two reverses should not be classified as belonging to separate issues since they are unique and are linked by the obverse dies used with them to regularly inscribed coins in issues 13 or 29.

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ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ issues and the magistrate in the one-magistrate issues, but the monarchos could not be either magistrate of our two-magistrate issues simply because a man could be monarchos at Kos only once in his lifetime and his name therefore could appear in first or second position on only one issue. As I have indicated, recurrent names are sometimes in the first position, sometimes in the second; therefore neither position can be considered as reserved for the annual monarchos. The repetition of names within the two-magistrate issues also allows us to discard Head's conjecture[25] that these names are the names of prostatai. It is unlikely that a citizen of democratic Kos could have been a prostates more than once. Moreover, the ΒΟΥ issue demonstrates that the legends are not to be associated with the prostatai exclusively.

There are three reasons why the magistrates on our coins cannot be minting officials. In the first place, it is improbable that the distinguished Koan prostatai would have been burdened with overseeing a technical operation like the minting of coins. This was a duty that would have been charged to a minor magistracy or board, not to the men who administered the state's business at large. Secondly, the random behavior of magistrates' names in the two-magistrate issues cannot be reconciled with regular magistracies of any kind. Constitutional offices imply order and system in their tenure, and order and system are missing altogether in our two-magistrate issues. Finally, even if at Kos the hypothetical office of mint magistrate could have been held by the same person more than once, it would hardly have been so popular a post that a man would want to hold it three, four, or even five times.

A third explanation for the names appearing on a number of Greek coinages and the one which has commanded the most serious attention in recent years is the identification of the men as wealthy citizens who voluntarily contributed to a λειτουργία for the coins' production. The magistrates' names which are prefaced by διά or παρά on several Greek imperial coinages are almost certainly the names of such private donors,[26] and the peculiar behavior of unprefaced names on the late Hellenistic coinages of Athens and Ilium has permitted

[25] *BMC* xcvi.
[26] Head, *HN* (1911), lxvii.

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strong arguments to be advanced in favor of a similar interpretation for these names.[27]

This numismatic evidence becomes all the more convincing in the light of Rostovtzeff's observations on the importance of liturgy financing in Hellenistic times. Liturgies are most commonly thought of in terms of the trierarchy and choregia of classical Athens, but as inscriptions show and as Rostovtzeff has emphasized,[28] this kind of financing was increasingly relied upon in later times and indeed in the Hellenistic period must have constituted an important part of the small states' actual income. Many specific magistracies became *de facto* liturgies and actually were known as λειτουργίαι;[29] the rich citizens to whom these burdensome positions regularly went were expected to pay for the costs of administration out of their own pockets. As Rostovtzeff says, it was only natural in the post-classical age, when times were often hard, that Greek cities were forced to draw more and more on the resources of their wealthiest members.

From Hellenistic Kos itself an exceptionally large number of liturgy inscriptions have survived. These consist primarily of ἐπίδοσις lists, records of citizens who contributed toward a specific project or cause and the amount each of them donated. There are at least six ἐπίδοσις inscriptions: a monumental roster of hundreds of citizens who contributed emergency funds during the Cretan War in the last decade of the third century;[30] a fragmentary list also connected with this war;[31] an early second-century list of donors towards the construction and furnishing of a library;[32] a roughly contemporary list of deme members who financed the building of an Aphrodision;[33] an

[27] M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (1961), 584–599; and A. R. Bellinger, *ANSMN* VIII (1958), 23–24. Monetary liturgies have been discussed also in relation to coinages of Kolophon (J. G. Milne, *NNM* 96, 26–29), Eretria (W. Wallace, *Phoenix*, 1950, 21–26), and Cabyle in Thrace (T. Gerassimov, *ANSCent*, 276).

[28] *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), 619–621 and 1463–1464.

[29] *OCD*, s.v. Liturgy.

[30] Paton-Hicks no. 10 (*SGDI* 3624). Discussions of its date and the dates of Paton-Hicks nos. 387 and 404 (nn. 33 and 36 below) are cited by L. Robert, *BCH*, 1935, 423, n. 3.

[31] Paton-Hicks no. 11 (*SGDI* 3625).

[32] L. Robert, *BCH*, 1935, 421–424.

[33] Paton-Hicks no. 387 (*SGDI* 3722).

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unpublished list of contributors towards the Asklepieia, ca. 260 B.C.;[34] and an undated list of subscribers for an unknown undertaking.[35] To these might be added an early second-century list of citizens who donated funds for some religious purpose[36] and three inscriptions whose identity as ἐπίδοσις lists is probable but uncertain.[37] Yet another inscription from the time of the Cretan War informs us that the Koan navy was outfitted by means of ship liturgies or τριηραρχίαι.[38]

Since liturgical financing is attested at Kos perhaps better than anywhere else in the Hellenistic world, we have excellent reason to believe that it holds the key to the identification of the men named on our tetrobols. Like the Koans who contributed to the emergency war fund, the navy, the library and other such civic purposes, the men whose names appear on our coins were citizens who contributed to the cost of the minting and who received in recognition of this service the honor of having their names inscribed on the coins' reverses. No other identification can satisfactorily explain the irregular behavior of names in our two-magistrate issues and the questions raised by the legends in the ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ and ΒΟΥ issues.

Our two-magistrate issues would be strikings for which the expense of the monetary liturgy was split and made less onerous. The frequent recurrence of names is understandable if we identify these repeating donors as the very wealthiest members of the state, men who were called upon to contribute whenever it was difficult to find new donors. The relative size of the two contributions towards a single issue would be reflected in the order in which the two donors names' were recorded; the name of the citizen who gave the larger sum was inscribed in the first position, that of the donor who made up the difference was recorded below. The one-magistrate issues would be those

[34] Mentioned by Herzog, *Heil. Ges.*, 38.
[35] Paton-Hicks no. 12 (*SGDI* 3626).
[36] Paton-Hicks no. 404 (*SGDI* 3735).
[37] R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen* (1899), nos. 12 (ca. 300 B.C.) and 220 (undated); A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (1925), no. 454 (first century B.C.?).
[38] Segre, *Rev. Filol.*, 1933, 365–378. In addition to the τριηραρχία, the regular Koan liturgies, as listed by Herzog (*Heil. Ges.* 46) were the λαμπαδαρχία, the χορηγία, and the offices of ἀγωνοθέτης for the Dionysia and the Asklepieia, γυμνασίαρχος, ὑπογυμνασίαρχος and παιδόνομος.

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financed by a single contributor, and it is interesting to note in this connection that four of the earlier one-magistrate issues (8–11) seem to be among the smallest in the tetrobol series. Finally the issues bearing magisterial abbreviations would be those financed, at least in part, by the prostatai or bouleutai.

The case for a contribution by the full board of prostatai is a strong one, since we know from the lengthy subscription list pertaining to the Cretan War that the board of prostatai did in fact participate in extraordinary state liturgies in the same way as private citizens. In the inscription, among the usual entries giving donors' names and amounts, there occurs the entry προστάται τοὶ σὺν Χ[α]ρίνῳ, 500 drachms.[39] Charinos, by whose name the board was identified, was the ἐπιστάτης of the prostatai.[40] The word order of this entry is particularly relevant to our issues 4–7 in which ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ precedes name, for by analogy it is quite possible that the proper names on these issues are the names of similar ἐπιστάται, that the legends of these issues should be expanded to read προστάτ(αι τοὶ σὺν) δεῖνι, and that the expense of minting these issues, like the 500 drachms for the Koan war chest, was met by the prostatai collectively. We cannot, however, insist on this restoration too emphatically as the name of Nikias in issue 5 was short enough to be recorded in full and it will be noted that it appears in the nominative and not in the dative. And, too, the word order on the other ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ issues, 2 and 3, does not lend itself to this restoration.

Another identification for the proper names on issues 4–7, and one which fits issues 2–3 as well, is that they are names of private contri-

[39] Paton-Hicks no. 10 (see n. 30), lines b 29–30. 500 drachms, a typical contribution, is rather small when divided among five men. The largest contribution in this list is 7000 drachms; the average ran from one hundred to five hundred drachms. The modesty of the sum given by the prostatai indicates that they were men of ordinary means, democratically chosen with little or no regard to their economic status. If the prostatai still consisted of ordinary citizens in the latter part of the second century it is likely that their contributions to a monetary liturgy would have been split with another donor, as is suggested below. Another explanation for the smallness of their contribution, however, is that each of the prostatai might have privately contributed more substantial amounts under their own names; Charinos' name does not appear elsewhere in the list, but then large sections of the list are missing.

[40] For his title, see Herzog, *Koische Forschungen*, no. 3.

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butors who shared the coinage liturgy with the prostatai. In issues 2–3 we restore δεῖνα (καὶ) προστ(άται), in issues 4–7 προστάτ (αι καὶ) δεῖνα. Likewise, our Androsthenes of issue 1 could have been a citizen who donated only part of the issue's expense, the boula itself furnishing the rest. Thus, restoring 'Ανδροσθέ(νης καὶ) βου(λα), we need not cope with the mystery of why Androsthenes would have wanted to advertise his membership in the boula. Primarily for this reason the καὶ δεῖνα restorations are to be preferred for all the magisterial legends (see n. 39). They permit us to classify the magisterial issues with the common two-magistrate issues as issues financed by two donors. It must be admitted, however, that ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ and ΒΟΥ could be simply abbreviations for titles and that the magisterial issues were financed by single donors who held a state office and who desired recognition of it on their coins: issue 1 by 'Ανδροσθέ(νης) βου(λευτής), issue 2 and 3 by δεῖνα προστ(άτης), and issues 4–7 by προστάτ(ης) δεῖνα. On the other hand, the issues with name preceding abbreviations (1–3) were perhaps financed by individual office holders, the issues with name following abbreviation (4–7) by the full board of prostatai, distinguished by the name of their ἐπιστάτης.

Regardless of how we restore these magisterial legends, the only plausible connection between the names and offices on the coins and the coinage itself remains the financial one. These citizens and governmental bodies must have been in some way responsible for the emissions. As explained above, this could not have been an administrative responsibility involving the supervision of the minting process. In view of the impossibility of associating recurrent names with state offices or deliberative bodies, it is equally unlikely that the responsibility was a merely legal one in that these were the men who authorized the striking of the individual issues. The only satisfactory interpretation of this responsibility is that it was the far more fundamental economic responsibility of putting up the money to make the minting possible.

Surviving inscriptions demonstrate that the Koan state depended heavily on its citizens to finance public undertakings. With a considerable amount of confidence we can now conclude that in the second half of the second century B.C. the state also relied on its citizens to help finance its coinage.

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THE HOARDS

The two right-hand columns in the Table of Issues indicate the similarity in composition of the two unpublished tetrobol hoards. Not counting the six issues which are represented by a single coin, every issue (excepting 13 and 25) which appears in the one hoard appears in the other. The hoards' similarity becomes even more striking when we consider that the three largest issues in the tetrobol series (29, 32 and 34) are conspicuously absent from both hoards. Issue 29, compared with all other known issues, was in fact huge, having been minted from at least 13 obverse dies, and its tremendous output is reflected in its large number of surviving coins, a total which is all the more impressive since it was not augmented by the hoard material which practically doubled the number of known coins of most issues. By the same token, the sizes of issues 32 and 34 must have been second and third only to 29. The absence of coins from these three largest issues is overwhelming testimony to the identical nature of the two hoards and, incidentally, implies that the three large issues were struck after the hoards' burial (see p. 102).

The hoards do differ in the number and in the relative condition of the pieces they contain. With only two or three exceptions, the 27 coins[41] in the smaller Ashmolean-British Museum hoard are very handsome specimens. Several of the coins are in mint state (20b, 21d and 22c 1, PLATE XXII, 2, 6, 9) and most of the others show only minimal signs of rubbing. All but two (18b and 19b, PLATE XXI, 14, 19) were well struck. By contrast, the 71-piece Robinson hoard[42] contains only one or two pieces whose condition is as fine as the average coin in the smaller hoard (9a and 10, PLATE XIX, 14, 17). Most of the Robinson coins show a fair amount of wear, and some are quite defaced owing to much handling or, more commonly, to faulty striking (esp. 17c, 27d, and 27g, PLATES XXI, 11; XXIII, 19; XXIV, 2).

Since the smaller hoard is composed of consistently finer pieces and since both hoards are otherwise surprisingly similar, it would appear

[41] Of the 28 coins cited in Noe, one of the Ashmolean pieces has been lost.
[42] Robinson's records indicate that one of the Mississippi tetrobols from his collection (8d 2) should be added to the 70 ANS hoard coins.

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that the two hoards are actually two parts of a single hoard which a dealer had split in order to realize a higher profit. His selection of the most handsome pieces was sold to the Ashmolean and British Museums in 1935 while the residue eventually came into Robinson's hands. We do not know exactly when or under what circumstances Robinson purchased his hoard, but it was probably not until the late 1940's.[43] This involves a difference of about fifteen years in the times of acquisition but poses no serious objection to the theory of a single hoard. It is quite possible that Robinson's coins were in the possession of a third party during the war years between discovery and eventual disposition. On the other hand, it is most unlikely that chance would have brought to light, within a limited period of time, two hoards which are identical except for the qualification that the one is smaller and more select. We may confidently conclude that there was only one hoard.

The state of wear of the hoard coins is fairly uniform throughout. No one issue or group of issues is composed exclusively of FDC or worn coins. Most issues contain coins with a moderate amount of rubbing and perhaps one or two examples in notably better or worse condition. The exceptionally fine or exceptionally worn pieces occur with equal frequency in both early and late issues. This means that wear is of no help in determining the sequence and it suggests that the hoard should be classified as a savings hoard, stored up piece by piece over a number of years as its owner had a surplus coin to put away. If the hoard were a currency deposit, an emergency burial of pieces in current circulation, we should expect to find a more marked differentiation in wear between issues, a more uneven representation of issues generally, and probably other coinages mixed with the tetrobols.

THE SEQUENCE OF ISSUES

The reasoning behind the arrangement of issues in the Catalogue and the Table of Issues requires some fairly detailed explanation. The issues are fundamentally grouped according to their presence or ab-

[43] Robinson, as his surviving papers show, began to prepare a study of the hoard in the early 1950's. A fragmentary draft of the study contains the vague statement that he purchased the hoard "several years" before then.

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sence in the two hoard lots. As explained above (p. 100) the three large issues (29, 32 and 34) which were not represented among the hoard pieces must have been struck after the hoard's burial. Issue 29 is distinguished by the eta's on most of its reverses; issue 30, which is linked to issue 29 by two common obverses, and issue 31 are also eta issues. These three issues compose the first post-hoard group. A second post-hoard group consists of issues 32–34, all of which have deltas on the lower edges of their obverses (as well as on their reverses) and enigmatic star symbols behind the snake on their reverses. The lateness of this group is confirmed by the word order in the legends of the one-magistrate issue 34, which, in contrast to the legends on all other third and second century Koan coinages and the one-magistrate tetrobols associated with the hoard, is inscribed with the ethnic *below* the magistrate's name (see p. 87).

Within the issues minted before the hoard's burial there are two extensive groups of linked issues, issues 5–11 and issues 22–28. The reverses of the ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ issues in the 5–11 group are inscribed with deltas and the simple abbreviation of the ethnic ΚΩΙ, whereas many reverses in the 22–28 group bear the sequentially later epsilon and the more sophisticated form of the ethnic, ΚΩΝ. It is likely therefore that the 22–28 group, a two-magistrate group, is later than the 5–11 group and that it should indeed be assigned to the very end of the hoard issues, i.e., after all the delta issues in the hoard series, where its epsilons (and numerical digammas?) fit neatly before the etas (and zeta?) of issues 29–31 (see p. 91).

All of the other two-magistrate issues in the hoard series are assigned positions between the early 5–11 group and the later 22–28 two-magistrate group. Issues 15 and 16 are linked and are placed early among the two-magistrate issues since their legends employ the simpler ΚΩΙ spelling of the ethnic. Five other two-magistrate issues are located between the 15–16 and 22–28 groups in no particularly significant order. Three of these unlinked issues (18, 20 and 21) are stylistically associated with issues 22–28 as some of their obverse dies (18b, 20b and 21b, PLATES XXI, 14; XXII, 2, 5) are distinguished by the same curved sideburn cuttings that distinguish several obverse dies in the 22–28 group (22c, 24a; 24f, 25a; 25d, 28 and 26g—PLATES XXII: 9,13; XXIII: 3, 4; 11, 16 and 17).

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ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ issues 5–7 are linked by a common obverse die and the last (7) is linked to issue 8, a one-magistrate issue, by another common die. Issues 9–11 are firmly connected with issues 5–8 by the lettering technique in their legends. Beginning in issue 5 and continuing through issue 8, letters were not cut linearly but outlined with punched dots which were then connected with fine incised lines. The only other tetrobols whose reverses were inscribed in this way are those in issues 9–11, one-magistrate issues which naturally enough should follow the one-magistrate issue 8.

Since die linkage proves that the three largest ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ issues (5–7) were minted consecutively, it follows that all the ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ issues were probably minted in succession and that the three unlinked ones should be placed in positions 2 through 4. The legends in the two earliest ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ issues (2–3) are inscribed from the top of the incuse square to the bottom and with the magisterial abbreviation following proper name. The ΒΟΥ issue is characterized by the same arrangements and is therefore placed in position 1. Since the only earlier Koan coinage with a vertical legend, the post-166 Apollo hemidrachm coinage, was inscribed from the top of the reverse to the bottom, we have some justification for considering issues 1–3, also inscribed in this way, the earliest in the tetrobol series.

Issues 12–14 present special problems that make their assignation the most tenuous in the entire sequence. Issue 12 is a highly irregular one-magistrate issue. Two of its legends (12 h and i) are inscribed from the top of the incuse square to the bottom; the other four are inscribed from bottom to top in front of the snake, from top to bottom behind the snake. And the order in which the ethnic and proper name are recorded is transposed in several legends. Another unique feature of the issue is to be found in the engraving of its snakes' tails. In all other issues these extend straight back and usually intersect the name inscribed on the left of the incuse; most of the tails in issue 12, however, are bent downwards at a right angle to avoid intersecting the inscription. The letter on all the reverses of the issue is an unmistakable alpha; on one of the reverses (12 a and d) the alpha is inscribed inside of the incuse square below the snake.

Issues 13 and 14 are associated with issue 12, though not with each other. Issue 13 is a regular two-magistrate issue, related to issue 12

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through the alphas on its reverses and through stylistic affinities between one of its obverse dies and an obverse die in issue 12. Since all of the epsilon, and pi-iota issues are known to have been minted consecutively, the two alpha issues should have been also. The obverse dies 12a–c (PLATES XIX, 20, XX, 1–2) and 13e–g (PLATE XX, 10–11) are strikingly close in general appearance and in the style in which their beards are cut. Issue 14, another two-magistrate issue, is associated with issue 12 through three of its reverses (14a–c) which are inscribed from top to bottom and by the distinctive "hair-pin" form of the omega on reverses 14a–c (PLATE XX, 12–15). The only other tetrobols on which this same kind of open omega appears are 12a and 12d (PLATES XIX, 20; XX, 3). The ethnic of 14b is spelled out in full, a possible indication of an early date for this issue but more likely the work of an unenlightened die cutter.

These three atypical strikings would seem to fit best in the middle of the sequence between the one-magistrate and two-magistrate issues. Admittedly this is a somewhat arbitrary placement based on category; but since die linkage, whenever it exists, shows that issues of a particular type were in fact struck in succession, this criterion may be regarded as a fairly reliable guide to the issues' relative chronology.

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THE CATALOGUE

Coins from the Robinson or Ashmolean-British Museum hoard lots are distinguished by "DMR" or "Noe 276." The second column gives the readings of the inscriptions to left and right of the reverse snake; notations regarding the direction of the writing and the technique of engraving, although not repeated, apply to succeeding coins until negated by another notation. The third column gives the readings, if any, in the space within the incuse square below the snake. The last gives the readings on the flan below the incuse. Letters are dotted only when they are almost completely obliterated or when there is some real question as to their identity or presence in the legend. All dies are consistently fixed in the twelve o'clock position. Weights are expressed in grams. With reference to the plates, horizontal lines showing die linkage are used only when the linkage is between issues.

Obv.: Laureate head of Asklepios r.
Rev.: Coiled snake with inscription to l., r. and usually below; all in incuse square. Letter or letters outside incuse in field below.

ONE MAGISTRATE WITH ΒΟΥ

1.

a. Similar ΑΝΔΡΟΣΘΕ[44]/ΒΟΥ downward ΚΩ Δ
BM (Noe 276), 2.24, PLATE XVIII, 1

b. Similar ΑΝΔΡΣ/ΒΟΥ ΚΩ Δ
ANS, 1.75, PLATE XVIII, 2

ONE MAGISTRATE WITH προστάται ABBREVIATION

2. Similar ΚΛΕΩ/ΠΡΟΣ ΚΩ Δ
BMC 128, 2.00, PLATE XVIII, 3

3. Similar ΦΙΛΙΩΝ/ΠΡΟΣΤ ΚΩΙ Δ̣
BMC 131, 1.84, PLATE XVIII, 4

4.

a. Similar ΠΡΟΣΤ/ΝΙΚΙΑ upward ΚΩ no trace
Cast at Winterthur

[44] This is Jenkins' reading. The omicron is a mere dot.

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b.	Same die as 4a	Similar	KΩ	,Δ
	(1) ANS (DMR), 2.07, PLATE XVIII, 5			
	(2) *BMC* 130, 2.07			
c.	Similar	ΠΡΟΣΤ/ΝΙΚΙΑΣ	KΩ	Δ
	(1) *BMC* 129, 1.92, PLATE XVIII, 6			
	(2) Paris 1216, 1.78			
5.				
a.	Similar	ΠΡΟΣΤ/ΙΠΠΟΚΑ̣ in dots	KΩI	Δ
	(1) BM (Noe 276), 2.18, PLATE XVIII, 7			
	(2) ANS (DMR), 2.31, PLATE XVIII, 8			
b.	Same die as 5a	ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ/ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑ not in dots	KΩI	Δ
	ANS (DMR), 1.84, PLATE XVIII, 9			
c.	Similar	Same die as 5b		
	ANS (DMR), 2.03, PLATE XVIII, 10			
d.	Similar	ΠΡΟΣΤ/ΙΠΠΟΚΑ̣	KΩI	Δ
	ANS (DMR), 2.23, PLATE XVIII, 11			
6.				
a.	Same die as 5d	ΠΡΟΣΤΑ/ΕΥΔΑΜ in dots	KΩI	Δ
	Ashmolean (Noe 276), 1.59, PLATE XVIII, 12			
b.	Similar	Similar		Δ
	ANS (DMR), 2.05, PLATE XVIII, 14			
c.	Similar	Similar		Δ
	BMC 125, 1.99			
d.	Similar	Similar		Δ̣
	Weber 6648, 1.83			
7.				
a.	Same die as 5d and 6a[45]	ΠΡΟΣΤΑ/ΘΕΥΔΟΤ	KΩI	Δ
	ANS (DMR), 2.06, PLATE XVIII, 13			
b.	Similar	Same die as 7a		
	Berlin			
c.	Similar	Same die as 7a–b		
	BMC 127, 1.99			
d.	Similar	ΠΡΟΣΤ/ΘΕΥΔΟΤ	KΩI	Δ
	BMC 126, 2.17			
e.	Same die as 7d	ΠΡΟΣΤΑ/ΘΕΥΔΟΤ	KΩI	Δ
	(1) Ashmolean (Noe 276), 1.92, PLATE XVIII, 15			
	(2) ANS (DMR), 1.70, PLATE XIX, 1			
f.	Similar	Similar		uncertain
	Ashmolean (Noe 276), 1.98, PLATE XIX, 2			

[45] This die was fairly fresh in the minting of 5d but had lost its sharpness by the time 6a and 7a were struck. The die break above the crown of the head had widened in the interval between the striking of 6a and 7a.

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ONE MAGISTRATE

8.

a. Same die as 7f KΩIΩN/APIΣTO Recut: traces of KΩI below snake Δ
ANS (DMR), 2.44, PLATE XIX, 3

b. Same die as 7f and 8a KΩIΩN/APIΣTOK Δ
(1) ANS (DMR), 1.96, PLATE XIX, 4
(2) BM (Noe 276), 2.18, PLATE XIX, 5

c. Similar KΩIΩN/APIΣTO Δ
(1) ANS (DMR), 1.97, PLATE XIX, 6
(2) BM (Noe 276), 2.19, PLATE XIX, 7
(3) ANS (DMR), 2.04, PLATE XIX, 8

d. Same die as 8c Similar Δ
(1) ANS (DMR), 2.22, PLATE XIX, 9
(2) Mississippi (DMR), 2.25, PLATE XIX, 10
(3) ANS (DMR), 2.00, PLATE XIX, 11

e. Same die as 8c–d KIΩΩN/APIΣTO Δ[46]
(1) ANS (DMR), 2.01, PLATE XIX, 12
(2) ANS (DMR), 2.15, PLATE XIX, 13

9.

a. Similar KΩIΩN/APIΣTΩ ΠI
ANS (DMR), 1.62, PLATE XIX, 14

b. Same die as 9a?[47] Same die as 9a
BMC 121, 2.01, PLATE XIX, 15

c. Similar KΩϴN/APIΣTΩN ΠI
Berlin, PLATE XIX, 16

10. Extremely close to die 9a–b in appearance and cutting KΩIΩN/NIKOMH ΠI
ANS (DMR), 1.80, PLATE XIX, 17

11.

a. Similar KΩN/NIKΩN ΠI
Boston 2028, 1.72

b. Similar Same die as 11a
ANS (DMR), 1.87, PLATE XIX, 18

c. Same die as 11b Similar ΠI
(1) BM (Noe 276), 2.15, PLATE XIX, 19
(2) BMC 124, 2.03

[46] Appears on e(1) only. Faulty striking is probably responsible for the absence of any traces on the flan of e(2).

[47] The A ? at the lower edge of the obverse (noted in *BMC*) was not intended to appear on the coin. It may result from an imperfection on the anvil surface picked up by the excessively wide flan of the coin.

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12.

a. Similar — ΑΝΘΕΣ downward/ ΚΩΙΩ[Ν] upward, not in dots — A (below snake in incuse)
ANS, 1.77, PLATE XIX, 20

b. Same die as 12a — Similar — A (below incuse)
ANS (DMR), 2.06, PLATE XX, 1

c. Same die as 12a–b — Similar — A
BM (Noe 276), 1.61, PLATE XX, 2

d. Similar — Same die as 12a
BMC 120, 1.85, PLATE XX, 3

e. Same die as 12d — Same die as 12b
BMC 119, 2.05

f. Same die as 12d–e — Same die as 12c
Berlin, 1.41

g. Same die as 12d–f — ΚΩΙΩΝ downward/ ΑΝΘΕΣ upward — A
ANS, 1.86, PLATE XX, 4

h. Similar — ΑΝΘΕΣ/ΚΩΙΩΝ downward — off flan
Ashmolean (Noe 276), 1.91, PLATE XX, 5

i. Similar — ΚΩΙΩΝ/ΑΝΘΕΣ — no trace
Copenhagen 664, 1.98

TWO MAGISTRATES

13.

a. Similar — ΑΓΗΣΙ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟ upward — ΚΩΙ — A
(1) ANS (DMR), 2.06, PLATE XX, 6
(2) Berlin

b. Same die as 13a — ΑΓΗΣΙ/ΑΡΙΣΤỌ — ΚΩΙ — Ạ
(1) ANS (DMR), 2.15, PLATE XX, 7
(2) ANS (DMR), 1.81, PLATE XX, 8

c. Same die as 13a–b — Similar — Ạ (= Ạ)[48]
Berlin

d. Same die as 13a–c — ΑΓΗΣΙ/ΑΡΙΣΤ — ΚΩΙ — Λ (= A)
ANS (DMR), 2.19, PLATE XX, 9

e. Similar — Same die as 13d
BM (Weber 6649), 1.94

f. Same die as 13e — ΑΓΗΣΙ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟ — ΚΩΙ — Ạ
ANS (DMR), 2.10, PLATE XX, 10

g. Same die as 13e–f — ΑΡΙΣΤ/ΑΓΗΣΙΑ — ΚΩ — Λ (= A)
ANS (DMR), 2.25, PLATE XX, 11

[48] Alphas with the horizontal bar omitted commonly occur in the tetrobol legends.

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14.

a. Similar ΠΑΡΜ/ΑΓΗΣΙ ΚΩΙ Δ
downward
BM (Noe 276), 1.97, PLATE XX, 12

b. Same die as 14a ΠΑΡΜ/[ΑΓΗΣΙ] ΚΩΙϘΝ no trace
Berlin, PLATE XX, 13

c. Similar ΠΑΡΜ/ΑΓΗΣΙ ΚΩΙ Δ
(1) ANS (DMR), 2.16, PLATE XX, 14
(2) ANS (DMR), 2.05, PLATE XX, 15
(3) Paris 1224, 1.97

d. Same die as 14c ΠΑΡΜϘ/ΑΓΗΣΙ ΚΩ Δ
upward
ANS (DMR), 2.13, PLATE XX, 16

15.

a. Similar ΑΛΚΙΔΑ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΩΙ Δ̣
Ashmolean, 1.88

b. Same die as 15a ΑΛΚΙΔΑϺ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΩΙ Δ
(1) *BMC* 135, 1.98
(2) ANS (DMR), 2.08, PLATE XX, 17

c. Similar ΑΛΚΙΔΑ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΩΙ Δ
Ashmolean (Noe 276), 1.90, PLATE XX, 18

d. Same die as 15c ΑΛΚΙΔΑ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑ ΚΩΙ Δ̣
ANS (DMR), 2.06, PLATE XX, 19

e. Same die as 15c–d ΑΛΚΙΔΑ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΩΙ off flan
ANS (DMR), 1.75, PLATE XX, 20

f. Similar ΑΛΚΙΔΑ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΩΙ uncertain
Paris 1213, 1.91, PLATE XXI, 2

16.

a. Same die as 15c–e[49] ΑΓΗΣΙΑ/ΘΕΥΦΑΜ ΚΩΙ Δ
BMC 132, 2.02, PLATE XXI, 1

b. Same die as 15f[50] Similar Δ
BM (Noe 276), 2.11, PLATE XXI, 3

c. Similar Similar Δ̣
ANS (DMR), 2.13, PLATE XXI, 4

d. Same die as 16c ΑΓΗΣΙ/ΘΕΥΦΑΜ ΚΩΙ Δ̣
(1) ANS (DMR), 2.27, PLATE XXI, 5
(2) Ashmolean (Noe 276), 1.95, PLATE XXI, 6
(3) BM (Noe 276), 2.24, PLATE XXI, 7
(4) Berlin

[49] The many fine cracks in the die in front of Asklepios' face seem to be more numerous and pronounced on 16a than on 15d and e. They had not developed prior to the striking of 15c.

[50] 15f is too heavily rubbed to allow any statement as to the sequence in which 15f and 16b were struck. The sequence is fixed by the other die common to issues 15 and 16 (see n. 49).

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d.	Same die as 27c ANS (DMR), 2.34, PLATE XXIII, 19	Similar	ΚΩΝ	Δ̣
e.	Similar ANS (DMR), 2.05, PLATE XXIII, 20	ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ/ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡ	ΚΩΝ	Δ
f.	Same die as 27e ANS (DMR), 1.99, PLATE XXIV, 1	ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ/ΝΙΚΟΣΤ	ΚΩΝ	Δ
g.	Similar ANS (DMR), 2.18, PLATE XXIV, 2	ΔΙΝΙΑΣ/ΝΙΚΟΣ///	ΚΩ	Δ
h.	Similar Mississippi, 2.34, PLATE XXIV, 3	ΔΙΝΙΑΣ/ΝΙΚΟΣΤ	ΚΩ	Δ
i.	Similar Mississippi, 1.69	Similar		uncertain
j.	Similar Ashmolean, 1.95	ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ/ΝΙΚΟΣΤ	ΚΩΝ	Δ̣
28.	Same die as 25d, 26a–c and 27a–b[59] (1) ANS (DMR), 1.83, PLATE XXIII, 16 (2) Copenhagen 663 (W. de Molthein 2455), 1.88	ΠΑΡΜΕ/ΛΟΧΟΣ	ΚΩ	Ɔ
29.				
a.	Similar (1) *BMC* 141, 1.94 (2) ANS, 1.71	ΗΛΙΟΔΟ/ΕΥΑΡΑΤ	ΚΩ	Η
b.	Same die as 29a Paris 1225, 2.04	ΗΛΙΟΔΟ/ΕΥΑΡ///	ΚΩΙ̣	Η̣
c.	Similar Bourgey, Dec. 1909, 196	ΗΛΙΟΔ/ΕΥΑΡΑ	ΚΩΙ	Η
d.	Same die as 29c? Mississippi, 1.98	Same die as 29c		
e.	Similar Winterthur, 1.90, PLATE XXIV, 4	ΗΛΙΟΔ/ΕΥΑΡΑ	ΚΩΙ	Ν
f.	Same die as 29e Weber 6650, 1.98	ΗΛΙΟΔ/ΕΥΑΡ///	ΚΩΙ	Ν̣ or Η̣
g.	Similar *BMC* 142, 2.09	ΗΛΙΟΔΩ/ΕΥΑΡΑΤ	ΚΩΙ	Η̣
h.	Similar Ashmolean, 1.83	Similar		off flan
i.	Similar *BMC* 144, 1.58, PLATE XXIV, 5	Similar	ΚΩΝ	uncertain

[59] The disfigured appearance of 28 (1) shows that it must have been one of the very last coins to be struck from this die. The rest of the striking sequence, 25d to 26a–c to 27a–b, is fixed by other die linkage which sets issues 24, 25 and 26 in order (see nn. 56 and 58).

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j.	Similar Ashmolean, 2.10	HΛIOΔ/EYAPAT	KΩI	no trace
k.	Similar Copenhagen 622, 1.70	Similar		H
l.	Similar Kress 122, 404	Similar		no trace
m.	Similar Ball VI, 342	HΛIOΔ///EYAPAT	KΩI	H
n.	Similar Paris 1226, 1.99	HΛIOΔ/EYAPA	worn away	no trace
o.	Similar *BMC* 143, 2.13, PLATE XXIV, 6	HΛIOΔ/EYAPAT	KΩI	H
p.	Similar Platt, Fx. Pr., Coll. A, 503, PLATE XXIV, 8	HΛIOΔ/EYAPA	KΩI	H
q.	Same die as 29p *BMC* 140, 1.89, PLATE XXIV, 9	EYAPA/HΛIOΔΩ	KΩI	H
30.				
a.	Same die as 29o *BMC* 148, 1.84, PLATE XXIV, 7	TIMOΓ/EYΔA	KΩI	H
b.	Same die as 29p–q[60] Paris 1222, 2.09, PLATE XXIV, 10	TIMOΓ/EYΔAM	KΩI	⊓ (H?)[61]
31.				
a.	Similar *BMC* 145, 2.02, PLATE XXIV, 11	NIKAPXOΣ/AΣKΛHΠI	KΩN	no trace
b.	Similar ANS, 1.68, PLATE XXIV, 12	NIKAPXO/AΣKΛHΠ	KΩN	H
32.				
a.	Similar, Δ beneath head or presumably off flan except where noted ANS, 1.94, PLATE XXIV, 13	TIMOΞ/EKATAI with star behind snake	KΩI	Δ
b.	Same die as 32a *BMC* 149, 2.00	TIMOΞEN/EKATAIOY[62]	KΩN	off flan
c.	Same die as 32a–b Lockett 2931 (Naville VII, 1540), 1.91	TIMOΞE/EKATAI	KΩI	Δ

[60] There is no way of being sure of the order in which 29o–30a or 29p and q–30b were struck. It is possible that issue 30 precedes 29.

[61] See p. 90.

[62] A full name in the genitive appears only here and on 32h. The rarity of these exceptions probably means that they are of no particular consequence. Hekataios is spelled in the nominative on 32l.

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b.	Similar ANS (DMR), 2.01, PLATE XXII, 14	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚ/ΛΟΧΟΣ	ΚΩΙ	off flan
c.	Same die as 23b ANS (DMR), 2.28, PLATE XXII, 15	Similar		Ḙ
d.	Same die as 23b–c ANS (DMR), 2.11, PLATE XXII, 16	Similar		E
e.	Same die as 23b–d *BMC* 138, 2.04	Similar		Ḙ[53]
f.	Similar BM (Noe 276), 2.35, PLATE XXII, 17	ΑΡΙΣΤΟ/ΛΟΧΟΣ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
g.	Similar ANS (DMR), 1.86, PLATE XXII, 18	Similar		Δ
h.	Same die as 23g Ashmolean (Noe 276), 2.00, PLATE XXII, 19	Similar	ΚΩ	Δ̣
i.	Similar ANS (DMR), 2.17, PLATE XXII, 20	Similar	ΚΩΙ	Δ
24.				
a.	Same die as 22c and 23a[54] Ashmolean (Noe 276), 2.18, PLATE XXII, 13	ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ	ΚΩ	off flan
b.	Similar ANS (DMR), 2.24, PLATE XXIII, 1	ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡ/ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ	ΚΩ	E
c.	Similar *BMC* 137, 2.07	Same die as 24b[55]		
d.	Same die as 24c ANS (DMR), 2.16, PLATE XXIII, 2	Similar		E
e.	Similar Mississippi, 2.13	Similar		uncertain
f.	Similar Paris 1214, 1.87, PLATE XXIII, 3	Similar		⅁
25.				
a.	Same die as 24f[56] *BMC* 134, 1.65, PLATE XXIII, 4	ΤΙΣΑΧ/ΑΛΚΙΔΑ	ΚΩ	E
b.	Similar ANS (DMR), 2.04, PLATE XXIII, 5	ΤΕΙΣΑ/ΑΛΚΙΔ̣	ΚΩ	off flan

[53] Head's reading, Δ, is less likely.

[54] There are no die breaks which determine the sequence of strikings from this die. The three 22c coins were struck from a reverse die that was earlier (as its wear indicates) used with another obverse die (22a–b). It seems therefore that die 22c–24a was first cut during the minting of issue 22. The rest of the striking sequence, 23a before 24a, is required by the linkage of issue 24 to issue 25 (see n. 56).

[55] Head wrongly read H for the letter below the incuse.

[56] The sequence in which 24f and 25a were struck can be determined only from the circumstance that issue 24 is linked to two issues which must be earlier (see n. 54).

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c.	Similar (1) ANS (DMR), 1.89, PLATE XXIII, 6 (2) ANS (DMR), 1.99, PLATE XXIII, 7	ΤΕΙΣΑ/ΑΛΚΙΔ	ΚΩ	Ε
d.	Similar ANS, 2.19, PLATE XXIII, 11	Similar	ΚΩΝ	Ε
26.				
a.	Same die as 25d ANS (DMR), 2.12, PLATE XXIII, 12	ΦΙΛΟΦΡ/ΜΕΝΩΝ	ΚΩ	Ɛ
b.	Same die as 25d and 26a ANS (DMR), 2.16, PLATE XXIII, 13	Similar		no trace
c.	Same die as 25d and 26a–b? Fitzwilliam (Grose), 8547, 2.19	ΦΙΛΟΦ/ΜΕΝΩΝ	ΚΩ	uncertain
d.	Similar *BMC* 155, 1.91	Same die as 26a		uncertain[57]
e.	Same die as 25c (1) *BMC* 154, 1.97, PLATE XXIII, 8 (2) ANS (DMR), 2.18, PLATE XXIII, 9	ΦΙΛΟΦ/ΜΕΝΩΝ	ΚΩ	Ɛ̣
f.	Same die as 25c and 26e[58] Ashmolean (Noe 276), 1.98, PLATE XXIII, 10	ΦΙΛΟΦΡ/ΜΕΝΩΝ	ΚΩ	Ε
g.	Similar ANS (DMR), 2.12, PLATE XXIII, 17	ΦΙΛΟΦ/ΜΕΝΩΝ	ΚΩ	Ε
h.	Similar *BMC* 153, 1.98	ΦΙΛΟΦΡ/ΜΕΝΩΝ	ΚΩΝ	Δ
i.	Similar Berlin Not illustrated Hunter 12, 1.46	Similar ΦΙΛΟΦ/ΜΕΝΩΝ	ΚΩ ΚΩΝ	uncertain no trace
27.				
a.	Same die as 25d and 26a–c *BMC* 136, 2.02, PLATE XXIII, 14	ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ/ΝΙΚΟΣΤ	ΚΩ	Ɛ̣ (Ɛ?)
b.	Same die as 25d, 26a–c and 27a Lockett 2930 (Naville VII, 1539) Hirsch XXV, 2414), 2.03, PLATE XXIII, 15	ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ/ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡ	ΚΩ	Ε
c.	Similar BM (Noe 276), 2.23, PLATE XXIII, 18	ΔΙΝΙΑΣ/ΝΙΚΟΣΤ	ΚΩ	uncertain

[57] The traces are ambiguous but suggest Δ rather than Ε. Head's Η? is certainly mistaken.

[58] A U-shaped configuration of three lines behind Asklepios' brow indicates that 25c (1) and (2) were the first strikings from this die. On these coins the three lines are distinctly articulated. On 26e (2) and f the two left-hand lines have merged.

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e.	Same die as 16c–d	Similar		no trace
	Formerly in DMR Coll.			
f.	Same die as 16c–e	Similar	KΩ	Δ
	ANS, 2.29			
g.	Similar	Same die as 16 f		
	ANS (DMR), 1.97, PLATE XXI, 8			
h.	Same die as 16g	ΑΓΗΣΙΑ/ΘΕΥΦΑΜ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
	Copenhagen 660, 1.96			
17.				
a.	Similar	ΑΛΚΙΔΑΜ̣Ο̣/ΑΓΗΣΙ̣Α̣	ΚΩΝ	no trace
	ANS (DMR), 2.35, PLATE XXI, 9			
b.	Same die as 17a	ΑΛΚΙΔ̣Α̣/ΑΓΗΣΙΑΣ	ΚΩΝ	Δ̣ (A?)
	ANS (DMR), 2.03, PLATE XXI, 10			
c.	Similar	ΑΛΚΙΑ̣ΜΟ/ΑΓΗΣΙΑΣ	ΚΩΝ	Δ
	ANS (DMR), 2.16, PLATE XXI, 11			
d.	Similar	Same die as 17c		
	ANS (DMR), 1.90, PLATE XXI, 12			
18.				
a.	Similar	ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔ/ΘΕΥΦΑΜΙ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
	ANS (DMR), 2.33, PLATE XXI, 13			
b.	Similar	Similar		Δ
	BM (Noe 276), 2.17, PLATE XXI, 14			
c.	Similar	ΝΙΚΟΜΗ/ΘΕΥΦΑΜΙ	ΚΩΝ	Δ、
	ANS (DMR), 1.91, clipped, PLATE XXI, 15			
d.	Same die as 18c	ΝΙΚΟΜΗ/ΘΕΥΦΑΜ	ΚΩΝ	Δ
	ANS (DMR), 2.19, PLATE XXI, 16			
e.	Same die as 18c–d	ΝΙΚΟΜ̣Η̣Δ̣[51]/ΘΕΥΦΑΜΙ	ΚΩΝ[52]	Δ
	Paris 1215, 2.03			
f.	Similar	Same die as 18e		no trace
	ANS (DMR), 1.99, PLATE XXI, 17			
19.				
a.	Similar	ΛΟΧΟΣ/ΠΑΡΜΕ	ΚΩ	Δ̣ (A?)
	ANS (DMR), 2.37, PLATE XXI, 18			
b.	Same die as 19a	Similar		Δ̣ (A?)
	BM (Noe 276), 2.00, PLATE XXI, 19			
c.	Similar	Similar		Δ
	ANS (DMR), 2.16, PLATE XXI, 20			
d.	Similar	Similar		Δ
	ANS (DMR), 1.98, PLATE XXII, 1			
e.	Similar	Similar		Δ
	Paris 1217, 1.84			

[51] The last three letters are joined together as in a monogram.
[52] In retrograde.

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20.

a. Similar ΠΑΡΜΕ/ΓΕΝΟΚ ΚΩ Δ
BMC 147, 1.90

b. Similar Same die as 20a
Ashmolean (Noe 276), 2.10, PLATE XXII, 2

c. Similar Similar Δ
(1) Paris 1223, 1.79
(2) Berlin

d. Similar ΠΑΡΜΕ/ΓΕΝΟΚΛΗ ΚΩ Δ
BMC 146, 1.99, PLATE XXII, 3

21.

a. Similar ΝΙΚΟΜ/ΑΡΙΣΤ ΚΩΝ Δ
ANS (DMR), 2.14, PLATE XXII, 4

b. Same die as 21a ΝΙΚΟΜΗ/ΑΡΙΣΤ ΚΩΝ Δ
BM (Noe 276), 2.26, PLATE XXII, 5

c. Same die as 21a–b ΝΙΚΟΜ/ΑΡΙΣΤ ΚΩΝ Δ
BMC 139, 2.13

d. Similar ΝΙΚΟΜΗ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟ ΚΩ Δ
Ashmolean (Noe 276), 2.15, PLATE XXII, 6

e. Same die as 21d ΝΙΚΟΜ/ΑΡΙΣΤ ΚΩ Δ
ANS (DMR), 2.23, PLATE XXII, 7

f. Same die as 21d–e ΝΙΚΟΜΗ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟ ΚΩ Δ
ANS, 1.96

g. Similar ΝΙΚΟΜ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟ ΚΩ Δ
Formerly in DMR Coll.

h. Similar ΝΙΚΟΜΗ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟ ΚΩ Δ
von Aulock 2762, 2.19

i. Similar ΝΙΚΟΜ/ΑΡΙΣΤ ΚΩ Δ
Ratto, Feb. 1928, 689 (Pozzi 2661), divergent wts. 1.99 and 2.08

j. Same die as 21i ΝΙΚΟΜ/ΑΡΙΣΤΟ ΚΩ Δ
Berlin

22.

a. Similar ΘΕΥΦΑΜ/ΑΓΗΣΙΑ ΚΩ off flan
ANS (DMR), 2.03, PLATE XXII, 8

b. Same die as 22a Similar Δ
(1) Berlin
(2) *BMC* 133, 2.03

c. Similar Same die as 22b
(1) Ashmolean (Noe 276), 2.05, PLATE XXII, 9
(2) ANS (DMR), 1.91, PLATE XXII, 10
(3) ANS (DMR), 2.08, PLATE XXII, 11

23.

a. Same die as 22c ΑΡΙΣΤΟ/ΛΟΧΟΣ ΚΩΙ Ε
Ashmolean (Noe 276), 1.98, PLATE XXII, 12

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d.	Similar (1) Berlin (2) Paris 1219, 1.87	ΤΙΜΟΞ/ΕΚΑΤΑΙ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
e.	Same die as 32d *BMC* 151, 1.63, PLATE XXIV, 14	ΤΙΜΟΞ/ΕΚΑΤΑ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
f.	Similar *BMC* 150, 1.89, PLATE XXIV, 15	Similar		Δ
g.	Same die as 32f Paris 1220 (Waddington 2739), 2.01	ΤΙΜΟΞΕ/ΕΚΑΤΑΙ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
h.	Similar Paris 1227, 2.10	Τ]ΙΜΟΞΕΝ/ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΥ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
i.	Similar except no trace of letter Weber 6651, 2.09	ΤΙΜΟΞΕ/ΕΚΑΤΑΙ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
j.	Similar Paris 1221 (Waddington 2740), 1.82	ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟ/ΤΙΜΟΞΕ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
k.	Same die as 32j Ashmolean, 1.85, PLATE XXIV, 16	ΕΚΑΤΑΙ/ΤΙΜΟΞΕ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
l.	Similar Copenhagen 661, 1.49	ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ/ΤΙΜΟΞΕΝ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
m.	Similar except no trace of letter Berlin, 1.75	ΕΚΑΙΤ/ΤΙΜΟΞ	ΚΩΙ	Δ
33.	Similar *BMC* 152, 1.64, PLATE XXIV, 17	ΕΚΑΤΑΙ/ΤΕΙΜΟΣ[63]	ΚΩΙ	uncertain

[63] Head read the second name in this legend as ΙΕΙΝΟΣ, a name or part of a name without parallel in the prosopographies. The initial letter is almost certainly Τ, not Ι (as a small flake at the bottom of the stem superficially suggests). The fourth letter could be either Ν or Μ. The final letter, although the lower half is missing, is best read as Σ; the slant of the vertical stroke makes Γ a less likely alternative.

This coin is classified in a separate issue only with a good deal of hesitation. ΤΕΙΜΟΣ might be an erroneous variant for ΤΙΜΟΞ in which case the coin would belong to issue 32. The spelling Τειμ- for Τιμ- is possible, but at Kos it is never used for the common name Τιμόξενος. The final sigma in the abbreviation is even more disturbing. Misspellings and omitted letters do occur in the tetrobols' legends (see esp. 1b, 17a and c, and 25a), but there are none quite so patently unreasonable as the engraving of a sigma in place of a xi. On the other hand, the name Τιμόστρατος existed at Kos (Paton-Hicks no. 10, line a 60) and another Τιμοσ- name (Τιμοσθένης) was common elsewhere. Either of these names could be the one abbreviated here. Or if the final letter of the abbreviation is a gamma rather than a sigma, the restored name would be Τειμογένης, a freqent variant for Τιμογένης, the second name in issue 30. Any of these latter possibilities is stronger than the reading of ΤΕΙΜΟΣ as a unique variant for ΤΙΜΟΞ.

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ONE MAGISTRATE

34.			
	a. Similar Hirsch XIII, 3978, 1.82, PLATE XXIV, 18	ΑΝΔΡΟ/ΚΩΝ	Δ
	b. Same die as 34a *BMC* 122, 1.67	ΑΝΔΡΟΣ/ΚΩΝ	Δ̣ (A?)
	c. Same die as 34a–b ANS, 1.84	Similar	Δ̣
	d. Same die as 34a–c Berlin, 2.35	Similar	no trace
	e. Same die as 34a–d Berlin	ΑΝΔΡ/ΚΩΝ	Δ
	f. Similar Münzhandl. Basel 10, 342 (Hess 207, 589), 1.72	ΑΝΔΡΟ/ΚΩΝ	Δ
	g. Same die as 34f von Aulock 2761 (Ball Fx Pr 39, 574), 1.41	Similar	Δ
	h. Same die as 34f–g ANS, 1.60, PLATE XXIV, 19	ΑΝΔΡ/ΚΩΝ	Δ
	i. Similar[64] *BMC* 123, 2.26, PLATE XXIV, 20	Similar	Δ
	j. Similar Weber 6647, 2.00	Similar	Δ
	k. Similar Formerely in DMR Coll.	Similar	off flan
	l. Similar Berlin	ΑΝΔΡΟ/ΚΩΝ	Δ
	m. Similar Ratto, Apr. 1927, 2071, 2.02	Similar	Δ
	n. Similar Florange-Ciani, Feb. 1925, 567	Similar	no trace
?	Similar Paris 1218, 1.78	Illegible	no trace

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[64] The letter below Asklepios' head was probably intended as a delta even though it has the appearance of an alpha. There is, however, no basis for the sigma in Head's reading: ΑΣ.

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connection, namely that the Ptolemaion may be the creation of Ptolemy VI.[7]

Concerning this building we know very little. Pausanias (I. 17.2) describes the gymnasium of Ptolemy as being not far from the Agora and close to the Theseion and says that it took its name from the founder, whose bronze statue was there along with statues of Juba the Libyan and Chrysippos of Soli. Ephebic inscriptions of the late second and first centuries B.C. make it certain that a library and lecture facilities formed part of the gymnasium complex, and the fact that many of these stones were used in the construction of the "Valerian Wall" suggests at least that the Ptolemaion was in this general area.[8] There is no indication as to which Ptolemy was the donor. Judeich[9] assigns the structure to Ptolemy II but the attribution is little more than conjecture based on honors paid to Philadelphus and Arsinoe and on the importance of the Serapis cult at Athens in the mid-third century.[10] Far more plausible is the association with Ptolemy III proposed by Ferguson (*Hellenistic Athens*, 239ff.) since the inauguration of the Ptolemaia and the creation of the new tribe Ptolemais ca. 224/3 B.C.

[7] *Hesperia* 1950, 322f., with citation of the honors paid to Philometor and the importance of the Ptolemaic cult in the mid-second century. References to the Ptolemaion are compiled by R. E. Wycherley in *Agora III*: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, 142–144. The fact that no mention of the gymnasium occurs before the middle of the second century is perhaps significant.

[8] Citation of the pertinent texts is to be found in W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (ed. 2, 1931), 353 and C. Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris 1962), 263f. The latter work contains the most recent discussion of the Ptolemaion and in this connection a misinterpretation should be noted. Pelekidis states that we do not know with certainty which Ptolemy was the founder of the gymnasium and then goes on to say that Pausanias tells us it concerned Ptolemy II Philadelphus. This is an error; the Pausanias text makes no reference to a particular Ptolemy.

The boundary stone of a gymnasium mentioned by Pelekidis adds nothing to our information on the Ptolemaion. M. and E. Levensohn in publishing it (*Hesperia* 1947, no. 2) note that it cannot be associated with a specific gymnasium, and its place of discovery, at the entrance to the Odeion of Herodes Attikos, almost certainly indicates that it had been moved from its original location.

[9] Op.cit., 92 and 353.

[10] The latter argument is in any case of dubious validity. As Sterling Dow has shown ("The Egyptian Cults in Athens," *Harv. Theological Rev.* 1937, 187ff.), it is unlikely that official adoption and popular support of the Serapis cult antedated 229 B.C.

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attest a close connection between Euergetes and Athens. The basic motivation for these honors, however, was surely political; they expressed Athenian gratitude for the pledge of Egyptian support against any threat from Macedon. Undoubtedly they may also have reflected the city's thanks for the gift of a gymnasium, but this is merely supposition. Nothing in the present record provides any firm link between the Ptolemaion and the third century.[11]

There are, on the other hand, certain considerations pointing to a second century date for the building and to Philometor as its founder. Little weight can be put on the description of Athens given by Herakleides the Critic since the work is of uncertain date.[12] Even if one accepts Ferguson's arguments for the end of the third century, the omission of the Ptolemaion is not proof that it did not exist at that time. As Ferguson notes, Herakleides was commenting on things which impressed him and he may have seen nothing remarkable in another gymnasium, but he does mention the three older gymnasia—Academy, Lykeion and Kynosarges—and one might suppose that a new and elaborate building in the same category would have been worth a reference if only by way of contrast.

[11] Ferguson argues that it must have been in existence before the death of Chrysippos, ca. 208–204 B.C., since his statue was erected there. But we know nothing more than that Pausanias saw a statue of the philosopher in that location in the second century A.D. Was it a Hellenistic work or a later copy? Assuming the former, had it been set up there originally or moved from another site? If a statue was erected shortly after Chrysippos' death, and there is no certainty that this was the case, the logical place for it would have been the Lykeion where he lectured (Diogenes Laertius VII. 7. 185) and a statue put up there might well have been transferred to the Ptolemaion after the new city gymnasia began to take over the functions of the earlier foundations. There must in any case have been more than one statue of Chrysippos in Athens since Cicero (*De finibus* I. 11. 39) and Diogenes Laertius (VII. 7. 182) mention a seated statue in the Kerameikos.

[12] Ferguson (*Hell. Athens*, 239, 261 ff. and especially 464 ff.) makes out a strong case for the period ca. 205 B.C. but others have put Herakleides as early as the beginning of the third century and as late as the first. The commentary of Jacoby (*F. Gr. Hist.* 369) gives only a broad dating, s. III/II, while the recent study of Friedrich Pfister (*Die Reisebilder des Herakleides*, Österreich. Akad. Wiss. Sitzungsb. 227/2 [Vienna 1951], 44 ff.) maintains that on the basis of the fragments no closer approximation than 275–200 B.C. is possible. Pfister, however, considers it likely that Herakleides was the pupil of Lykon mentioned with his father Demetrios in the philosopher's will, and such an association would seem to imply a *floruit* rather late in the third century.

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factors were set up, possibly on the western approach to the Acropolis below the Propylaea.

Antiochos IV of Syria, like his Pergamene contemporaries, contributed substantially to the beautification of Athens. During his residence there in 176/5 B.C. he had been given not only Athenian citizenship but the affection of the demos, a feeling which he warmly reciprocated. As king he dedicated a gilt aegis with a head of Medusa, set up on the south wall of the Acropolis above the theater, and began the construction of a new and grandiose temple to the Olympian Zeus on the site of the unfinished Peisistratid structure. Statues of Epiphanes were erected in the city and undoubtedly other honors, of which we have no record, were voted him.

Another royal benefactor was the king of Egypt, Ptolemy VI Philometor, and indeed there is a strong possibility that his generosity to Athens was greater than has hitherto been realized. Of special pertinence is an inscription (*IG* II² 983) which concerns the erection of a bronze equestrian statue of a Ptolemy beside the old temple of Athena Polias. This was interpreted by Koehler in his earlier publication of the text as referring to the statue of Soter II mentioned by Pausanias (I. 8.6ff.) but as Ferguson pointed out,[2] the statue of that king stood before the Odeion in the Agora and was almost certainly a standing figure, since it was paired with a statue of his daughter Berenice, while the Ptolemy of our text was on horseback and on the Acropolis. Ferguson thought the equestrian statue probably represented Ptolemy VI but that it might commemorate one of his immediate predecessors, Epiphanes or Philopator. Kirchner, citing Ferguson's arguments, assigned the inscription to the middle of the second century.

The decree in question is illustrated on PLATE XXV (B)[3] together with another inscription (A) recently discussed by Pritchett (*Hesperia* 1947, 188f.). This second text belongs to the archonship of Speusippos, assigned to 177/6 B.C. by Dow in his publication of the inscription

[2] *Klio* 1908, 338ff.

[3] I am indebted to Dr. Markellos Mitsos, Director of the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, for photographs and permission to reproduce *IG* II² 983, and to Professor Meritt for the same courtesies with respect to the two Agora inscriptions.

The Speusippos stone has been cropped for reproduction but the text is intact.

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(*Prytaneis* 65). Pritchett, however, would transfer Speusippos to 149/8, or at least to the period between 157 and 145, citing as chief evidence for the new date the distinctive style of lettering found on Prytaneis 65 and on many inscriptions of the mid-second century,[4] a style "characterized by a sigma the bottom stroke of which begins mid-way of the third hasta, by an epsilon with a vertical hasta which extends above and below the horizontal strokes, by a tau with a horizontal stroke which extends more to the left than to the right of the upright, by an omega in the form of a horseshoe without feet the left portion of which is frequently lower than the right, by a pi with the horizontal hasta extending beyond the perpendicular strokes, by a fully-formed mu having the four hastas resting on the line, and by a phi which roughly resembles a crossbow. The alphas are sometimes open at the top and exhibit a slightly curving horizontal hasta."

One of the inscriptions listed by Pritchett as an example of this type of writing is a stone from the Agora dated by the archonship of Lysiades to the mid-second century B.C. (PLATE XXVI, C).[5] Lysiades figures prominently in the discussion that follows and his contribution to the epigraphical argument is thus highly pertinent but for the moment it will suffice to point out that the Ptolemaic inscription, which Pritchett does not include in his citation of comparative material, has letter forms practically identical with those found on the Speusippos and Lysiades inscriptions. This is perhaps most noticeable with reference to the horseshoe omega and the crossbow phi but all the distinctive shapes described by Pritchett are present.[6] Clearly the Ptolemaic text belongs to the middle of the second century and the Ptolemy in question must be Philometor.

The erection of a statue in a position of prominence on the Acropolis certainly commemorated some outstanding benefaction on the part of Philometor. We have no explicit record as to the nature of the gift, but Homer Thompson has suggested an interesting possibility in this

[4] Of the twenty-three inscriptions listed by Pritchett, almost all fall within the period between 170 and 135 but a few extend the chronological limits to ca. 200–120 B.C.

[5] Published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 1942, no. 58.

[6] It will be noted that the two long inscriptions (B and C), in which there is considerable repetition of letters, show variation in the writing. The forms discussed by Pritchett are not used consistently in either text.

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PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR AND ATHENS[1]

(See Plates XXV–XXVII)

The first half of the second century before Christ was literally a golden age for Athens. Her days of political and commercial supremacy might be only a stirring memory, but her prestige as the preeminent center of Greek culture remained undiminished. An association with Athens still confered its own peculiar distinction and in recognition of this the rulers of the various Hellenistic kingdoms, from Pontus to Numidia, visited the city, competed in her festivals and vied with each other in munificent donations of money and public buildings. Whether it was chiefly self-glorification or the glory of Athens that prompted the gifts concerned no one, least of all the recipient. Physically and economically the city prospered from the friendly rivalry of her royal patrons.

Among the major benefactors of Athens the Pergamene dynasty clearly deserves first place. Attalos I provided military support during the Second Macedonian War and demonstrated his personal interest in the city and her institutions by participating in the Mysteries, laying out the Lakydeion and donating sculptural groups for the south wall of the Acropolis. For her part Athens responded with high honors, including the compliment of a new tribe named Attalis. The sons of Attalos maintained the family tradition. All four entered horses and won prizes in the Panathenaic contests and all received the city's highest award for services to Antiochos IV, but it was the two older brothers who made outstanding contributions. Eumenes II erected a great stoa on the southern slope of the Acropolis and some years later Attalos II, who had studied in Athens and received Athenian citizenship, donated another impressive stoa extending along the eastern side of the central market square. Colossal statues of the two bene-

[1] This article owes its existence to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, who called my attention to the body of epigraphical material relating to the statue of Ptolemy and to the gap in the celebration of the Ptolemaia with its implications for the New Style chronology.

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More significant is the "climate" of the second century as compared with that of the third. During the earlier period, overshadowed as it was by the ever-present threat of Macedonian intervention, building activity in Athens had been minimal. The times were not propitious for the expenditure of public funds on construction projects and there was no tradition of foreign benefactors willing to endow civic edifices. After the decisive defeat of Philip at Cynoscephalae the situation was entirely different. Athens was able at last to look forward to an era of peace and prosperity under Roman protection; the public works which had been neglected or postponed could now be undertaken with confidence in the future. In the Macedonian invasion of Attica in 200 B.C. the three outlying gymnasia had been destroyed. Repairs were made in due course but the establishments had outlived their usefulness. Athens was developing in a different direction and the old gymnasia were inconveniently located. There was need for other gymnasia in the city itself so one of the first improvements of the new century was the Diogeneion.[13] Other projects were contemplated as funds became available. A passage in Polybius (XXVIII. 19.4) suggests that Athens met the problem realistically by soliciting contributions for her construction program. Eumenes provided a stoa for the theater area. Antiochos undertook to complete the Zeus temple. The city itself began work on a remodelling of the market square. Pharnaces of Pontus was reminded that he had promised a subsidy, and this money no doubt helped to finance the Middle Stoa on the south side of the Agora.[14]

Now it was Ptolemy's turn, but in this case the timing was poor. An embassy from Athens with regard to a gift (Polybius, above) was at

[13] Its date must be late third or early second century. Graindor (*Musée Belge* 1922, 220) and Wachsmuth (Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s.v. Diogeneion) would place its construction early in the second century, and this date accords well with the destruction of the suburban gymnasia in 200 B.C.

[14] References to this building will be found in the new guide to the excavations: H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora* (ed. 2, Athens 1962), 24, 105f., 207 and 213. See also M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, 714 n.

No one of the various royal and civic projects involved in this vast Athenian building program (Diogeneion, Stoa of Eumenes, Zeus temple and Middle Stoa) can be precisely dated, but it seems highly likely that the earliest structure was started shortly after the turn of the century and the latest within a few years of 170.

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Philometor's court when Antiochos invaded the country in 170 B.C. For the next six years Egypt was in a state of almost continuous crisis, threatened by Syria and weakened by the struggle for power between Philometor and his younger brother Euergetes. It was not until 163 that Philometor gained control as sole ruler. During the years of comparative calm that followed, the young king was able to restore political stability, initiate reforms and carry on an extensive building program in Upper Egypt. The contribution to Athens which had been impossible in 170 was now feasible and desirable. Other Hellenistic monarchs had constructed, or were constructing, impressive monuments to their greater glory and the embellishment of Athens. It would be surprising if Ptolemy had failed to respond to the Attalid and Seleucid challenge.

Certainly at this time Athens was paying notable tribute to Egypt and the Ptolemaic cult. This is reflected not only in the erection of the statue discussed above but also in the remarkable splendor of the festival observances. References to proclamations at the Ptolemaia are frequently encountered in second century inscriptions but there is only one mention of the actual celebration. This occurs in *IG* II² 1938 with a record of over sixty-one hieropoioi in charge of the games. The archon is Lysiades whose date must fall within a few years of 150 B.C.[15]

Further evidence of the importance of the Ptolemaic cult in Athens during the middle of the second century B.C. is provided by the

[15] The exact year of Lysiades' archonship is uncertain. Ferguson first assigned him firmly to 152/1 (*Klio* 1909, 337 ff. and *Hell. Athens*, 339) but later shifted him tentatively to 148/7 (*Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, 30). This second date is the one generally given to Lysiades in the archon lists of the second century, most recently in Pelekidis (*Hist. éphébie attique*, 300).

It had seemed to me significant that an issue of coinage with a Ptolemaic symbol was struck in 152/1, and in my study of the New Style money (pp. 605 f.) I argued that the coins substantiated Ferguson's original date for the archon. The coincidence of dates is still definitely attractive, but I no longer feel that it is a decisive factor in either the numismatic or the epigraphical chronology. Almost certainly the special observance of the Ptolemaia was not limited to Lysiades' archonship. One assumes that Ptolemy's gift to Athens, whatever its nature, was recognized by a statue and by unusually elaborate celebration of the Ptolemaic festival. We have a specific record of this only for the archonship of Lysiades but it is highly likely that similar pomp marked each observance of the international Ptolemaia between the date of Philometor's donation and his death in 146 B.C.

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coinage. In 152/1 the mint magistrate Aphrodisios placed a cornucopiae as his badge on the coinage. Had this been the simple horn of plenty found on Greek coins of many mints and many periods there would be nothing remarkable about his choice. Such representations appear as symbols on the rare drachms of the final Old Style period at Athens and on three early issues of New Style money.[16] Aphrodisios' symbol, however, was an elaborate double cornucopiae with fillet almost identical with the reverse type of the Arsinoe issues of Ptolemy II and his successors, a coin type distinctively Egyptian in origin and connotation.[17]

The close connection between Athenian symbol and Ptolemaic type can readily be seen from the illustrations at the bottom of PLATE XXVII.[18] In particular the mirror image of the New Style reverse (7), simulating the die itself, shows the fidelity with which the diecutter

[16] For the Old Style issue, see Svoronos, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 23, 35. The New Style coins (PLATE XXVII, 1–3) are from the issues of 193/2, 180/79 and 160/59 (Thompson, nos. 14, 115a, 421d). On the last of these the cornucopiae is combined with spears of grain but the horn itself is a simple device.

The single cornucopiae is also found as a symbol on both pre-New Style and New Style bronze (as PLATE XXVII, 4–5, from the ANS and Yale collections) and as a type on the "kollyboi" (Svoronos, pl. 18, 99–100, 112).

[17] Athenaeus (XI. 497b, c) describes the drinking-horn as first fabricated in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus as an attribute for statues of Arsinoe, which show the queen carrying such an object filled with fruits. This origin for the simple rhyton is, of course, impossible, but G. Kramer (*Über den Styl und die Herkunft der bemalten griechischen Thongefässe* [Berlin 1837], 126f.) suggests that Philadelphus may have been responsible for the creation of the double horn.

As a coin type the double cornucopiae with fillet is peculiarly Ptolemaic. It is used, in combination with the head of the deified Arsinoe, on an impressive series of gold octadrachms and silver dekadrachms initiated by Ptolemy II after the death of his queen. This Arsinoe money continued to be struck under later rulers; octadrachms and tetradrachms of gold formed part of the coinage of Ptolemy VI (Svoronos, τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, pls. XV ff. and E. T. Newell, *Royal Greek Portrait Coins*, 106). Even on non-Egyptian coinages the device is linked with the Ptolemies. Philometor's daughter Cleopatra was the wife of three Seleucid kings, and both Philometor and his brother Euergetes actively intervened in the dynastic struggles of Syria. It was during this period of strong Egyptian influence that the double cornucopiae appears as a Seleucid coin type.

[18] The gold tetradrachm is assigned to the early years of Ptolemy VIII by Svoronos (no. 1500) but is more likely an issue of Ptolemy VI. Both it and the Athenian tetradrachm (Thompson, no. 546i) are in the ANS collection.

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copied his model. Note the orientation and shape of the horns, the volutes at the terminal point, the two prominent spikes above the rim and the pendent grapes on either side. Only the arrangement of the fillet is different; limitations of space forced the engraver to substitute a stiff bow with ties for the fluttering ribbons of the Egyptian coins.

Aphrodisios' Egyptian cornucopiae device is involved with the broader problem of the significance of the symbols found on the New Style silver. This has been dealt with in some detail elsewhere[19] and only a few observations need be repeated here. There can, I think, be no question about their being personal badges in that selection was the unrestricted prerogative of the magistrates whose names appeared in first place on the coinage. Where we can make a definite association of man and symbol, the personal connection is even closer; the device is a direct allusion to the magistrate's name, his origin, his family or his accomplishments. In many cases the relationship between magistrate and badge is obscure. If we could identify the men concerned and knew something of their background, we might well find that most, or all, of their symbols were personally significant, but as it is we cannot rule out two alternate possibilities. The device may have had reference to a contemporary event with which the magistrate had no direct connection or it may have been a random selection made simply to conform to the tradition of placing symbols on the coinage.

It should be noted, however, that the more distinctive the symbol the greater the probability that it was meaningful. A banal emblem such as a prow or a bunch of grapes might be the fortuitous choice of an unimaginative man; an unusual device almost certainly carried a message. This is true of the racing quadriga of Mikion, the trophy on prow of Themistokles, the griffin of Teian Apellikon, the Three Graces of Eurykleides, the elephant of Antiochos and the star and crescents of King Mithradates. It should also be true of the Ptolemaic cornucopiae of Aphrodisios.

In defining the exact nature of the message Aphrodisios was conveying, we are handicapped by the fact that we know little or nothing about the man. He may be the Aphrodisios of Azenia whose son is

[19] Thompson, 600–607.

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mentioned in a roster of noblemen of the last quarter of the second century, but even assuming that identification to be correct, we have no information on the activity or career of Aphrodisios of Azenia which would explain the Ptolemaic symbol on his coinage. Working from the name alone, we can nevertheless make certain significant deductions. The Egyptian symbol cannot be a mere canting badge such as we find in some other connections. Nor is it at all likely that it reflects a direct association with Egypt on the part of either the magistrate or his family. Aphrodisios is a common Athenian name; there is no reason to suppose that our Aphrodisios was of foreign extraction.[20] Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the device appears only during Aphrodisios' second term in office. Three years earlier he had used the commonplace symbol of Nike for his money. All of this strongly suggests that the Ptolemaic symbolism had a specific rather than a general connotation, that it was connected less with the man himself than with some special occasion coinciding with his second tenure as mint magistrate. The obvious and, I think, the only tenable connection is with the Ptolemaic cult and its ritual observances.

This association is of considerable importance for the chronology of the New Style coinage. The Ptolemaia were celebrated in Athens from about 224 B.C. Inscriptions specifying the proclamation of honors at the Dionysia, the Panathenaia, the Eleusinia, and the Ptolemaia are numerous in the early and middle second century, the latest dating from 127/6. Then there is a gap. In 122/1, in 118/7, in 116/5 and again in 106/5 the formula includes only the first three festivals. There is no mention of the Ptolemaia. Later—in decrees of 101/0, 96/5 and ca. 94/3—all four festivals are enumerated.[21] The record is altogether clear and straightforward. Between 122 and 105, at a minimal reckon-

[20] Kirchner's record of second century Athenians named Aphrodisios (*Prosopographia Attica*) can be supplemented by a new archon, assigned tentatively to 170/69 B.C. (*Hesperia* 1947, no. 64).

[21] Pelekidis (op.cit., 300) lists the inscriptions mentioning the Ptolemaia and Ferguson (*Klio* 1908, 338) those omitting that festival. The archon dates of Ferguson, Pelekidis and Meritt (*The Athenian Year*, 235 ff.) are to some degree divergent; the years cited here are those of Meritt.

In discussing the Ptolemaia, Ferguson outlines their history at Athens as follows: a period of great popularity in the last quarter of the third century and the first half of the second; a disappearance ca. 150 due to the animosity aroused in the Greek world by the atrocities of Euergetes; a revival under the

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ing, the Ptolemaic cult had fallen into such disfavor that the Ptolemaia had ceased to be celebrated.

Any suggested revision of the 196–87 B.C. chronology of the New Style series must take the coinage of Aphrodisios into account. On the lower chronology recently advocated by David M. Lewis,[22] this issue would date from 119/8, a time when the Ptolemaia were no longer being celebrated. Against this background the Egyptian device is incongruous and inexplicable. Had our magistrate's name been Ptolemaios instead of Aphrodisios or his antecedents less clearly Athenian, there would be no problem. The Ptolemaic symbol would be an understandable choice at any time, like the elephant of Antiochos or the Teian griffin of Apellikon. For a coinage struck before 126 or after 102 there would again be no problem. Any celebration of the Ptolemaia would suffice to explain the symbolism. For a coinage struck in 119/8 it is, under the circumstances, an extremely peculiar if not incredible device.

On the other hand, it was a particularly felicitous choice for the coinage of 152/1. At this time the Ptolemaic cult was at its apogee. Toward the middle of the century a bronze equestrian statue of Ptolemy VI had been erected on the Acropolis. That this commemorated Ptolemy's gift of a gymnasium and library seems highly likely, but in any case such signal recognition must surely have been inspired by signal benefactions. During this same period and undoubtedly in further acknowledgement of Ptolemy's generosity to Athens, the Ptolemaia were celebrated with unusual magnificence. For this we have the combined testimony of the epigraphical and numismatic records.

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oligarchic government of 103–88 in response to the pro-Greek policy of Soter II; a final disappearance at the time of the Mithradatic War and Sullan occupation of the city. Ferguson's theory that the Ptolemaia disappeared ca. 150 can no longer be accepted since the festival is now known to have been observed in 127/6. One assumes that there was a period of gradual decline before the celebration was abandoned ca. 126–123 B.C.

[22] "The Chronology of the Attic New Style Coinage," *NC* 1962.

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HERCULES-MELQART ON A COIN OF FAUSTUS SULLA

(See Plate XXVIII)

One of the more puzzling coins in the Roman Republican series is S 880–81.[1] The obverse shows a young man with diadem (Plate XXVIII, 1); the reverse, Diana in a biga (Plate XXVIII, 2). This coin forms the counterpart to S 879 with the bust of Diana on the obverse (Plate XXVIII, 3), on the reverse the famous scene of the elder Sulla receiving Bocchus and Jugurtha (Plate XXVIII, 4). The identity of the young man on the obverse of S 880–81 has been variously suggested as Bocchus, Jugurtha or Hercules, and it is with these three possibilities that this paper is concerned.

The moneyer, Faustus Sulla,[2] was in many ways characteristic of his age and typical of the lesser sons of famous fathers. Born in 86 B.C., he was still a child at his father's death in 78. He was bothered early in life by bids for the restitution of property appropriated by his father, but successfully avoided the legal pursuit of his claimants. In 63 he served under Pompey in the East, where he particularly and profitably distinguished himself in the capture of the temple at Jerusalem (Joseph. *BJ* 1.149, 154; cf. *AJ* 14.69, 73). He won other rewards as well. We know, for example, that the tiara of Mithridates passed into his hands (Plut. *Pomp.* 42.3). There was reason for his diligence: he was obliged upon his return to produce for the Roman populace the games promised by his father's will (Cic. *Sull.* 54f.). As moneyer, probably in 62,[3] he struck S 879 and 880–81. In 54 as

[1] Numbers refer to the type numbers of E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Republican Coinage* (London, 1952), henceforth abbreviated as S.

[2] For references relating to the life and career of Faustus Sulla see F. Münzer, "Cornelius (377)," *PW* and T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York, 1951–52), henceforth abbreviated as *MRR*.

[3] Since the coin is the only evidence for the date, one would like to use the closing date of a hoard as a decisive indicator, but there are no hoards from the 60's, according to H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London, 1910), henceforth abbreviated as G, cxii, 1.411ff. (cf. Ap-

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quaestor, he struck coins in honor of Pompey. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he cheerfully hoped through it to restore his desolated fortunes. After some confusion about his sphere of action, Sulla accompanied Pompey to the East, but after Pharsalus he fled to Africa, and after Thapsus he planned to flee to Spain, but fell into Caesarian hands and was killed.

The problematic obverse of S 880–81 shows the head of a young man; on some examples of the coin, he seems very young. He faces right and wears a diadem, with long ends fluttering out behind his head. His hair is short, lumpily curly, and characterized by a prominent erect forelock. He has sideburns, which on some specimens have been worn away completely or worn to such an extent that they are no longer recognizable. The face is fat and fleshy, in contrast to the sharp outline of the head. The man wears a cloak which lies remarkably high on his neck, and its collar creates a pronounced diagonal, below which are broad, parallel markings as if to indicate a furry material. The cloak is tied under his chin in a knot with short ends, which, on one of the best coins, seem to be paws.

The obverse legend reads FEELIX (G 1.472 n.), which corresponds to the FAUSTUS of the reverse. Both refer to the Sullan family, and thus offer no clue toward the identity of the head, a problem that has occupied a number of numismatists over a considerable period of time, as the following résumé of identifications shows:[4]

pendix). T. Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens* (Berlin, 1860), 624, n. 457, T. Mommsen–Duc de Blacas, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* (Paris, 1870), 2.484, n. 1, and E. Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la République romaine* (Paris, 1885–86), henceforth abbreviated as B, 1.420, offered 64 as an approximate date without special explanation. Grueber suggested 62, apparently as a likely date for Sulla to have been moneyer and one to which the coinage falls by comparison with contemporaneous issues (1.471, nn. 1, 2). Sydenham followed Grueber and proposed 63–62 (p. 145, n. 879), which is impossible since in 63 Sulla was in the East. Either 64 or 62 is possible, but the latter seems more probable. A. Alföldi, "Studien zur Zeitfolge der Münzprägung der römischen Republik," *RSN* 36 (1954), 5–30, associates both issues of Faustus Sulla for stylistic reasons, but would place S 879–81 in 56 and S 882–84 in 55.

[4] The authors cited treat the problem in the following works:

P. Seguin, *Selecta Numismatica Antiqua* (Paris, 1684), 218f.

J. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* (Vienna, 1795), 5.192f.

E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie grecque* (Milan, 1826), 3.293 n.

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Seguin	Jugurtha	1684
Eckhel	Bocchus	1795
Visconti	Hercules	1826
Riccio	Hercules	1843
Duchalais	Hercules	1849
Cavedoni	Hercules Callinicus	1854
Mommsen	Jugurtha?	1860
Müller	Bocchus	1862
Mommsen-Blacas	Jugurtha?	1870
Babelon	Jugurtha	1885
Serafini	Hercules	1897
Grueber	Hercules	1910
Alföldi	Jugurtha	1951
Sydenham	Hercules	1952

Scholarly opinion has always wavered about the identification of this coin, since no absolutely convincing evidence has turned up to solve the problem. Bocchus, Jugurtha, or Hercules? The first two must obviously be considered together, for both come from the same historical scene.

In 106 the war against the Numidian king Jugurtha had already been languishing a number of years, even after the arrival of Marius

G. Riccio, *Le monete delle antiche famiglie di Roma* (Naples, 1843), 72f.

A. Duchalais, "Mémoire sur les monnaies antiques frappées dans la Numidie et dans la Mauretanie," *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de France* 19 (1849), 404–67.

C. Cavedoni, *Ragguaglio storico archeologico de' precipui ripostigli antichi di medaglie consolari e di famiglie romane* (Modena, 1854), 75, n. 55.

Mommsen, 624.

L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique* (Copenhagen, 1862), 3.36f.

Mommsen-Blacas, 2.485.

Babelon, 1.421.

C. Serafini, "L'arte nei ritratti della moneta romana repubblicana," *BCAR* 25 (1897), 3–34.

Grueber, 1.472.

Alföldi, "Komplementäre Doppeltypen in der Denarprägung der römischen Republik," *Schweizer Münzblätter* 2 (1951), 1–7.

Sydenham, p. 146.

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as supreme commander in Africa.[5] Then the Romans managed to inflict a decisive defeat upon the combined forces of Jugurtha and his dubious ally, his father-in-law Bocchus, King of Mauretania. The latter asked the Romans for terms. In an interview in 105 between Bocchus and the elder Sulla, at this time a resourceful junior officer, Sulla urged that Bocchus arrange the surrender of Jugurtha to the Romans. Bocchus agreed, but afterwards wondered if he might not better betray Sulla to Jugurtha. Abiding by his promise, however, he handed over Jugurtha. The war ended. Marius triumphed gloriously. Jugurtha, after figuring ignominiously in the procession, died in prison. Bocchus with insufferable pride dedicated on the Capitoline a gold representation of his surrender of Jugurtha to Sulla (Plut. *Sull.* 6.1, *Mar.* 32.2). The elder Sulla adapted this scene for his signet (Val. Max. 8.14.4; Plin. *HN* 37.8), and Faustus later used the motif of the ring for the reverse of S 879.

This brief survey of events makes the reasons for the identification of the type as Bocchus or Jugurtha clear. Eckhel (5.192f.) thought it natural that the younger Sulla should represent Bocchus on the coinage in honor of his father. Müller (3.36f.) also believed the head to be that of Bocchus because of the royal diadem and the cloak, an article of Mauretanian costume. Two points should, however, be noted. First, Bocchus' intentions towards Sulla were at best ambiguous (Sall. *Iug.* 108.3, 113.2–4; Plut. *Sull.* 3.3), and one can hardly imagine why the family would want to honor this man, although the transaction in which he participated ultimately redounded to Sulla's credit. Nor can one imagine that the presence of the foreign king on their coin would have pleased the Roman people. Second, there are no portraits of Bocchus to verify the identification.The figures on the reverse of Faustus Sulla's companion-coin are much too small to show individual character, and Bocchus himself lacks any personal coinage,[6] which might display the royal head.

Seguin, Mommsen, Mommsen-Blacas, and Babelon considered Jugurtha a more probable candidate than Bocchus. Mommsen thought the royal portrait might derive from Bocchus' dedication piece. Alföldi feels very strongly that the head is that of Jugurtha,

[5] For the historical background see *CAH* 9.116–39 and *MRR* for 106 and 105.
[6] J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque* (Paris, 1955), 59.

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since this coin and its counterpart illustrate his theory of cross-related types: the reverse of S 879 represents Bocchus and Jugurtha before Sulla, and therefore the obverse of S 880–81 must represent Jugurtha.[7] Babelon's explanation (1.421) has resulted in some numismatic confusion. He identified the head on Sulla's coin as that of Jugurtha on the basis of the resemblance between it and that of a coin formerly thought to be Numidian (PLATE XXVIII, 5). The portrati head of the latter coin is then sometimes identified as Jurgutha on the basis of its resemblance to Sulla's coin!

The head on the non-Roman coin faces left. The man's hair is short, with a prominent forelock similar to that of Sulla's coin, and he wears an intertwined wreath-diadem that is tied behind his head with fluttering ends, again like Sulla's coin. He too has sideburns. His profile is singular, especially the sharp, curved nose with its high bridge, but, in spite of a superficial similarity, this coin cannot portray the same man as the Roman coin.[8] Furthermore, since the non-Roman coin is no longer classified as Numidian, but as part of the Barcid series in Spain and prior to Jugurtha,[9] it cannot serve as proof for the Jugurtha identification of the Roman coin.

Moreover, there is little likelihood that the younger Sulla would late in the 60's place on the obverse of his coin an enemy conquered forty years earlier. Rome's problems in these later years were primarily domestic and, insofar as they were foreign, certainly not African. Faustus may well have wanted to commemorate the glorious deeds of his father, but for such a purpose the submission scene on the reverse of S 879 is far more satisfying than the proud, youthful, and prosperous head of the obverse of S 880–81.

In any case, the Romans, perhaps as a consequence of the long tradition of Roma obverses, generally reserved that position for the

[7] Alföldi, "Doppeltypen," 1–7, believes that the types of some denarii are cross-related in their meaning, so that the obverse of coin A is to be associated with the reverse of coin B, and reverse A with obverse B. This necessitates, of course, the possession of both coins for the understanding of their message.

[8] S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, 1928), 2.329, n. 3.

[9] L. Charrier, *Description des monnaies de la Numidie et de la Mauretanie* (Macon, 1921), 18, points out that no specimens of this coin have ever been found in Numidian territory; cf. E. S. G. Robinson, "The Punic Coins of Spain and Their Bearing on the Roman Republican Series," *Roman Coinage* (Oxford, 1956), 43f.

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gods. Among mortals, even Romans, until the very end of the Republic, appeared rarely on the coinage; and foreigners more rarely still: apart from the Bocchus-Jugurtha-Sulla reverse (S 879), the supposed Philip V of Macedon (S 551),[10] Perseus (S 926), and Aretas (S 912) are the only instances. The last two are shown in appropriately humble attitudes, and one can explain the regal pose of Philip by the fact that the moneyer thought himself honored by his family's social connection with the king. One must remember too that Philip, a nobler enemy than Jugurtha, enjoyed friendly relations with the Romans after his defeat. This coin, incidentally, is the only one of the "royal" coins that antedates Sulla's. Thus neither the immediate political situation nor precedent proves upon investigation to be a good argument for the presence of Jugurtha upon the obverse.

The case of Hercules is the most complex. Visconti thought the head was that of Hercules, simply because it resembled other representations of the young Hercules (3.417 n.). Riccio favored Hercules on the basis of "modern scholarship" and the known devotion of Sulla and his family to the god (73). Duchalais presented a more interesting interpretation. Although this Hercules is uncommon, he found a similar type at Tyre, and he explained Sulla's type as follows: "... nous savons qu'Hercule, d'après les traditions africaines, était père de Syphax, tige de la race des rois de Mauretanie et de Numidie; il est donc tout naturel que Faustus ait été choisir, pour en parer les pièces qu'il a fait frapper, le dieu principal de la nation numidique, comme pour indiquer que ce dieu avait passé aux Romains (417)." The Numidian god would then have come over to the Romans by the rite of *evocatio*, but this was no longer in practice during the first century B.C. (*PW* 6.1152f.), when respect for the ancestral religion had largely disappeared. Therefore the allusion that Duchalais suggested would have been too subtle for the contemporaries of Sulla to grasp. Cavedoni identified the portrait as that of a young Hercules Callinicus by reason of its similarity to the representation on an Etruscan mirror (75 n. 55).[11] Serafini accepted Cavedoni's Hercules,

[10] According to G 2.277 n. this Philip V does not resemble other portraits of the king.

[11] E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin, 1845–97), 3.130f., 2. pl. 137.

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Grueber was hesitant (1.472 n.), and Sydenham decided in favor of Hercules without comment.

Since neither Bocchus nor Jugurtha is a likely or probable identification, Hercules remains. It must be admitted immediately that the head, if Hercules', is unlike every other Hercules in the Republican coinage, although it shows affinities with a coin in the Romano-Campanian series (S 6; PLATE XXVIII, 6). On the other hand, the Hercules types display considerable variety,[12] and thus the head may be that of Hercules. If we make this assumption, two questions present themselves: (1) why did the younger Sulla wish Hercules to figure on this coin, and (2) which Hercules does the coin show?

To answer the first, it is necessary to consider the character of the Roman Hercules. Whatever his origin and background,[13] he arrived early and was first honored in the Forum Boarium. Although the legend of the establishment of the Ara Maxima there, after his heroic encounter with the local villain Cacus, is in the best tradition of Hercules of the twelve labors, the nature of the god was apparently soon affected by the business world around him. Whether because he had completed long voyages with efficiency, or because he possessed "mercurial" skill in discovering profit, merchants turned to him for aid. In good fortune they sacrificed to him at the Ara Maxima a tenth of their gain (Plaut. *Bacch.* 665f., *Stich.* 232, 386, *Truc.* 562; Dion. Hal. 1.40.6; cf. Plut. *QR* 18).[14] Among the first of these may have been Octavius Herrenus, a flute-player who went into business and prospered (Macr. 3.6.11), but the most lavish occasions, the dedications of Sulla (Plut. *Sull.* 35.1), Lucullus (Diod. 4.21.4; cf. Plut. *Luc.* 37.4), and Crassus (Plut. *Crass.* 2.2), came in the late Republic.

Out of this custom of dedicating a tenth to Hercules upon the successful completion of business ventures grew the custom of dedicating

[12] Head covered by the lion's skin, S 775, 882–83; head without the lion's skin, 563, 604–5, 791, 1139; Hercules and the Nemean lion, 768; Hercules in a chariot, 429, 511; with trophy, 970, 971; standing, 1051, 1140; playing the lyre, 810.

[13] For greater detail see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich, 1912) and J. Bayet, *Les Origines de l'Hercule romain* (Paris, 1926) as well as the articles in *PW*, *Dar.-Sag.*, and Roscher's *Lex.*

[14] The sacrifice of the tenth was, however, not peculiar to Rome but was prevalent throughout Italy. See, for example, the engaging inscription of the Vertuleii from Sora (*CIL* 1^2.2.1531).

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a tenth of the booty or of otherwise showing kindly attentions to the god upon the successful completion of military ventures. Hercules also participated in the celebration of triumphs (Ath. 4.153c, 5.221f), when it was customary to carry a statue of the god in triumphal garb in the procession (Plin. *HN* 34.33). The reverses of the coins of C. Antius Restio (S 970, 971) perhaps reflect this practice; Hercules is shown full figure, walking, holding his club and a trophy, while the lion's skin hangs over one arm. Hercules probably figured more importantly in the lives of the generals than the surviving evidence indicates, but even so the list of generals whom we know to have paid reverence to him in one way or another is impressive: M. Minucius Rufus (*CIL* 1^2.2.607); Q. Fabius Maximus (Strab. 6.3.1; Plin. *HN* 34.40; Plut. *Fab.* 22.5–6; cf. Dio 42.26.1);[15] M'. Acilius Glabrio (Liv. 36.30.3); P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (Liv. 38.35.4); M. Fulvius Nobilior (Cic. *Arch.* 27; Eumen. *Panegyr.* 4.7; Macr. 1.12.16; Plin. *HN* 35.66; cf. Plut. *QR* 59); L. Aemilius Paulus (Plut. *Aem.* 17.6, cf. 19. 2–3; Fest. 282L, cf. Plin. *HN* 35.19);[16] P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (Plin. *HN* 36.39; cf. App. *Lib.* 135); L. Mummius (*CIL* 1^2.2.626; cf. 632);[17] L. Cornelius Sulla (Plut. *Sull.* 35.1; Ov. *Fast.* 6.209–12);[18] L. Licinius Lucullus (Diod. 4.21.4; Plin. *HN* 34.93); M. Aurelius Cotta (Memnon 35.7–8 *FGrH* 3B 363f.); Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Vitr. 3.3.5; Plin. *HN* 34.57).[19]

With the devotion of generals to Hercules must also be considered the power of the legend of Alexander at Rome.[20] Hercules had traveled vast distances, almost from end to end of the known world. Alex-

[15] For Fabian devotion to Hercules on the basis of their descent from the god see Münzer, s.v. "Fabius," *PW* and note 16 below.

[16] Cf. the sacrifice of his son, Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, to Hercules in Spain (App. *Iber.* 65) and the building by his grandson, Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, of a temple to Hercules in Gaul after a victory over the Celts (Strab. 4.1.11).

[17] The identity of this Munius with the victor at Corinth has often been questioned, most recently by B. Riposati, "Postilla all'epigrafe reatina di Lucius Munius," *Epigraphica* 12 (1950), 137–49.

[18] See S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1929), 256.

[19] Ibid. 255f.

[20] Cf. A. Bruhl, "Le souvenir d'Alexandre le Grand et les Romains," *MEFR* 47 (1930), 202–21 and J. Gagé, "Hercule–Melqart, Alexandre et les Romains à Gadès," *REA* 42 (1940), 425–38.

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ander, a devoted worshipper of Hercules, at the time of his death entertained hopes, according to some, of conquering the West as he had already conquered the East. The relationship between the hero-god and the hero-king was thus established. Now the Romans, in the very period in which their generals were demonstrating special regard for Hercules, were also moving widely about the known world. The similarity between Hercules, Alexander, and the Roman generals was too obvious to be missed and doubtless fostered the popularity of Hercules, particularly when independent-minded generals became a regular feature of Roman political life.

Of all the generals Pompey displayed the greatest inclination towards being a second Alexander.[21] He was thought to resemble Alexander (Plut. *Pomp.* 2.1–2; Sall. *Hist.* 3.88M). He emulated Alexander's conquests and his policies in founding cities (App. *Mith.* 115) and in employing a private historian, Theophanes of Mytilene (Cic. *Arch.* 24; Strab. 13.2.3). His very name, Pompeius Magnus (Plut. *Pomp.* 13.3ff., *Crass.* 7.1, *Sert.* 18.2, *Moral.* 206E; Plin. *HN* 7.96; Dio 37.21.3),[22] demonstrates his admiration, while his triumph was a veritable parade of his passion for Alexander (Plut. *Pomp.* 45, cf. 46.1–2; Plin. *HN* 7.95–99; App. *Mith.* 116–17; Dio 37.21.2; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.40.4, 53.3). In fact, Pliny, although of course much after the event, not only equates Pompey with Alexander but maintains that his deeds are almost on a par with those of Hercules and Liber (Plin. *HN* 7.95). It is doubtless in view of this that Faustus Sulla in 54, by that time Pompey's son-in-law, struck coins (S 882–83) with an obverse of Hercules in the lion's skin and a reverse of four wreaths. The obverse, so unusual in the iconography of Hercules during the Republic, is certainly intended to recall the coins of Alexander (G 1.489 n. 1). Finally, one should remember that the Pompeian watchword at Pharsalus was *Hercules Invictus* (App. *BC* 2.76).

Hercules, however, could not save his friends from defeat at the hands of Venus Victrix, and Antony's regard for him (Plut. *Ant.*

[21] This is treated extensively by M. Gelzer, *Pompeius* (Munich, 1959), 54, 78, 92f., 97ff., 124ff.

[22] J. P. V. D. Balsdon, in his review of Gelzer's *Pompeius*, suggested that Pompey used the cognomen Magnus freely only after his Alexandrian feats in the East, *Historia* 1 (1950), 299.

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4.1–2, 36.4, 60.2, *Comp. Demetr. et Ant.* 3.3; App. *BC* 3.16; Strab. 14.1.14; S 1103) ruined his future with Augustus.[23] Thus attention to Hercules as the bringer of luck, commercial or military, is shown primarily during the Republic, especially during the last one and one-half centuries of its existence. With the Empire, Hercules at first disappeared from prominence, and when he later returned, it was in the character of a savior-god.

The coins with Hercules types bear out very well the military significance of the god, for instead of portraying the general himself, an unknown practice at this time, the moneyer advertised the god to whom the general owed the prosperous outcome of his endeavors. Some coins commemorate past achievements, but others, particularly in the late Republic, allude to contemporary generals. In the former category are coins in honor of an Aurelius Cotta (S 429), M'. Acilius Glabrio (S 511), Fulvius Nobilior (S 810), and Sulla (S 880–81); in the latter, those for Marius (S 563?, 604–5), Sulla (S 768), and Pompey (S 882–83, 939, 1051).

The character of the Hercules types is also revealing. Whereas the head on the quadrans in the earliest Republican coinage wore the conventional lion's skin, the subsequent heads were revised to a less traditional type. Between these portrait styles, however, came the coins on which Hercules poses on the reverse as *triumphator* (S 429, 511); on the first of these (PLATE XXVIII, 7), Hercules, dressed in the lion's skin, drives a biga of centaurs, but already on the second (PLATE XXVIII, 8) he has usurped the place of Jupiter, Mars, and Victory in the triumphal quadriga. Hercules driving the centaurs has comic antecedents, and the god may have presided over the *ludi plebeii* in the Circus Flaminius, but these festival aspects[24] are overshadowed by the probability of a reference to M. Aurelius Cotta, legate of L. Scipio in 189 (Liv. 37.52.1–2; cf. Polyb. 21.18.1; B 1.240) or, more likely, to M. Aurelius Cotta, who as legate in 203–200 took action against Philip V of Macedon (Liv. 30.26.4, 42.1–10, 31.3.2–6,

[23] Augustus' animosity towards Hercules and its effects are discussed by R. Schilling, "L'Hercule romain en face de le réforme religieuse d'Auguste," *RP* 16 (1942), 31–57.

[24] For the centaurs s.v. "Herakles," Rosch. *Lex.*, 2191, 2244f.; for Hercules' association with various games cf. 2978ff. See also F. Matz, "Belli facies et triumphus," *Festschrift für C. Weickert* (Berlin, 1955), 52.

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5.5–9).[25] The models for the centaur type seem in any case to be Macedonian.[26] Furthermore, any doubts about the meaning of this type are allayed by the coin for M'. Acilius Glabrio, which is only slightly later. Livy tells us that Glabrio sacrificed to Hercules on Mt. Oeta (36.30.3), after which he defeated Antiochus at Thermopylae in 191. Upon his return to Rome, he enjoyed a splendid triumph (Liv. 37.46.2–4). The presence of Hercules on the coin doubtless alludes to these events, and his military importance is indicated both by his triumphant bearing and by the trophy that he carries. Curiously, the trophy should belong to Mars (cf. S 472, 490, 565), but Hercules tends more and more to replace Mars on the coins as elsewhere: Mars merely stands for the facts of war, but Hercules indicates success.

Upon these types follow two approximately contemporaneous[27] issues of revised heads, the first (S 563) from a non-Roman, the second (S 604–5) from the Roman mint.[28] Both present the same peculiar pose; the figure is viewed from behind, but since the head is turned, once to the left and once to the right, a profile is presented. On the earlier, and artistically superior, coin (PLATE XXVIII, 9), Hercules appears older and more godlike. He is bearded, and he wears a laurel wreath tied behind with dangling ribbons. On his right shoulder rests his club. The later Hercules is younger and coarser (PLATE XXVIII, 10). He is beardless and short-haired, and he carries his club on his left shoulder. In both cases the lion's skin is hung over the shoulders, and the appearance of the lion's head on the shoulder with the club is quite remarkable. This, together with the pose, for which S 564 seems to be the only Republican parallel, relates these coins with more than accidental significance.

[25] From the fact that the moneyer of this coin, M. Aurelius Cot(t)a, may have been the father of the Cotta who so brutally sacked Heracleia in Bithynia and carried off the Hercules statue from its agora (Memnon 35.7–8, *FGrH* 3B, 363 f.), one may wonder if the Aurelii had some private concern for Hercules beyond his normal military value. Probably, however, the statue was simply the best statue to loot in Heracleia.

[26] Matz, 46.

[27] See *MRR*, Appendix I, for a conspectus of dates for the moneyers Ti. Quinctius and P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcelli f.

[28] Sydenham assigned the latter to an auxiliary Italian mint, p. 85, cf. p. 86, n. 606.

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The reverses are also important. The first shows two galloping horses with a naked rider, a link with the biga and quadriga types discussed above. The second shows Roma in military costume being crowned by the Genius of the Roman people.[29] This first numismatic instance of the Genius type,[30] to which the Cornelii Lentuli were so partial,[31] is thought to refer to the Gallic victories of Marius (G 2.233f. n. 3), since M. Claudius Marcellus, the father of the moneyer, P. Cornelius Lentulus, served under Marius at Aquae Sextiae in 102 (Plut. *Mar.* 20.4, 21.1). If this second coin pertains to Marius, one may perhaps assume the same for the first. An allusion to Marius, with his universal military reputation, would be appropriate just before or during the Social War, when crisis demanded all the aid of the Roman Hercules against his Marsic counterpart (cf. S 631), and the Genius type would be most apt on a coin in honor of Marius, whose military reforms made his army the first that really represented the whole Roman people.[32]

Sulla too was honored by coins on which Hercules appeared. S 768 (PLATE XXVIII, 11) shows very handsomely the struggle of Hercules with the Nemean lion, a theme familiar in art and legend,[33] but unique on Republican coins. This coin, struck by an obscure C. Poblicius in the late 80's or early 70's, is explained by Grueber (xc) as possibly commemorating the victory of Sulla over the forces of Marius at the Porta Collina (App. *BC* 1.93; Plut. *Sull.* 29). There was a temple of Hercules outside this gate (Liv. 26.10.3), and from its neighborhood comes the inscription of Publicia, wife of a Cn. Corne-

[29] See Wissowa, 175ff. The Genius of the Roman people, although offered state sacrifice in 218 (Liv. 21.62.10) and granted a temple before 43 (Dio 47.2.3), achieved its greatest popularity in the Empire, when the genius of the people and that of the emperor became closely related, but the concept of the genius of the army may go back to Republican times.

[30] Cf. E. Rink, *Die bildlichen Darstellungen des römischen Genius* (Diss. Giessen, 1933), 41ff.

[31] J. Gagé, "Les Cornelii Lentuli et 'le genius Populi Romani'," *Congrès international de numismatique de Paris II* (Paris, 1953), 219–27. Cf. S 752, 791.

[32] Alföldi, "The Main Aspects of Political Propaganda on the Coinage of the Roman Republic," *Roman Coinage*, 93f., suggests that the Genius type indicates anti-senatorial feeling.

[33] Cf. R. Bräuer, "Die Heraklestaten auf antiken Münzen," *ZFN* 28 (1910), 35–112 and F. Brommer, *Herakles. Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur* (Münster, 1953).

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lius, who dedicated and decorated an *aedes* of Hercules (*CIL* 1^2.2.981).[34] Her dedication precedes the coin by a short time only, and even if it does not pertain to the Porta Collina temple, it indicates a family concern for Hercules that the moneyer may well have shared. On the other hand, if Publicia's inscription refers to the Porta Collina temple, what better moment to think of restoring it than just after Sulla's victory?

Since it is now clear that during the late Republic successful generals especially favored Hercules, and that he appeared on coinage intended to honor them, it is obvious why Faustus wanted Hercules to figure on this coin. While his father's devotion to the god was of personal rather than familial character, the son might nonetheless have wished to continue the cult as an act of filial piety.[35] The younger Sulla had other contacts with Hercules as well. After his father's death, he became the ward of Lucullus (Plut. *Luc.* 4.4), another worshipper of Hercules. Most recently he had campaigned with Pompey, whose pretensions to being a second Hercules as well as a second Alexander were probably well defined by 63. Finally, he might have wanted to thank Hercules for his own luck in the East. He was only in his early 20's, and certainly not in a class with the great generals, but if Hercules had become the god of successful military operations, with possibly more emphasis on their successful than on their military aspect, Faustus would have been only somewhat presumptuous in his display of appreciation. The Roman public who saw the coin could surely have made the correct association between Hercules and Faustus, and they might even have interpreted the appearance of Hercules as an indication that their long awaited games were at last forthcoming with all the magnificence of such celebrations (cf. Dio 37.51.4).

We can then consider the second question: which Hercules does this coin show? The various proposals made in the past are suggestive, for the individual objects adduced as parallels to the coin themselves

[34] For the difficulties imposed by the distance, one kilometer, of the inscription from the gate, see bibliography cited by Platner-Ashby, 251.

[35] Faustus also honored Diana and Venus (S 879, 880–81, 884), although it must have been difficult for him to treat with due respect all the gods from whom his father derived his *felicitas*; cf. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, "Sulla Felix," *JRS* 41 (1951), 1–10.

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display a strong resemblance. The Hercules Callinicus of the Etruscan mirror is a young man, with the club in his right hand, lion's skin over his left shoulder. His face shows traces of sideburns, and he wears a diadem in his short, curly hair.[36] On the obverse of a Romano-Campanian coin (S 6; PLATE XXVIII, 6)[37] appears a similar young Hercules with sideburns and diadem. The club lies over the shoulder, and the lion's skin is represented by a knot and one paw. One might also compare a coin of Populonia (*BMC Italy* 24; PLATE XXVIII, 12), almost identical in pose and attributes, except that the lion's skin is missing, and a coin of Capua (*BMC Italy* 1, 2; PLATE XXVIII, 13), but it too lacks the lion's skin, and the club lies behind the neck.

The young diademed Hercules of this Etrusco-Italian group shares certain characteristics with the two main types of the Barcid series in Spain.[38] The face of both types is in profile, the head laureate,[39] and the club rests on the farther shoulder, rather in the manner of S 563 and 604–5, but once an older, bearded man is represented, once a young man with traces of a sideburn. The head always faces left.

It is, however, to the representations of Hercules-Melqart on a long series of Tyrian coins (*BMC Phoenicia* 233f.) that the head on Sulla's coin bears the greatest resemblance. The head is strong, but rather conventional, with a fleshy face, and faces right (PLATE XXVIII, 14–16). A laurel wreath is tied around the short, curly hair. More significant for the relationship between this type and that of Sulla is the lion's skin cloak. It is knotted under the chin, and the lion's paws are quite distinct in the better specimens of the coin, but mere blobs on the poorer. The comparison of the better and the poorer specimens leads

[36] This youthful Hercules, first suggested by Cavedoni (75 n. 55), has several parallels among Etruscan mirrors. Hercules is represented as bearded only three times according to Gerhard (5.75); often wears a diadem (3.134f., 2. pl. 140; 3.174ff., 2. pl. 181; 5.73ff., pl. 60; 5.78f., pl. 61.1); twice wears a laurel wreath (3.141f., 2. pl. 151; 4.86f., pl. 342); twice receives a wreath (3.156ff., 2. pl. 165; 4.87, pl. 343.1; cf. 3.135, 2. pl. 141; 4.90f., pl. 345).

[37] The similarity between Sulla's coin and Italian coins was suggested by Grueber 1.472 n.

[38] Robinson, 39f.

[39] Although the laurel wreath symbolizes victory and on Roman coins of the Republic occurs more frequently (S 563, 775, 1139), than the diadem (S 880–81), both appear indifferently in Hercules representations elsewhere. Perhaps the wreath is favored for the purer Hercules-Melqart and the diadem for the Etruscan Hercules.

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one to believe that the ends of the cloak on the Roman coin are also paws. Moreover, the collar lies high on the back of the neck and forms the same sharp diagonal as on the Roman coin, with the same "furry" markings below. The Tyrian head has the same sideburns as the Roman, and the relief shows the same inclination to wear away at this point.

Since these Tyrian coins definitely, and the Barcid coins probably, represent Hercules-Melqart, it seems likely that the shadowy figure of this god lies behind the above-mentioned similarities in the coins and mirrors. Melqart,[40] whose name means "king of the city," that is, Tyre, is a latecomer to the Canaanite pantheon. He is first mentioned in an Assyrian text. His origins are obscure, but he seems to be an amalgam of Ba'al and Yam, which may account for his double nature as fertility god and god of the sea. Nonetheless, however vague his personality, he was the god whom Tyrian colonists took with them everywhere: to Cyprus, to Thasos, to Africa and to Spain. As he traveled about the Mediterranean, Melqart acquired new features, and it was probably the Cypriotes who bestowed on him the Herculean attributes,[41] which led to his ultimate equation with Hercules.[42] Alexander's destructive siege of Tyre in 332 (Diod. 17.40; Curt. 4.7–20; Arrian *Anab.* 2.15.8–24.6) and his subsequent festivities there dedicated to Hercules (Diod. 17.46; Curt. 4.19; Arrian *Anab.* 2.24.6) doubtless also contributed to the transformation of Melqart. Thus it is in the definitely Hellenized form of Hercules that the head of Melqart appears on the coinage of Tyre from the beginning of the autonomous era in 126 B.C. until the late second century A.D. During this long span of time, the head retained its essential identity, although the tendency was towards greater crudeness of execution.

In Africa, Melqart was naturally most revered at Carthage. This city always sent a tenth of its revenue to the temple in Tyre (Diod. 20.14.2) and after successful wars a part of the booty (Just. *Epit.*

[40] E. Meyer, s.v. "Melqart," Rosch. *Lex.*; Gsell, *Histoire* (Paris, 1929), 4.301–13; R. Dussaud, "Melqart," *Syria* 25 (1946–48), 205–30 and "Melqart, d'après de récents travaux," *RHR* 151 (1957), 1–21.

[41] This point, with particular emphasis on coins, is discussed by Dussaud, "Melqart," *Syria* 25 (1946–48), 205–30.

[42] For example, the bilingual inscription from Malta *IG* 14.600; Hdt. 2.44; Arrian *Anab.* 2.16.1; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.42; Diod. 20.14.1.

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18.7.7), while in times of emergency it tried to propitiate the god (Diod. 20.14.3). Carthaginian devotion is also attested by the number of names that are compounds of Melqart, for example, Hamilcar and Bomilcar. Thus it is no surprise that the enterprising Barca family adhered to the cult (Liv. 21.21.9, cf. 41.7; Sil. Ital. 3.14ff.) and consequently gave Melqart the prominent obverse position on their Spanish coinage.[43]

Etruscan contacts with Melqart are also quite obvious. Initially, the Etruscans and Carthaginians were closely associated, even allies. The Carthaginians probably settled a colony at one of the ports of Caere, and Etruscans must have been present in Carthage, where an Etruscan inscription has been found.[44] Since the Carthaginians were such great mixers and amalgamators, Bayet concludes, "Dans ces conditions, il apparait également impossible que les Carthaginois n'aient pas influencé, ou complété, certains Hercules italiques, et surtout étrusques; et qu'ils aient introduit dans la péninsule, toute pénétrée déjà d'hellénisme, leur Melqart pur et non modifié."[45] Thus the Etrusco-Italian Hercules, and perhaps the Hercules of S 563 and S 604–5, may well be of Carthaginian derivation and a near relative of Melqart.

If then it is Hercules-Melqart who figures on the coins of Sulla, one can explain his presence there quite easily. In 63 Sulla was with Pompey in the East. The episode at Jerusalem was the most celebrated event of the entire year, which Pompey had devoted to regulating the confused affairs of the defunct Syrian kingdom, the new Roman province of Syria. When he returned to Pontus at the end of the season, he placed M. Aemilius Scaurus in charge of Syria and Palestine (App. *Syr.* 51; Joseph. *AJ* 14.79). This man, Sulla's step-

[43] From the rather individualistic types Robinson inferred that the Barcids had, in Hellenistic fashion, indulged in a certain amount of self-portraiture (39f.), and he proposed that the coin formerly identified as Jugurtha might really represent a younger Barcid (43f.).

[44] Bayet, 82–5; cf. M. Pallottino, *Gli Etruschi* (Rome, 1940), 78–87 for Etruscan-Carthaginian relations. Cf. the evidence for trade contact in E. Boucher, "Céramique archaïque d'importation," *Cahiers de Byrsa* 3 (1953), 11–85. The Etruscan inscription found at Carthage was formerly thought to be a dedication to Melqart, but E. Benveniste has argued otherwise in "Notes étrusques," *SE* 7 (1933), 245–49.

[45] Bayet, 85.

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brother, shared the family talent for profiteering, but he apparently treated Tyre with great kindness, for the city honored him as its *patronus* in an inscription dating from the 60's (*IGRP* 3.1102). Perhaps Sulla was with Scaurus at Tyre; from the warmth of their relationship later, when Sulla in 54 helped extricate Scaurus from a legal scrape (Ascon. 28 C), one might guess that the two had already been associated abroad. Sulla's coin would then be still more of a family testimonial than previously imagined.

Yet even without Scaurus, Sulla would certainly have become aware of the god of Tyre, simply by virtue of the coins with his portrait. Not only does the long duration of the type increase the probability of Sulla's having seen it, but we know furthermore that these coins circulated in Palestine as well as Tyre.[46] Having seen and possibly possessed the coin, and having already heard of the god, Sulla would surely have identified Melqart with Hercules in that bland manner with which the later Romans considered all acceptable foreign gods as variant forms of their own. Once he had made the Hercules-Melqart equation, no obstacle barred the adoption of the head as the type for his own issue in Rome in the following year. Taking into account both the non-numismatic reasons for Sulla's wish to represent Hercules and the numismatic prototype, which he might very recently have seen, one arrives at the conclusion that the likelihood of Sulla's coin representing Hercules borders on certainty.

One last point must be added. Under Trajan, at the time of Hercules' revival on the coinage,[47] in addition to full figure reverses of Hercules, obverses reminiscent of the Republican busts appeared, but especially reminiscent of the Melqart types (*BMC Empire* 3.1062ff., 1071ff.). Moreover, among the Trajanic restorations are S 563 and 880–81, of which the first shows Spanish affinities and the second probably represents Hercules-Melqart. This is interesting, because Trajan was born at Italica, not far from Gades, site of one of the

[46] For a list of hoards in Palestine containing coins from the mint of Tyre see S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, *NNM* 78 (New York, 1937), 346.

[47] Except for the Hercules of M. Durmius of 18 B.C. and the Hercules Adsertor of Galba (*BMC Empire* 1.11, 294 n.), Hercules was absent from the imperial coinage until the time of Trajan.

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oldest and most famous of all Hercules-Melqart sanctuaries. Therefore, the Punic nature of the Trajanic types is likely to reflect deliberate policy.[48]

Appendix: The Date of S 880–81

Grueber (1.412ff.) cited as relevant for the period 72–50 the following four hoards:

San Gregorio di Sassola	approx. closing date 52–early 51
Compito	approx. closing date 51
Cadriano	approx. closing date 50–early 49
San Cesario	approx. closing date 50–early 49

Of these the San Gregorio hoard contained no coin of the type S 880–81,[49] and thus the Compito hoard is the first to bear on the problem,[50] but, with a closing date of 51,[51] its bearing is slight.

Sydenham's entries in his Table of Finds (lv) appears eminently helpful:

Ossero	approx. closing date 68[52]
Compito	approx. closing date 62
Casaleone	approx. closing date 59

However, closer inspection shows these entries to be somewhat misleading. The Ossero hoard contained no example of Sulla's coin,[53] and Sydenham and Grueber agree that its most recent coins fall into the

[48] P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Teil I. Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Traian* (Stuttgart, 1931), 95ff. The imperial cult of Hercules with particular reference to its development under Trajan is discussed by J. Beujeu, *La Religion a l'apogée de l'Empire. La Politique religieuse des Antonins.* (Paris, 1955), 80–87.

[49] L. Cesano, "Ripostiglio di monete famigliari rinvenuto a S. Gregorio di Sassola presso Tivoli," *NSA* (1903), 604–20.

[50] Grueber's Table of Finds (3.22–3) contains an error, for according to S. T. Baxter, "Osservazioni sopra un ripostiglio di monete consolari scoperto nelle colline di Còmpito nell'agro lucchese," *Periodico di numismatica e sfragistica* 6 (1874), 109–20, the coin FEELIX:FAUSTUS, S 880–81, was found in the hoard.

[51] Baxter, 111, suggested 54 as a closing date; T. Mommsen, "Denarschatz von Compito," *ZFN* 2 (1875), 352–56, proposed 58–54; but Grueber's 51 seems the most likely.

[52] Grueber estimated the closing date as about 73 (1.364).

[53] F. Salata, *Il ripostiglio di denari della repubblica romana scoperto ad Ossero* (Parenzo, 1899).

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late 70's. The hoard's value for the present problem is therefore limited. Next, one must consider the same Compito hoard that Grueber dated to 51. If Sydenham's date were correct, this hoard would be crucial evidence. However, his date is impossible on the basis of dates after 62 that he himself assigned to some moneyers represented in the hoard. For example, P. Fonteius P. f. Capito (S 900) and L. Furius Brocchus (S 902), both assigned to ca. 61. Concerning the Casaleone hoard,[54] Grueber did not include it in his work, and, although this hoard too contains the S 880–81 type, its date is again too late to be significant. Sydenham's date 59 is too early for the same reason as in the case of the Compito hoard. Moneyers after 59 are, for example, P. Plautius Hypsaeus (S 910, 911), M. Aemilius Scaurus and P. Plautius Hypsaeus (S 912, 913) both 58, and L. Roscius Fabatus (S 915) ca. 58. It is noteworthy that the joint issues of Scaurus and Hypsaeus are among the few that can be dated exactly (S p. 151 n.).

LYDIA H. LENAGHAN

[54] L. Rizzoli, "Casaleone—Tesoretto monetale scoperto nei fondi dei signori Romanin-Jacur," *NSA* (1908), 91–97.

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AN UNPUBLISHED COIN IN THE NAME OF TETRICUS II

(See Plate XXIX)

The Ashmolean Museum recently acquired an antoninianus, in the name of Tetricus II, which prompts some reconsideration, at least, of old problems. Details are as follows:

Obv.: IMPCPESTETRICVSCAVG Bust r., rad., dr.

Rev.: SPESP—VBLICA Spes advancing l., flower in raised r., l. holding up drapery; in exergue, P

Æ. 2.924 gm. 20 mm. Dies ↑↑

The object of this note is to attempt some judgement of the authenticity of the coin, which in turn involves discussion of the nature of the association of the two Tetrici, father and son. That association has long been recognized as problematical. Most recently G. Elmer wrote of Tetricus II:[1]

"Im Jahr 274 ist er zusammen mit seinem Vater Konsul. Das führt uns ins Jahr 273 als das Jahr, in dem er die Cäsarenwürde erhalten hat; denn auch bei den Thronfolgern war es üblich, in dem Jahr, das ihrer Ernennung folgte, das Konsulat anzutreten.

... Er ist nur Thronfolger und niemals Augustus gewesen. Die Münzen, auf denen er den Titel Augustus führt, sind keine staatlichen Erzeugnisse, sondern gleichzeitige Fälschungen. Einige andere Münzen, auf denen Tetricus Vater und Sohn gemeinsam dargestellt sind, führen die Umschrift *impp...augg=imperatores...augusti*. Aber auch aus diesen Stücken darf man nicht schließen, daß er gemeinsam mit seinem Vater Augustus gewesen wäre, denn seinem Brustbild fehlt immer der Lorbeerkranz, der in dieser Zeit das eigentliche Zeichen der Augustus würde ist. Die Umschrift *imperatores ... augusti* an Stelle von *augustus et caesar* kommt im 3. Jahrhundert auch sonst vor."

Arguments of this nature had been present long before, in the mind of Eckhel,[2] when he wrote the masterly paragraph in the *Doctrina* headed *Vtrum Augustus?*

[1] In "Die Münzprägung der gallischen Kaiser in Köln, Trier und Mailand," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 146, p. 75.

[2] *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, pars II, Vol. vii (2nd ed., 1828), p. 459f.

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"Tetricum filium fuisse Augustum, probat Bandurius[;] I. ex numis inscriptis: IMPP. TETRICI. AVGG., aut similiter, quos recitatos vide in numis patris. II. ex titulo IMP. ejus nominibus in binis numis praefixo. III. ex numo ejus postremo mox producto,[3] in cujus antica sub finem additur A., quod ait notare Augustum. Addo ergo his fortius argumentum aliud ex numo musei Caesarei:

– – – – TETRICVS. AVG. *Caput radiatum puerile.*
SALVS. AVG. *Salus stans.* Æ. III.

Addo denique testimonium Vopisci, eum a patre in Gallia nuncupatum imperatorem adserentis.

Argumenta haec ut valida in speciem videri possunt, tamen collatum Augusti titulum non satis evincunt. Nam I. in numis aureis, quorum praeconium propter operis nitorem, et quia haud dubie in ipsa principis sede, atque adcuratius cusi sunt, solum est audiendum, Augustus nunquam dicitur, nisi in consortio patris. At vidimus alias, non raro manifestos Caesares per causam praesentis Augusti patris participasse honorem Augusteum sibi indebitum, cujus exempla dedimus in Maximino et Maximo, et alibi. II. Si vere Augustus fuit, cur in iisdem his numis ejus caput constanter est nudum, cum tamen patris constanter sit laureatum? Sane hoc aevo caput nudum indubitatum est Caesaris indicium. III. Obvii sunt Tetrici jun. numi, in quorum antica is Caesar tantum dicitur, at in aversa scriptum SALVS. AVGG. ... etc. ut ergo his in numis το AVGG. Tetricum jun. nequaquam Augustum probat, etsi illum quoque complectatur, ita neque in aliis. IV. Titulum *imperatoris* non semper probare etiam Augustum, satis supra in moneta Salonini disserui. Quod si revera Augustus dicitur in aeneis, iisque paucissimis, et explicate in unico tantum, facile istud tribui potest monetarii ignorantiae titulorum vim non satis percipientis, praecipue cum operis ruditas, quae plerosque Tetricorum aeneos inter barbaros jure ablegat, abunde doceat, ab imperitissima eos manu fuisse elaboratos. Denique Trebellius et Victor, qui utramque ejus fortunam prodidere, eum Augustum nunquam, quod memorare certe non neglexissent, sed Caesarem solum appellant."

It has seemed worth while to reproduce Eckhel's comments in full: lucid, moderate and yet cogently constructed, they supply the foundation for Elmer's subsequent view (and for his exclusion of all 'Augustus' coins of Tetricus II unassociated with his father) as well as for the attitude taken by P. H. Webb.[4]

[3] That is to say, a coin described with obv. C. PIV. TETRICVS. A., *Caput radiatum*, and rev. SOLI.CONSER., *Centaurus arcum tenens* (Æ. III. [Banduri]).
[4] *RIC* V (2), p. 399. J. de Witte, *Recherches sur les empereurs qui ont régné dans les Gaules* (Lyons, 1868), did not address himself to the problem.

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There can, however, be no doubt that the question in some ways still remains a puzzling one, to which neither historical nor epigraphical evidence has offered a clear solution. As Eckhel observed, the historical sources show variation. In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Aurelian*, xxxii, we read: "inter haec (i.e., Aurelian's triumph) fuit Tetricus ... adiuncto sibi filio, quem imperatorem in Gallia nuncupaverat." But it is stated in the *Tyranni triginta*, *Tetricus Senior*, xxiv, 1, that "Victoria sive Vitruvia Tetricum ... Augustum appellari fecit filiumque eius Caesarem nuncupavit," while in *Tetricus Junior*, xxv, 1, it is recorded of Tetricus II that "hic puerulus a Victoria Caesar est appellatus;" and Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus*, xxxiii, 14, wrote: "interim Victoria ... Tetricum imperatorem facit ... filioque eius Tetrico Caesarea insignia impartiuntur." Of the four sources, then, three agree that Tetricus II was created Caesar. But it will be noted that these three comments are all directed to the moment of his father's elevation as emperor by Victoria, and not to the subsequent period of their association; and it will be noted, as being of equal importance, that the passage in the life of Aurelian refers explicitly to the period at the end of their rule. There is, in fact, no contradiction; and the only lack of definition that can be criticized lies in the alternative use of *Augustus* and *imperator* to describe the original position of Tetricus I (*SHA Tyr. trig.* and Aurelius Victor), coupled with the use of *imperator* to describe that of Tetricus II at the time of their downfall (*SHA Aurelian*). It may well be that the terms had become complementary to each other, and so interchangeable.

Epigraphical evidence, so far as it goes,[5] is more straightforward. Milestones, with the possible exception of one, style Tetricus II *nobilissimus Caesar*: he also appears as *princeps iuventutis*—a style appropriate to a Caesar—and even as *dominus noster*. This led Stein to conclude that he was never Augustus, and in forming this conclusion he emphasized the fact that the coins never show him as laureate, while also dismissing the fact that they do often (i.e., by association) style him Augustus. Needless to say, however, if Tetricus II received the formal style of Augustus only a very short time before his father capitulated to Aurelian it is unlikely, to say the

[5] Cf. Paully-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* s.v. Esuvius, col. 704f.

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least, that milestones would have immediately reflected the change of status.

Historical and epigraphical sources, therefore, agree in indicating that the original rank of Tetricus II was that of Caesar. But the possibility is not ruled out that *SHA Aurelian* is correct in stating that he was Augustus when Aurelian took over. Attention must now be turned to the coins. These may appear to substantiate Eckhel's more important contentions.

(i) Aurei never style Tetricus II *Augustus* in his own right, i.e., never *nisi in consortio patris*; and sometimes even a double-headed obverse can show the title, in the singular, applying to his father alone.[6]

(ii) Antoniniani, though few in number, tell a similar story.[7]

(iii) On previously known coins with the portrait of Tetricus II and the title *Augustus* the head of Tetricus II is always bare.[8]

(iv) There are many coins with obverse showing Tetricus II as Caesar and with reverse legend ending in AVGG, thus seeming to associate him with his father but also apparently differentiating his rank.[9]

(v) There are, as Eckhel implied, coins of Tetricus II which give him, individually, the title *imperator*. Some of those previously recorded[10] are doubtless open to suspicion, but probably not all. Eckhel declined to allow that the *praenomen imperatorium* necessarily connoted the rank of Augustus.

Nevertheless the criticisms of both Eckhel and Elmer are themselves open to some question.

(a) *Superior evidence of gold* (Eckhel). This argument is of course valid only when gold is being produced. If at the moment of the downfall of the Tetrici gold coinage was for one reason or another suspended or impossible the argument loses all force.

(b) *Contemporary forgeries* (Elmer). There seems to be no reason except that of convenience for stigmatizing as contemporary

[6] See *RIC*, Tetricus I, nos. 204–211—not all, of course, certainly authentic.
[7] See *RIC*, Tetricus I, nos. 212–3, with de Witte, op.cit., no. 6a.
[8] See notes 6 and 7 above.
[9] See *RIC*, Tetricus I, nos. 225, 232, 238a, 244, 254–9, 263, 266, 270–1.
[10] See *RIC*, Tetricus I, nos. 236, 250, 253, 290–1.

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forgeries coins showing Tetricus II as Augustus in his own right. By whom and for what purpose would they have been made? If forgeries at all, they would with far more probability belong to a much later age.

(c) *Moneyers' ignorance* (Eckhel). This argument would be admissible if coins of Tetricus II as Augustus in his own right were obviously of barbarous style; but this has not been substantiated.

(d) *"Augustus" and "imperator"* (Eckhel, Elmer). It is stated that the laurel wreath is the proper sign of an *Augustus*. But the laurel wreath is in fact the mark of an *imperator*. There are coins, showing Tetricus I laureate and Tetricus II bare, with legend IMPP ... AVGG. These *could* show, first, that the son possessed an imperium subordinate to the father's, and secondly that the son was, like his father, *Augustus*. Historical sources have indicated that Tetricus I, an undoubted *Augustus*, could be equally described as *imperator*: the coins suggest that Tetricus II, also described historically as *imperator*, could likewise have been *Augustus*.

Until now, of the coins that have styled Tetricus II *imperator* and *Augustus* in his own right,[11] only very few have been critically examined; and their authenticity has not been felt to lie heavily in the scales. It is at this point that we must turn our attention to the coin just acquired by the Ashmolean. While this might well divide opinion on the constitutional grounds already sketched, considerations of fabric and style cannot easily be dismissed. The coin is a struck coin, and its fabric is that of a neat and well produced antoninianus of the period. But it does not fail to display also the characteristic imperfections of that period, (1) disparity between the quality of the obverse and reverse dies, (2) a reverse surface which, as with so many other pieces of the same period, is cracked and 'folded' as the result of striking an insufficiently prepared blank, and (3) an edge which, altogether devoid of any suspect vertical cracks, is rough, lumpy and coruscated in the manner of innumerable Tetrican coins. The style is best studied in connection with that of another coin which shares a reverse die with the Oxford coin:

[11] See n. 10.

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Obv.: IMPPTETRICIPIIAVGG Jugate busts r. of Tetricus I, rad., cuir., and Tetricus II, bare-headed and (?) dr.

Rev.: SPESP-VBLICA etc., precisely as on the Oxford coin. Schulman, 5 March 1923 (Vierordt), 2422 (illustrated), ex Consul Weber (2358). Present location unknown. Described as billon, i.e., Æ; no weight or die-axis given, though the dies may have been ↑↑.

The hand that made the obverse die for the Vierordt coin quite certainly also made that of the Oxford coin. The lettering on each shows fairly large forms, slender and even sinuous strokes, and some irregularity: while it is well balanced it is not particularly neat. In regard to portraiture both coins show the same plain treatment, with an expression that is a little empty and hair that is treated in loose strokes. The neat appearance of each obverse is due to tidy if not incisive portraiture well struck up from carefully (but not exactly) centred dies. Both obverses show to advantage in comparison with the single common reverse: of banal style, this is a little worn, especially where the letters S and P occur in the legend.

It may, of course, be argued that the Vierordt coin is itself dubious. Coming from the Consul Weber collection, sold in 1909, it could be regarded as having first appeared—for it does not seem to have been recorded earlier—at a time when forgery was becoming more skilled, more academic and more discriminating.[12] This view would, however, be more attractive if half a century had produced more than a single known specimen of the double-headed issue and if more than one specimen were known of the die-linked, single-headed issue. If these coins are the result of forgery, it was forgery of an unusually subtle kind. Intimate knowledge of the conventions of the rare double-head series had to be combined with nicely judged understanding of the position of Tetricus II as *imperator* and *Augustus*. Then again, the head of Tetricus II, while that of a manifestly young man, is shown maturing to a degree distinctly greater than on most of his coins. Finally, since the two coins are linked by a common reverse die, it would have been necessary for a forger to produce (a) two obverse dies of exactly similar style—no easy task; and (b) a reverse showing just

[12] And sometimes a good deal better than the standard of the "Geneva forgeries," for which cf. R. A. G. Carson, *Num. Chron.* 1958, pp. 47 ff.

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that inferiority of style which is amply demonstrated by numberless issues of the reign. Considered together, these were formidable obstacles for a forger; and it seems far more likely that both coins are genuine, even though the only certain proof—recorded inclusion in an uncontaminated hoard—is still lacking.

If the coins are genuine they are evidence for the fact that the mint which produced them regarded the two Tetrici as *Impp ... Pii Augg* simultaneously, while also regarding Tetricus II individually as *Imp ... C Aug*. The joint style has other parallels, as has been seen; and it was from this joint use of AVGG, combined with the son's bare head, that Eckhel sought to show that while AVGG included Tetricus II it does not show that he was ever Augustus. But the individual *Imp ... C Aug* of the Oxford coins and its radiate head—different levels of *imperium* produce a bare-headed son only when he is shown with his father—constitute a statement that he was Augustus. If so, it was in all probability right at the end of the Tetrican reign. The intrusive letter C before the AVG of the Oxford coin can only stand for *Caesar*: no other signification is conceivable at that point in the obverse legend, and though this intrusion appears to be unique for the reign it is understandable enough. The only dated double-headed coins with *Impp ... Augg* show Tetricus I as Cos. III, i.e., probably A.D. 273.[13] It must be concluded that after an uninterrupted previous period of coinage in the name of Tetricus II as *Caesar* (even though his father's reverses often showed *Augg*) his advancement to the overt and personal rank of Augustus took place at the very end of their imperial adventure, and that, in this particular mint at least, it was not felt at once to terminate his previous status as Caesar. In short, it is not impossible to reconcile the literary and epigraphical with the numismatic evidence, if this last is accepted, and to conclude of Tetricus II that he was "first Caesar and then, for a very short period, Augustus."[14]

The final question—that of the identification of the mint—is much less easy to approach. No record seems to exist elsewhere of the letter P as an exergual mark for the Tetrican series: it may be no more than

[13] Cf. Paully-Wissowa, loc.cit., and *RIC* V (2), pp. 402ff., as against Elmer, op.cit., p. 74 (A.D. 274).
[14] *CAH* XII, p. 306.

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an officina mark. Portraiture, and still more the lettering, links the Vierordt and Oxford coins with the groups given by Elmer to Cologne.[15] How far this attribution is correct it is difficult to say, for both portraiture and lettering are also similar to those of Lyons, a stylistic source of which Webb was clearly aware.[16] In spite of Elmer's work on the coinages of the Gallic emperors it is probable that more work remains to be done on the mint-attributions.

This newly discovered coin thus raises problems which are serious and complicated. Its authenticity cannot easily be rejected out of hand; and, should it be accepted, or even suspended in the balance, there are important points which arise for resultant consideration.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

[15] Op.cit., pl. 11, 7–9, 12; pl. 12, 21–2.
[16] *RIC* V (2), p. 380 and pl. 15, 3.

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A SIXTH CENTURY HOARD OF MINIMI FROM THE WESTERN PELOPONNESE

(See Plate XXX)

The hoard described here was acquired for the American Numismatic Society by Miss Katharine M. Edwards in the course of her sojourns in Greece during the 1920's. Nothing further is known of provenience except that it was purchased in the village of Zacha, a mountain town lying above the Alpheus valley in the west central Peloponnese, about 16 miles distant from the Ionian coast. Half the coins are distinctly black in appearance; the other half show a greenish brown patina. Most of the catalogue is comprised of coins from the latter group. The darker specimens are for the most part illegible. The existence of two such distinct colorations would normally provoke suspicion that we are not dealing with a single, self-contained body of evidence. However, the internal composition of the deposit and the frequency of the various issues represented leave no doubt that we have to do with a homogeneous grouping. The difference in the appearance of the coins may be explained by the accident of position in the soil.

In tabulating the contents of the hoard we have ignored about 60 fragments of metal, which crumble upon contact and merely serve to record the poor quality of the alloy used to manufacture some of the coins. The hoard also contains two flat, round pebbles which are hardly distinguishable from the worn specimens. Other than these oddities, the total number of coins comes to 1179, distributed as follows:

Total Æ 3	77	Æ 3 legible	5	Æ 3 illegible	72
Total Æ 4	1102	Æ 4 legible	508	Æ 4 illegible	594
Total of Hoard	1179	Total legible	513	Total illegible	666

All the Æ 3 coins have been cut down. Of the 5 legible Æ 3 three are from the fifth, the remaining two (511, 512) from the sixth century. Of the illegibles only one belongs definitely to the sixth century.

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Among the 594 illegible Æ 4 we have included 21 of extremely thin flan, some with two or three tabs on the edge, which do not seem to have received the imprint of a die. Such specimens found also in other deposits in the Balkans[1] confirm the existence of the irregular moneyer operating beyond the pale of Roman control. At the same time, the recurrence of the type implies a certain rationale. The coins may have been minted by a barbarian tribe finding itself in Greece long enough to need currency but not in a position to use the Roman money.

Fully 182 of the remaining Æ 4 illegibles, in addition to some listed in the catalogue (9, 51, 61), have been mutilated in some fashion. Many of these are the larger Æ 4 of the late fourth or early fifth century, such as the common SALVS REIPVBLICAE, Victory dragging captive, of Valentinian II and Arcadius. A good number, however, are from the second half of the fifth century. Halved coins of Leo[2] show the practice to have begun fairly early. The process initiated toward the middle of the century of cutting down the older Æ 3 still in circulation in an effort to make them conform in a general way to a new reduced weight and module is well attested from other hoards as well as in the Zacha material. The habit appears to have become so ingrained that it continues into the sixth century, provoked by the conspicuous difference in size between the Æ 4 of the period of Marcian and Leo and those of Anastasius and his successors. The lone large Æ 3 bronze of Baduila (511) also has been drastically cut down by a chisel from its original size. The coin shows practically no wear and must be among the king's last issues. Whether it was cut down in Italy, its place of mintage, or upon its importation into Greece, is open to question.

The hoard invites comparison with two other recently published deposits, both from the Greek peninsula. The Yale hoard has a burial date in the late 60's of the fifth century, in the reign of Leo. The

[1] See "A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Leo I," *Museum Notes* IX (1960), pp. 143, 144, and *A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Zeno I. NNM* 148, New York, 1962, p. 1, both published by us. These two works will be referred to as Y and V. The first is the property of Yale University. Its deposition is "somewhere on a line running from Corinth through Dalmatia" (Y, p. 148). The second was unearthed in the vicinity of the Thessalian town of Volo.

[2] Y, p. 142.

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contents of Volo point to a deposition in the reign of Zeno, sometime between August 476 and April 491. As we move down in time through the three hoards, we find progressively fewer remains of the coinage of the early fourth century. At Zacha such Æ 3 are hardly in evidence: only 3 (1–3) compared with 65 out of 515 coins in the Yale hoard and 38 out of 1064 at Volo. The life of the coinage of the House of Constantine can thus be estimated as roughly 175 years.

It is noticeable that Zacha shows no coins definitely ascribable to Arcadius. Two specimens of Honorius appear (5, 6). This fact, plus the relatively heavy concentration from the period of Valentinian III, would justify our placing the hoard, even were its provenience not known, to the west of both the Yale and Volo deposits, which are poor in Honorius and fuller in the coins of Arcadius, his brother ruling in the east.

The two coins from the mint of Heraclea (2, 51), probably the least productive of the Roman minting centers in the east, compare with the three found in the Yale deposit, whereas none of the 1064 legible specimens in the Volo hoard can be assigned to this mint. If the absence of representation at Volo is not purely accidental, the output from Heraclea may have supplied the immediate vicinity and the hinterland.[3] Cities on or near the coast such as Volo, Corinth, Thessalonica, or Athens seem to look east rather than west for their commercial ties. Constant barbarian forays from the north helped isolate the Greek littoral from the ever shifting political pattern in the interior at the same time that the capital city of Constantinople was becoming the focal point of Byzantine authority and drawing the various provincial centers within a single radius of control.

A number of Peloponnesian hoards of small bronze reaching down into the sixth century is known, but only summary listings of their contents have been published. Only in recent years has care been taken through more detailed excavation reports and analyses of the coinage from such disparate regions as North Africa, Cyprus and Palestine,[4] to enlist the support of numismatics in helping to supply the

[3] So too M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora. Volume II. Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period*, Princeton, 1954, p. 6.

[4] For the North African material see particularly J. Lafaurie, "Trésor de monnaies de cuivre trouvé à Sidi Aïch (Tunisie)," *Revue Numismatique* VI[e] Série, II

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historical record of the end of the ancient world. Our knowledge of the monetary history of the period has not yet advanced to the point where we can trace out economic patterns or relate numismatic formulae to specific political events. The number of unpublished specimens at Zacha and in other deposits warns that a fairly complete list of coin types still eludes us. Without it we are not in a position as yet to give a coherent picture of the coinage of the Empire from the reign of Anastasius to that of Justinian or Justin II. Much more evidence needs to be collected before we can engage even in meaningful speculation. We have therefore limited ourselves in the pages which follow mainly to a descriptive analysis of the hoard.

There is no reason to suppose a shrinkage in the number of coins circulating in the Peloponnese for the fifth and most of the sixth century. Although the history of the area for this period is extremely spotty,[5] the volume of coinage found in the excavations at Corinth and Olympia, together with the few recorded hoard deposits, makes it clear that the region continued to be regularly supplied with small bronze change for its daily transactions. In addition to an unpublished hoard from Palaiochori in the central Peloponnese mentioned by Bon,[6] the Corinth excavations have yielded three deposits, all of a composition similar to the Zacha material. A find of 1930 included, together with the usual Æ 3, the following coins:

(1959–60), pp. 113–130, and bibliography cited therein; for Cyprus, D. H. Cox, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932–1953. NNM* 145, New York, 1959; Palestine, H. Hamburger, "Caesarea Coin Finds and the History of the City," *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* XV (1950), pp. 78–82 and, by the same author, "Minute Coins from Caesarea," *Atiqot. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities* I (1954), pp. 115–138. The most numerous of the hoards of the period come from Italy but have not received the attention of scholars following the careful researches of L. Cesano, "Della moneta enea corrente in Italia nell' ultima età imperiale romana e sotto i re ostrogoti," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* XXVI (1913), pp. 511–551, and XXXI (1918), pp. 96–100, "Ancora della moneta enea corrente in Italia nel V–VI secolo d. C." See also A. Levi, "Sessa Aurunca. Tesoretto di monetine di bronzo bizantine (follari o nummi)," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, Serie Quinta, XVI (1919), pp. 356–358.

[5] The fullest recent discussion of the history of the Peloponnese for this period is A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse Byzantin jusqu' en 1204*, Paris, 1951.

[6] Op.cit., p. 17, note 3.

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28 Theodosius II
15 Marcian
32 Leo
38 Zeno
40 Various Victory types
148 Monogram of Anastasius.

A "shop find" from the Corinthian Agora discovered in 1933 contained *inter alia*:

7 Theodosius II
4 Marcian
1 Aelia Zenonis
15 Victory reverses
5 Palm tree reverses
66 Monogram of Anastasius
18 Christogram reverse
63 Justinian I, including monogram, A or VOT in wreath
1 Huneric
1 Theodoric
1 Athalaric
1 Theodahad
11 Baduila.

J. M. Harris mentions a hoard found in 1937 which yielded:

6 Marcian
3 Leo
9 Zeno
48 Victory types
92 Anastasius
6 Justinian.[7]

[7] K. M. Edwards, "Coins found at Corinth during the years 1930–1935," *Hesperia* VI (1937), pp. 248, 249; J. M. Harris, "Coins found at Corinth," *Hesperia* X (1941), p. 145. O. Broneer records a hoard found at Isthmia which contained 270 bronze coins, of which 61 were "very small coins—of the fifth and sixth centuries:" "Excavations at Isthmia, 1954," *Hesperia* XXIV (1955), p. 136. The Athens Dipylon hoard contained out of a total of 598 pieces, 472 late imperial or Byzantine small bronzes which I. Svoronos describes as "badly worn and useless:" *Journal International d' Archéologie Numismatique* XII (1909–10), pp. 6–9.

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Of particular interest are the coins found in the course of the excavations at Olympia, about 15 miles northwest of Zacha. As at Corinth the volume of coinage drops practically to zero by the end of the sixth century. The coins were described in good detail, but without illustration or indication of weight, by A. Postolakas, Keeper of the Greek National Numismatic Museum, in the late nineteenth century.[8] His catalogue does not distinguish between hoards[9] and excavation finds. Nevertheless, the description and the quantity of the various specimens allow us to trace a picture which can be compared with Zacha. In the list which follows we have included a cross reference to the *British Museum Catalogue*,[10] which did not use the material, and have indicated the number of identical specimens in Zacha:

Anastasius monograms	9[11]	
Justin I[12]		
VOT XIII	1	
VOT XIIII	4	*BMC* 29, 91; Z 1 (391)
Christogram	4	*BMC* 37, 159; Z 11 (344–354)
Cross w/ pellets	2	*BMC* 38, 173 or 41, 201; Z 8 (332–339)

[8] Νομίσματα ἐν τῷ 'Εθνικῷ Νομισματικῷ Μουσείῳ Κατατεθέντα Ἔτει 'Ακαδημαϊκῷ ,αωπγ',-αωπδ', Athens, 1885, pp. 57–66.

[9] F. Adler in *Olympia, Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veraushalteten Ausgrabung*, Berlin, 1897, p. 97, refers without further description to two hoards of small bronze buried one in 565 and the other in 576. R. Weil in the same volume, pp. 128, 129, notes that Olympia has yielded more than 20 hoards, most from late antiquity, inasmuch as the region was safe from war in the classical period. He classes the hoards of small bronze under three groupings: 1) hoards of Justinian I without coins of the German kingdoms; 2) hoards of Justinian with Vandalic and Ostrogothic pieces; and 3) hoards reaching down to Justin II.

[10] Unless otherwise specified, all references in this article are to W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards (and the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond) in the British Museum*, London, 1911, cited by page and number. Friedländer refers to I. Friedländer, *Die Münzen der Vandalen*, Leipzig, 1849; Kraus to F. F. Kraus, *Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches in Italien*, Halle, 1928.

[11] The form of the monogram is not specified throughout.

[12] Postolakas' reasons for assigning these coins to Justin rather than Justinian are unclear.

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Justinian

1) VOT XIII	2	*BMC* 28, 86; Z 2 (388, 389)
2) 	1	*BMC* not; Z not
3) 	5	*BMC* 34, 141; Z 18 (355–372)
4)  or	10	*BMC* not; Z 11 (399–409)
5) 	1	*BMC* not; Z not
6) N	1	*BMC* 36, 154
7) 	1	*BMC* 36, 157 *var.*; Z not
8) 	2	*BMC* not; Z not
9) 	3	*BMC* liv, note; Z 7 (392–398)
10) monogram	1	
11) lion	1	*BMC* 26, 65; Z not
12) star	5	*BMC* 38, 165; Z not
"Various unusual monograms"	6	

Ostrogoths

Athalaric monogram	7	*BMC* 66, 47; Z not
Theodahad monogram	1	*BMC* 74, 15; Z not
Baduila		
DN REX B	4	*BMC* 90, 28; Z 37 (461–497)
monogram	3	*BMC* 89, 24; Z 14 (447–460)
lion	3	*BMC* 94, 50; Z 13 (498–510)

Vandals

Hilderic cross	2	*BMC* 14, 9; Z not
Gelimer		
monogram	1	*BMC* 16, 4; Z 1 (416)
palm tree[13]	13	*BMC* 26, 68; Z 24 (418–441)
"Vandalic"		
N IIII	1	*BMC* 7, 12; Z 1? (417)
Victory	1	*BMC* 20, 21; Z 15 (317–331)

[13] Postolakas claims to read the name GEL AMER on one of these coins. If this is correct, we have a clear assignment of these issues to a particular monarch, such as was not available to Wroth, who classed them under a general Vandalic heading.

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Except for the surprisingly small number of monogram reverses, the coins from Olympia, in addition to presenting some new types, show a pattern strikingly similar to the Zacha hoard. Not only are we confronted with parallel examples of the royal mintages, but the large number of coins of Justinian type 4 is very noticeable. The geographical range in which some of these types occur, however, has been vastly expanded in recent years by new evidence from Palestine and Cyprus.[14] Among the coins found in the sand dunes of Caesarea, H. Hamburger reported in 1954 a number of coins of types 3, 4, 8 and 12, as well as others with a cross potent reverse of the type found in Z 332–338. From his illustrations it is evident that the coins are well made and can in no instance be considered degenerate copies of Roman originals. Whether the coins were minted on the spot or derived from a larger minting center such as Antioch can not presently be determined from the evidence. An impressive number of imperial coins, particularly with a variety of monogram reverses, has appeared in Cyprus also. This phenomenon is too widespread to merit our dismissing most of the sixth century types as east Mediterranean imitations. Egypt would of course continue to imitate, as she had in the fifth century, and Vandal piracy would play a role in momentarily disrupting a particular coast-line. Yet the consistency of formulae and types on the small bronze coinage of the sixth century over so wide an area as Italy, Greece, Cyprus, and Palestine can more easily be explained as an indication of continued Roman influence in these regions. An organized scheme of operations which for the moment may only be hinted at need not surprise us. As more evidence becomes available, it may in the future be possible to ask and answer such questions as the relationship of the petty bronze to the large folles of the period and to probe more deeply into the time-table by which the reform started by Anastasius was brought to completion in the various provinces of the East Roman Empire. Erratic though the pattern of the coinage may appear at first glance, there are factors which warn us against believing in the collapse of the monetary system. It is on the face of it extremely unlikely that men of the caliber and vision of Anastasius and Justinian, whose control over every department of government and practically every expression of

[14] See note 4.

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Roman life can be attested in detail, would neglect such a valuable public instrument as the coinage. Further, the material from Zacha is well enough preserved to admit of certain distinctions. Not only the Romans, but the Vandals and Ostrogoths as well, worked from specific mints with specific patterns of operation. The study of the Yale and the Volo hoards has established that there were coins circulating in the fifth century which fall so far below even the wide spectrum of style within the official mint that they only can be considered productions of an irregular moneyer in a more unsettled area. From the Zacha hoard it becomes clear that the distinction extends to the sixth century and applies not merely to the Roman but also to the royal mintages. The highly deviant specimens which we have labelled imitations of the standard Vandal and Ostrogothic currency (433–441, 496, 497, 509, 510) suggest political and economic conditions fluid enough to have produced irregular money derived from a Vandal or Ostrogothic model. The existence of such copies also, by contrast, underlines the measure of authority which these Germanic tribes must have enjoyed in those areas firmly in their control.

One of the more vexing problems to confront the student of the numismatic history of the period is the proper assignment of the monogram reverses. At Zacha as in most other finds (they are in short supply at Olympia) the monogram types form by far the largest segment of the currency of the period. 225 coins out of a total of 514, that is to say, almost half the coins in the hoard, show various forms of a monogram reverse. These have to be distributed over a seventy to eighty year period ranging from 491 to the date of deposition of the hoard. It is clear that Anastasius, following the pattern of the coinage of his predecessors, inaugurated his reign with an issue of small bronze bearing on the reverse a monogram which incorporated the Greek letters of his name in the genitive case. The hoard shows six varieties of this basic pattern (1–6 in the Table). The use of the Greek instead of the Latin alphabet appears to be an innovation begun in the reign of Leo. It is to be interpreted as a step in the transformation of Rome into Byzantium.[15] The formula, however, exists in very great supply (149 coins). To explain it, we should be forced to assume that most of the collecting was done during the reign of Anastasius, an expedient

[15] See the discussion in V, pp. 11, 12.

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which the generally steady progression of the various types in the hoard does not seem to admit. The same monogram, at least in what we take to be its initial form , had as early as Sabatier[16] been assigned to Justinian. Its use on the capitals of St. Sophia and other mid-sixth century churches as well as on Byzantine silver attributable on other grounds to Justinian[17] puts the ascription beyond question. We shall therefore be justified in distributing the 149 coins between the two emperors, Anastasius and Justinian. Because Justinian is later in time and rules over a longer period, most of the specimens are no doubt his, although we can not be sure which.

The use of this particular monogram device on the monumental art of the period and on silver objects, proved through their various control marks to have been manufactured under strict supervision and with imperial sanction, means that we are dealing with an official Roman formula. The same formula on the bronze coinage suggests that the specimens in question are the official Roman issues of the day minted at Roman mints according to Roman standards for use in Roman territory. The wide spectrum of style betrays not so much the irregular moneyer as the debasement of artistic standards within the mint itself. It reflects difficulty in procuring competent die-cutters and even possibly losses of a proper metal supply because of barbarian incursions. Further, what talent remained had long since turned its attention to the more decorative arts.

Once we realize that the coins in the hoard are Roman and not "Vandalic" imitations, the nature of Anastasius' reform and the various problems connected with his introduction of large folles need to be reconsidered. Clearly, at least in some areas of the Empire, small bronze continued to be minted by Roman authority after this date. The assignment of particular types to their respective mints and the date of change in each instance are questions which only additional hoard evidence can solve. Does Antioch, for example, mint the monogram type only for Anastasius or for Justinian as well?

[16] J. Sabatier, *Description Générale des Monnaies Byzantines Frappées sous les Empereurs d'Orient Depuis Arcadius Jusqu' à la Prise de Constantinople par Mahomet II*, Paris, 1862, p. 83 and pl. I, 30.
[17] E. C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps. Dumbarton Oaks Studies Seven*, Washington, 1961, p. 13.

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What rôle does Thessalonica play? Nicomedia? Cyzicus? Most importantly, the need for currency by the Justinianic armies in the West is probably supplied by local mints set up for the purpose in Italy. These added minting centers affect Greece too, so that the contents of the Zacha hoard result from two influences: 1) Roman types imported from Italy along with coins of the Vandals and Ostrogoths, and 2) coinage minted in the older established centers in the East. In the absence of mint marks ascription is difficult. The mint mark begins to be crowded off the field under Leo and does not appear on most of the coins of Zeno. However, the form of monogram may be of help. In discussing the material from the Volo hoard, we called attention to the fact that some forms of monogram appear to belong only to particular mints.[18] In effect, the monogram comes to take on the functions of the mint mark as a sign of the issuing center. It is likely that, as additional evidence becomes available, such analysis will yield useful distinctions. Waage claims for Antioch, for example, a form ℵ which does not appear at Zacha.[19]

Monograms 1 through 6 in the Table have some form of cross bar in the lower left segment which forms the letter A (A or A) and makes it possible to read ANACTACIOV or IOVCTINIANOV. The bar is lacking in the next four. As Dodd points out,[20] the forms can be read as IOVCTINOV. At least 56 coins in the hoard show these forms. Either the first (518–527) or the second (565–578) bearer of the name is a possibility. The assignment of some of these forms on Byzantine silver stamps to Justin II seems incontrovertible. Here again we are before an official imperial formula. If Justinian, who certainly had a mind of his own, can use Anastasian formulae, Justin II might equally well borrow his from Justin I. The pattern of coinage in the hoard requires that Justin I be well represented. Not only do these monograms correspond to the letters of his name; if, as we contend, the coins in question are official Roman issues, the tradition of Roman coinage would demand a continuing mintage with a distinctive signature for each reign. The propriety of using the same formula does not arise

[18] V, pp. 15, 16.
[19] D. B. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, Part II. Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins*, Princeton, 1952, no. 2063.
[20] Op.cit., pp. 13, 14.

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for Justin I, who would simply be developing a new type different from that of Anastasius, but only for Justinian and Justin II, choosing, for whatever reasons, to retain the monograms of their predecessors. The sequence of issues in the hoard suggests the ascription of the four monograms to Justin I. Although it would be theoretically possible to divide the 56 coins in question between Justin I and Justin II, as we have done for Anastasius and Justinian, the disproportionately large representation of Baduila (61 coins) and the extremely fresh condition of his coins, particularly the lion series (498–508), require that the deposition be fixed somewhere close to the end of his reign (541–552).

METROLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The Zacha hoard is perhaps most important to historians because it leads us from the turbulent fifth century through the first half of the sixth century, and its contents confirm a fact that is well known among numismatists though it has not yet been incorporated into the body of secondary historical literature. Historians since J. B. Bury have usually followed the texts of John Malalas of Antioch and Marcellinus Comes of Constantinople in their reconstruction of the monetary reform of Anastasius.[21] From these brief notices of that reform it seemed as though there was "a calling in or demonetization of the existing currency" of small bronzes.[22] In place of the small bronze minimi of the fifth century, it was believed that only heavy,

[21] Johannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, Bk. XVI, O 117 (ed. Bonn, p. 400, ll. 16–21); Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon, sub anno* 498 (MGH, AA, XI [= *Chronica Minora*, II], p. 95).

[22] The standard study of these texts from the philological standpoint is R. P. Blake, "The Monetary Reform of Anastasius I and Its Economic Implications," *Studies in the History of Culture, The Disciplines of the Humanities, Dedicated to Waldo Gifford Leland*, Menasha, Wisconsin, American Council of Learned Societies, 1942, pp. 84–97, also reprinted in *Numismatic Review* IV (1947), pp. 35–42. Cf. J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, London, 1939, I, pp. 446–7. Also see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas Empire*. II. *De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565)*, Paris-Bruxelles-Amsterdam, 1949, p. 205; and G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. by Joan Hussey, New Brunswick, 1957, pp. 59–60.

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reformed bronzes were in circulation within the Byzantine state after the reform. The excavation finds and the hoards, however, prove conclusively that such was not the case. Minimi continued to be issue d well into the reign of Justinian, and they retained their value as coin. This is clearly the case though they seem not to occur very often in hoards jointly with the new bronzes of larger module and heavier weight.

The Zacha hoard does not add materially to our knowledge of the fifth century bronze currency. There are too few coins of the pre-reform period contained in this hoard to clarify any of the problems that concern the period prior to the reign of Anastasius. Results from the study of the Yale hoard and the Volo hoard have shown that the minimi from the reign of Arcadius through that of Leo I were issued at a theoretical weight of 1.14 grams or one Roman scruple.[23] There may have been a slight increase in the weight of these coins during the reign of Marcian, but it can have been of only slight significance. To all intents and purposes the fifth century minimi were issued before A.D. 475 at a standard of one Roman scruple. During the twenty-month reign of Basiliscus, however, there was a reduction in the weight

[23] The weight of the Roman pound is traditionally given as 327.45 grams. F. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1882, pp. 155–161, treats the earlier studies of this problem by Cagnazzi, Letronne, Böckh and Mommsen. Hultsch accepts the traditional weight. The evidence for the weight of the Roman pound is almost purely numismatic. Most recent attempts to arrive at the weight of the Roman pound have used the solidus as a starting point. A. Luschin von Ebengreuth, "Der Denar der Lex Salica," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band 163, Abh. 4, pp. 59–89, has constructed the most complete frequency table for the solidus and its fractions. He listed 459 weights for the solidus. L. Naville, "Fragments de métrologie antique," *Revue suisse de numismatique* XXII (1920–22), pp. 42–60; "La livre romaine et le denier de la Loi Salique. Réponse à M. Dieudonné," op.cit., pp. 257–63; and *Les monnaies d'or de la Cyrénaique*, Geneva, 1951, pp. 108, 9, has argued that the weight of the pound was actually somewhat lower, i.e., 322.56 grams. P. Grierson, "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 498– c. 1090," Settimane de Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, VIII (21–27 aprile, 1960), *Monete e Scambi nell'alto Medioevo*, Spoleto, 1961, p. 415, suggests a weight of about 325 grams. A similar weight was proposed by Cagnazzi, but it has been rejected by most authorities. There was, in addition to the twelve ounce pound, a fourteen ounce pound which was used in fulfilling mining leases. H. L. Adelson, *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade During the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, *NNM* 138, pp. 11–14.

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of the minimi to approximately five carats (0.94 grams). At that point the text of the *Theodosian Code* (XI, 21, 2), which stipulated that twenty-five pounds of bronze were to be equivalent to a solidus, was changed so that twenty pounds of bronze were made equal to a solidus. The text in the *Justinian Code* (X, 29, 1) records that change. The process of decline, however, was not arrested at that point. In the reign of Zeno the weight of the bronze coinage went still lower. It probably reached a theoretical weight of four and one half carats (0.84 grams). There would then have been 384 coins struck from the pound of metal. This much is clear from the metrological evidence of the earlier hoards.

In the sixth century the decline in the weight of the small bronzes apparently reached the nadir. It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to distinguish the coinage of Anastasius with a monogram from that of Justinian. A total of 149 coins in the Zacha hoard may be attributed to either Anastasius or Justinian. These coins have an average weight of 0.61 grams, but many of the coins are in very poor condition. These pieces were probably issued at a theoretical weight of four carats (0.76 grams), and 432 coins were struck from a pound of raw metal.

There are in this hoard, in addition, nineteen coins (298–315) with monograms which cannot be attributed with any degree of precision to one of the early sixth century emperors. The majority of these coins must have been issued by Anastasius or Justinian. If they are included in the frequency table, the resultant figures remain virtually unchanged.

The monogram attributed to Justin I appears on 56 coins. A frequency curve drawn from these coins reveals an average weight of 0.63 grams. The characteristics of this curve are so close to that of the coins attributed to Anastasius or Justinian that they must have been issued on the same standard.

It is therefore possible to construct a frequency curve from the 224 coins with identifiable Byzantine sixth century monograms.[24]

[24] Coin 340 is omitted because the monogram is quite different from the others and has a star above it. The barbarous specimens (341–3) have been omitted because they are obviously not of official Roman origin. The inclusion of the few coin fragments does not materially alter the results, but their ex-

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The average weight remains 0.61 grams while the mean deviation is 0.12 grams and the standard deviation is 0.15 grams. There can be no doubt that all of these coins were struck to a single standard with slightly better accuracy than the fifth century minimi. The theoretical weight must have been 0.76 grams or four Roman carats.

The monogram coins can be compared with two other groups in the hoard. There are forty-seven coins attributed to Justinian in this hoard which bear types other than the usual monogram. Though the average weight of these coins is only 0.57 grams, or 0.04 grams lighter than the monogram series, there is little doubt that they were meant to be issued at the same standard. If the standard were as low as three and one half carats, over one-quarter of the coins would be overweight even in their present worn state. In addition, there are eleven coins of the Christogram type which are attributed to either Justin I or Justinian. The range of weight in this series extends between 0.38 and 1.00 grams. Since only eleven coins are scattered over that range, any frequency curve would be meaningless. Nevertheless, it is significant that the average weight of this series is also 0.57 grams. Thus they appear to fit into the Byzantine sixth century system though they are less accurately struck.

There are in addition some few coins from the Vandals and Ostrogoths in this hoard. Any deductions based on these few coins must be considered quite conjectural, but in the absence of more detailed metrological studies and larger hoards that have been scientifically published, it is not amiss to state these conjectures. Of the twenty-two pieces of supposedly Vandalic origin in this hoard only six may be assigned to specific Vandal kings. The remaining sixteen are simply placed under the classification "Vandalic." If we are correct in assigning these sixteen anonymous pieces to the Vandalic series (see note 13), then these twenty-two coins reflect a standard of bronze coinage which is precisely that of the sixth century Byzantine imperial issues. Since the earliest of the Vandalic royal coins in this group is that of Thrasamund (A.D. 496–523), this is what we should

clusion would be difficult because many of the remaining coins appear to be clipped (see supra, p. 160). In our treatment of the Yale hoard (Y, pp. 143,4) and the Volo hoard (V, pp. 18,19) we have pointed out the difficulties in segregating the clipped specimens.

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have expected. The average weight of the "Vandalic" series is 0.57 grams. Thus they share precisely the same average weight as the forty-seven coins of Justinian. Nevertheless, this result is conjectural not only because of the few coins involved but also because of the questionable character of the attribution of some of these coins to the Vandals. It must be remembered constantly that Wroth's original attribution of masses of fifth and sixth century minimi to the Vandals has been under constant revision, and that there has been a continuous decline in the number of small bronze types that can be classified with certainty as Vandalic.

In the case of the Ostrogothic coins the attributions are more certain and the coins more numerous, particularly for the reign of Baduila. The metrological study of these coins reveals an unsuspected monetary reform for which there is no literary evidence. A frequency distribution constructed from the total of sixty-three Ostrogothic coins of certain attribution assumed a bi-modal form.[25] This can only be the result of a change in the standard at some time during the reign of Baduila. The lion coinage of Baduila almost certainly was struck in Rome after the capture of the city in A.D. 549. It was issued in imitation of a lion coinage of Justinian. This hoard does not contain any of the lion coinage of Justinian for comparison. Justinian's lion type was issued at Rome after A.D. 539. The capture of Rome in 536 cannot be assumed as the date for the issuance of these coins with a frontal bust, if the dating of the reform in portraiture, which is based on the large dated bronzes of the year twelve from the mint of Constantinople, is accurate (see note 80). Justinian's small lion type must have been issued between 539 and the reconquest of the city by Baduila in December, A.D. 546. It is quite unlikely that they were issued by the Byzantines in the years 547–9 when they held the city for the second time. During this later Byzantine occupation most of the city lay in ruins and devoid of population. Belisarius, as we know from Procopius, even had difficulty providing new iron gates to replace those destroyed by Baduila after the Byzantine army entered

[25] Coin 446 was not included because the attribution was quite uncertain. Nos. 496,7 and 509,10 were omitted as contemporary imitations. The Æ 3 fragment (511) was omitted as was the unidentifiable Ostrogothic fragment (512).

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the city in A.D. 547. The Byzantine army was continually in desperate need of financial support until the arrival of Narses. The only alternative to a date between 539 and 546 for the issuance of the lions of Justinian is that Narses first issued the lion type after the death of Baduila in A.D. 552. In that case they would have been copying an Ostrogothic type originated by their most successful enemy. Such a suggestion is unlikely in the extreme.

From the facts stated above it is evident that the lion coinage of Justinian should most probably be dated in the period A.D. 539–546. The two pieces in the *British Museum Catalogue* are distinctly heavier than the other minimi attributable to Justinian.[26] The first weighs 15.6 grains (1.01 grams) and the second 17.7 grains (1.08 grams). They are undoubtedly in a better state of preservation than most minimi, but even so the weights are quite high. The three coins of Baduila of the lion series in the same catalogue have weights that are equally high.[27] They are 15.6 grains (1.01 grams), 18.5 grains (1.20 grams), and 15.2 grains (0.99 grams). The average weight of these three coins in the British Museum is therefore 1.07 grams. On the other hand, the average weight of the nine DN REX/B coins in the same catalogue is only 0.71 grams.[28] The four Baduila coins with monograms listed in the *British Museum Catalogue* have an average weight of 0.75 grams.[29] Thus from this catalogue alone it should have been obvious, though it was not noticed, that the lion series is one-third heavier than the other coins of Baduila. Not one of the lion series in the *British Museum Catalogue* weighs less than 15.2 grains

[26] *BMC* 113, 35–6. Lorenzina Cesano, "Della moneta enea corrente in Italia nell'ultima età imperiale romana e sotto i re Ostrogoti," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, XXVI (1913), p. 515, gives an average weight of 0.89 grams for the nine specimens from the Castro dei Volsci hoard and an average weight of 1.01 grams for the pieces in the British Museum.

[27] *BMC* 94, 50–52. L. Cesano, op.cit., p. 518, gives the average weight of 206 specimens as 0.66 grams. She gives the average weight of the pieces in the British Museum as 1.02 grams. She noted (p. 521, n. 15) that they were heavier than the other coins of Baduila.

[28] *BMC* 90, 28–36. L. Cesano, op.cit., p. 518, gives the average weight of 272 specimens as 0.67 grams. She gives the average weight of the specimens in the British Museum as 0.69 grams.

[29] *BMC* 89, 24–27. L. Cesano, loc.cit., gives the average weight of 158 specimens as 0.73 grams and the average weight of the coins in the British Museum as 0.74 grams.

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while not one of the small bronzes of other types weighs as high as 15 grains.[30]

The results of a metrological study of the Ostrogothic coins from the Zacha hoard confirm the data from the *British Museum Catalogue* The fifty-two coins of the Ostrogothic kings Theodoric and Baduila, apart from the lion type, have an average weight of 0.67 grams. They were probably struck to a standard of four and a half carats and a theoretical weight of 0.84 grams. In effect this means that 384 coins were struck from the pound of raw metal and that the Ostrogoths continued the bronze coinage on the same standard as that which had prevailed during the reign of Zeno. It was during the reign of Zeno that the Ostrogoths entered Italy upon the urging of the Emperor. At some point between 549 and 552 Baduila, in his moment of triumph, increased the weight of the bronze nummi. This was probably done in imitation of the lion coinage of Justinian, which was also heavy.

Only eleven coins of the lion series of Baduila are present in the Zacha hoard. The average weight of these eleven specimens is 0.73 grams. It should, however, be remembered that one of these coins weighs only 0.39 grams and that several others show signs of having been reduced in size. Many reasons may be conjectured for this, but they would remain hypothetical. The best preserved specimens are not too far below the excellent coins in the British Museum. Since there are so few coins spread over the range from 0.37 grams to 1.05 grams, a frequency curve is not really applicable. Nevertheless, if we calculate the degree of dispersion of the weights, the mean deviation is 0.21 grams and the standard deviation is 0.23 grams. The coefficient of variation is quite high at 31.45 per cent. Under these conditions it is obvious that the average weight of these coins is well below the theoretical weight at which they were issued. These facts indicate that the coins must have been struck at the same standard as those of Basiliscus. The theoretical weight was probably intended to be five carats (0.94 grams). It is quite unlikely on the basis of the evidence

[30] The average weights given by L. Cesano from the Castro dei Volsci hoard would indicate that the monogram type was actually slightly heavier than the other two. Since only the average weights are given and there is no description of the individual coins, it is impossible to check her results.

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TABLE OF METROLOGICAL ANALYSES

	No. of Coins	*Average Weight*	*Mode*	*Median*	*Mean Deviation*	*Standard Deviation*	*Coefficient of Variation*
Yale hoard (pre-Zeno)	371	0.92	0.75	0.91	0.24	0.29	31.72
Volo hoard (pre-Zeno)	810	0.88	0.87	0.88	0.21	0.26	29.43
Volo hoard (Basiliscus)	36	0.79	0.71	0.76	0.18	0.22	28.34
Volo hoard (Zeno)	110	0.62	0.52	0.58	0.19	0.24	39.03
Zacha hoard							
Anastasius or Justinian Monograms	149	0.61	0.60	0.60	0.11	0.13	23.05
Anastasius or Justinian & Indeterminate Monograms	168	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.11	0.14	23.97
Justin I Monograms	56	0.63	0.57	0.60	0.14	0.18	27.73
Anastasius and Sixth Century Byzantine Monograms	224	0.61	0.57	0.60	0.12	0.15	24.94
Christogram	11	0.57			0.13	0.18	30.86
Justinian without Monogram	47	0.57	0.54	0.56	0.12	0.14	25.40
Vandalic	22	0.57	0.57	0.58	0.13	0.16	28.74
Ostrogothic (excluding lion type)	52	0.67	0.57	0.65	0.12	0.15	21.78
Baduila (lion type)	11	0.73			0.21	0.23	31.45

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before us that the theoretical weight was intended to be as high as the standard of the earlier fifth century pieces, i.e., one scruple (1.14 grams).

The economic and historical problems arising from these studies of the minimi of the fifth and sixth centuries cannot be treated within the compass of this study of a single hoard. It is sufficient to point out that there was an economic revival evident within the Byzantine Empire during the last years of Zeno which continued through the early part of the sixth century.[31] Anastasius is described by Procopius as "the most provident and at the same time the most businesslike of all emperors," and he left 320,000 pounds of gold in the treasury on his death.[32] The lightening of the bronze currency during his reign was not a measure caused by necessity, but a conscious financial policy. It must also be borne in mind that the light series of reformed folles, which was apparently the earliest, had a theoretical weight of about 9.2 grams. Since these coins were worth forty nummi, the effect of the reform was to lower the theoretical weight of the nummus still further. The minimi of the sixth century cannot have been considered nummi. They would have been grossly overweight. The explanation for their issuance must await a broader study of the economic history of the period.

NUMBER OF COINS FOR EACH HEADING IN THE CATALOGUE

Regular Issues

Constantinian Æ 3	3
Theodosius I Æ 4	1
Honorius	2
Arcadius, Honorius, or Theodosius II	2
Theodosius II	5
Period of Theodosius II	18
Period of Valentinian III	10
Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius (Valentinian III)	2
Marcian	8
Valentinian II, Valentinian III, or Marcian	1
Libius Severus	1

[31] Cf. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton, 1961, p. 501.
[32] Procopius, *Anecdota*, XIX, 5–7.

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Leo	20
Zeno	2
Basiliscus	1
Zeno or Basiliscus	1
Basiliscus and Marcus or Leo and Verina	1
Roman, Illegible	2
Anastasius or Justinian	149
Justin I	56
Indeterminate monograms, Anastasius through Justinian	19
Sixth century	24
Justin I or Justinian	11
Justinian	47
Thrasamund	4
Hilderic	1
Gelimer	1
"Vandalic"	16
Theodoric	4
Athalaric?	1
Baduila	61
Ostrogothic	1
Uncertain	1
Total:	476

Barbarous Issues

Late fourth, early fifth century	1
Arcadius, Honorius, or Theodosius II	1
Period of Theodosius II	7
Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius (Valentinian III)	1
Marcian	1
Leo	1
Sixth century	3
Justinian	9

Imitations of Royal Coinages

"Vandalic"	9
Baduila	4
Total:	37

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CATALOGUE*

CONSTANTINIAN

Æ 3

Reverse illegible

1. *Obv.*: ..CON...
   7–13 ·35

FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Soldier l., spearing fallen horseman[33]

*2. *Obv.*: DN... 3. 8–14 ↑ ·47
...IO
9–11 ↑ ·55 ..HA[34]

THEODOSIUS I

Æ 4

SALVS REIPVBLICAE *C.* 30

Victory running l., dragging captive

4. *Obv.*: DNTHEO...
10–11 ↓ 1.24 P

* Obverse legend and type, when recorded, are preceded by *Obv.* Busts are draped and pearl diademed, facing right, unless otherwise indicated. Three dots indicate an indeterminate number of illegible letters. The line below the reverse legend records the size in millimeters, the die position, and the weight in grams. A "cf." preceding the reference to the standard catalogues indicates not an identification but an approximation to the type.

An asterisk preceding the number means the coin is illustrated in the Plates.

For those monograms of the Emperors Marcian through Basiliscus which appear in the hoard we have used the reference to the Table of Monograms which appears on page 89 of our *A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Zeno I. NNM* 148, New York, 1962.

[33] The type occurs from Constantius II through Julian II. Nos. 10–24 in Y; 3–8 in V. Y p. 159, n. 2 and V p. 45, n. 3 should be corrected to read "—Constantius II."

[34] The third letter of the mint-mark is an H; in which case, the coin was minted at Heraclea. However, the notorious confusion of H with N in the lettering of the period makes Nicomedia a possibility. So also with coin no. 51.

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HONORIUS

Reverse illegible[35]

5. *Obv.*: DNHON...
10–11 ↓ 1.26

6. *Obv.*: ...ONO...
10–11 ↓ .81

LATE 4th, EARLY 5th CENTURY: BARBAROUS

VOT X MVLT XX within wreath[36]

7. 8–10 ↓ .31 SM..

ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, OR THEODOSIUS II

GLORIA ROMANORVM

Three emperors, standing, with spears; two outer resting hands on shields; central figure slightly smaller[37]

8. ...R...
6–11 ↑ .79

CONCORDIA AVGGG around cross

9. *Obv.*: ...VSP...[38]
...GGG .MKA
6–10 ↓ .37

[35] Possibly same as no. 4.
[36] The type is found for Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius. Y 85; V 68–70.
[37] The module of the specimens depicting two or three emperors (8, 10) falls between Æ 3 and Æ 4 size. Pearce has plausibly argued that a distinction was originally intended (J. W. E. Pearce, "Corrections and Additions," *Roman Coinage*, London, 1933, p. 4; also "A Late Roman Hoard from Southwest Asia Minor," *Numismatic Chronicle* 5th Series XV (1935), pp. 21–24) and that such specimens represent a third intermediate denomination. There is unfortunately no agreement on what to call them. Pearce originally listed them as Æ 4, then as "Æ 3 small" (*Roman Coinage*, p. 22). R. A. G. Carson and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, London, 1960, refer to them as Æ 3. In V and here we have called them Æ 4, the size into which they were quickly absorbed. The inadequacy of the traditional nomenclature for the metrological problems of the late Roman period is acute.
[38] The coin is severely cut down.

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ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, OR THEODOSIUS II: BARBAROUS

GLORIA ROMANORVM

Two emperors standing, holding spears and leaning on shields

10. 7–10 ↓ .52[39]

THEODOSIUS II

Anepigraphic. Cross in wreath. *Sab.* 32

11. *Obv.*: ...DOSIVS... 9–10 ↑ .79 SMKA
12. *Obv.*: ...SIVSPFAVG 10–11 ↓ .85 CON
13. *Obv.*: ...EOD... 10–11 ↑ .96
14. *Obv.*: ...ODOSI... 10–13 ← .77

Reverse illegible

15. *Obv.*: .NTHEO... 9–11 .66

PERIOD OF THEODOSIUS II[40]

16. *Obv.*: .N... 11–13 ↘ .85
17. *Obv.*: ...PFAVG 10 ↑ .93
18. *Obv.*: ...FAVG 11 ↑ .84
19. *Obv.*: ...AVG 12 ↓ .71
20. 12–13 ↑ .87 CON
21. 7–10 ↓ .47 ANT
22. 11–12 ↑ .93
23. 9–10 ↑ .75
24. 10–11 ↓ .66
25. 10 ↓ .66
26. 9–10 ↓ .58
27. 8–10 ↓ .49
28. 9–11 ↖ .48
29. 10–11 ↘ .70
30. 10–12 ← .53
31. 9–10 .92
32. 10–11 .77
33. 9–10 .70

[39] See note 37.

[40] The majority of coins in this group are undoubtedly Theodosian, but the type is known also in a rare issue of Valentinian III (R. A. G. Carson and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 324–498. Part II, Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the Later Empire A.D. 346–498*, London, 1960 [=CK], no. 867). Since the hoard is closer to Italy than either Y or V, it is possible that one or more coins under this heading belong to the latter emperor.

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PERIOD OF THEODOSIUS II: BARBAROUS

Anepigraphic. Cross in wreath

34. 10–11 ↑ .69 — 35. 9– 10 ↙ .86
36. 9 ↙ .78 — 37. 10–11 ↘ .72

Same, in reel border

38. 8 ↓ .42 — 39. 8–9 .49

Anepigraphic. Cross potent in wreath

40. 8–9 .57

PERIOD OF VALENTINIAN III[41]

VOT XX in wreath

41. 10–11 ↓ .88 $\frac{\perp}{..S}$

VICTORIA AVGG

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

*42. ...AVG.
11–13 ↘ 1.56

SALVS REIPVBLIC(A)E

Victory running l., dragging captive

43. ...CAE
11–12 ↙ 81. — 44. 10–12 ↓ .91

Victory running l., with wreath and palm[42]

45. 10–11 ↑ 1.10 — 46. 11 ↓ .82
47. 10 ↓ .84 — 48. 9–10 ↓ .75
49. 10–11 ↓ .87 — 50. 8–12 .44

[41] These coins all have a distinctive style which is characteristic of the later pieces of Honorius and of Valentinian III from the mint of Rome. The relief is high, but the outlines of the type are not sharp, with the result that the figures appear thick and heavy. Y 259ff; V 258ff.

[42] Either VICTORIA AVGG or SALVS REIPVBLIC(A)E is possible. Y 269–280; V 265–272.

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VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, (VALENTINIAN III)

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Victory running l., dragging captive

51. *Obv.*: ...AVG
SALVS...
7–12 ↓ .45 SMHA[43]

52. SALVS...
10–12 ↑ .49

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, (VALENTINIAN III): BARBAROUS

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Victory running l., dragging captive

53. 11–12 .42

MARCIAN

 (V 5) within wreath

54. *Obv.*: DNMARC...
9–10 ↓ .77

 or  (V 1 or 7) within wreath

55. *Obv.*: DN...
10–11 ↙ .98

 (V 7) within wreath

56. *Obv.*: ...AV.
10 ↙ 1.02 NIC

Indeterminate monogram within wreath

57. *Obv.*: ...N...
10–11 ↑ .89

58. 10–11 ↑ 1.23

59. 9–10 ↑ .94

60. 9–10 1.10

61. 7–10 .71[44]

[43] The coin has been halved. For the mint mark see note 34.
[44] Halved.

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MARCIAN: BARBAROUS

Barbarous monogram within wreath[45]

62. *Obv.*: ...S....
9–10 ↓ .63

VALENTINIAN II, VALENTINIAN III, OR MARCIAN

Reverse Illegible

63. *Obv.*: ...NVSPFA..[46]
9–11 .47

LIBIUS SEVERUS[47]

RᶜE (V 1)

64. 8 ↗ .49

LEO I

Anepigraphic. Lion crouching l., looking r. *Sab.* 19

65. *Obv.*: .NL...
7–8 ↓ .77 CON

66. 7–8 ↑ .61 CON

67. 7–8 ↙ .95

68. 9–11 .83

NˢE (V 1) within wreath. *Sab.* 18

69. *Obv.*: DNL..
6–7 1.07

70. *Obv.*: ...PA..
7 ↓ 1.03

71. *Obv.*: ...AVG
6–7 ↑ .84

72. *Obv.*: ...O
4–7 ↓ .90

73. 6–7 ↑ .90

74. 6–7 .84

[45] Possibly an attempt at V 12.
[46] The coin is pierced.
[47] The monogram was first identified by I. Friedländer (*Die Münzen der Ostgothen*, Berlin, 1844, pp. 5f.) as that of Ricimer. The bust on the obverse is Libius Severus III, to whose reign (461–465) the piece must be assigned. CK assigns the type to the mint of Rome (no. 871, 872). Y 502; V 1059–1062.

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[illegible] or [illegible] (V 1 or 2) within wreath. *Sab.* 18

75. 6 ↓ 1.07 76. 6 ↓ .82

[illegible] (V 2) within wreath. *Sab.* 18

77. *Obv.*: ...AVG 78. 10 .77
7 ↑ 1.16

[illegible] (V 5) within wreath. *Sab.* 18

79. *Obv.*: ...NISP... *80. *Obv.*: ...OSP...

10 ↑ 1.04 10–11 ↓ .80 ..NA[48]

Anepigraphic. Figure in long robes, nimbate, standing facing, holding globe surmounted by cross in r., and scepter transversely in l.[49]

Cf. *Sab.* 15

81. *Obv.*: ..LEO... 82. 10–11 ↑ 1.18 bE
10–11 ↑ 1.06 bE

83. 10–11 ↓ 1.02 "E 84. 10–11 ↙ .58

Same type, barbarous

85. 9 ↙ .41

[48] If the third letter of the mintmark is truly N, we have a rare instance of what must have been the early issue of Leo with the longer version of the mint mark, SMNA, before it was changed to NIC. Another example with the same obverse legend and apparently the same form of monogram on the reverse is listed by J. W. E. Pearce and M. E. Wood, "A Late Roman Hoard from Dalmatia," *Numismatic Chronicle* 5th Series XIV (1934), p. 276 (pl. VII, 26).

[49] The identification of the figure is a matter of dispute. Despite difficulties in accounting for bE in the reverse field, ascription to Leo's wife, Verina, seems more attractive than to Basilissa Eudoxia, the member of the Theodosian house who was released from Vandal captivity in 461. The latter event might call for a commemorative issue, but would not *prima facie* require continued reference over a number of years such as the abundance of the type in the coin finds would indicate. We should, however, prefer to suspend judgment pending further evidence. An ivory in Florence showing a female figure in the same pose and with the same attributes may represent the same figure. It is illustrated in H. Pierce and R. Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, vol. II, Paris, 1934, pl. 27, and, most recently, in J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople*, London, 1961, fig. 48, but assigned to the Empress Ariadne (d. 515).

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ZENO

 (V 4) within wreath

86. 8–10 .52

 (V 5) within wreath

87. *Obv.*: .NZEN...
8–9 ↓ .80

BASILISCUS

 (V 1) within wreath[50]

88. *Obv.*: ...I...S...
10–11 ↓ .73

ZENO OR BASILISCUS

Indeterminate monogram[51]

89. 7–8 .39

BASILISCUS AND MARCUS OR LEO AND VERINA

Two emperors enthroned[52]

*90. 10–11 ↑ 1.15

ROMAN, ILLEGIBLE[53]

91. *Obv.*: ...PFAVG
10 .70

92. *Obv.*: ...AVG
9–11 .71

[50] V 1023–28; CK 2284–6. *BMC* 31, 109 (pl. IV, 8) is probably a monogram of this type which has been printed upside down and attributed to Marcian. Nos. 1 and 2 under Basiliscus in the Table of Monograms in V should be reversed.
[51] The coin is badly enough damaged that it is impossible to decide between Zeno V3 and Basiliscus V2 for the form of monogram.
[52] The coin is quite heavy but must be placed in the latter part of the fifth century. It is either an example of the last coinage of Leo (V 887; CK 2276) with two emperors seated, facing, nimbate, each with transverse scepter, or a similar type depicting Basiliscus and Marcus. The type, first published in V (1042), shows them each not with scepter but with possibly a globe. This particular specimen is in such poor condition that it adds nothing to our knowledge of the issue.
[53] Fabric and style of lettering assign these to the early fifth century.

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ANASTASIUS OR JUSTINIAN[54]

 (Z r. in reel border *BMC* 32, 128; *CK* 2258

93.	Obv. ...AVG			94.	9	↑	.83
	8–9	↑	.54				
*95.	9	↑	.79	96.	9	↑	.76
97.	8	↑	.75	98.	8–9	↑	.71
99.	9–10	↑	.67	100.	9	↑	.66
101.	7–8	↑	.65	102.	8–10	↑	.61
103.	8–10	↑	.60	104.	9	↑	.58
105.	8–9	↑	.58	106.	9	↑	.57
107.	8–9	↑	.56	108.	9	↑	.50
109.	10	↓	1.03	110.	9–11	↓	.96
111.	10–11	↓	.76	112.	8–10	↓	.76
113.	8–9	↓	.65	114.	9	↓	.63
115.	8–9	↓	.60	116.	10	↓	.57
117.	9–10	↓	.56	118.	9–10	↓	.56
119.	8–9	↓	.55	120.	7–11	↓	.53
121.	7–10	↓	.52	122.	8–9	↓	.50
123.	8	↓	.48	124.	7–8	↓	.44
125.	8–9	↓	.43	126.	8	↓	.39
127.	7	↓	.34	128.	9	↗	.75
129.	8–10	↖	.75	130.	9–10	↖	.87
131.	7–9	↖	.41	132.	9	↙	.65
133.	9–10	↙	.54	134.	8–9	↙	.44
135.	9	↙	.63	136.	10	↘	.56
137.	8–9	←	.54	138.	9–10		.89
139.	8		.80	140.	8–9		.69
141.	8		.68	142.	9		.64

[54] Two coins found in the Italian Monte Roduni hoard with this monogram yielded the obverse inscription DNANASTA (Friedländer, p. 42). The attribution has been accepted and confirmed by later scholarship. The reverse type seems always to have been minted with a reel border. Since it is most likely that Justinian availed himself of the same formula (see above, p. 167), one should like to have some means of distinguishing, such as is not presently available. No coin with Justinian's name on it has come to our attention.

In the monogram series which follows (nos. 93–316) we have separated the coins showing a reel border from those which, if it existed, have it off flan.

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143.	7–8		.62	144.	9		.58
145.	8–9		.58	146.	8–10		.58
147.	9–10		.48	148.	8–9		.42
149.	8		.38				

 (Z 2) in reel border[55]

150.	9–10	↑	.50

 (Z 3) in reel border

151.	9	↓	.49

 (Z 4) in reel border

152.	8–9	↑	.77	153.	8–9	↓	.83
154.	8–11	↓	.73	155.	8–10	↓	.63
156.	8–9	↗	.78	157.	8		.36

 or (Z 1 or 4)

158.	8–9	↑	.65	159.	9	↑	.58
160.	8–9	↑	.58	161.	8–9	↑	.57
162.	7–8	↑	.55	163.	8	↑	.54
164.	7–8	↑	.49	165.	7–8	↑	.46
166.	7	↑	.27[56]	167.	8–9	↓	.94
168.	8	↓	.76	169.	8–9	↓	.64
170.	7–9	↓	.61	171.	8–9	↓	.51
172.	9–11	↗	.90	173.	9–10	↗	.73
174.	8–9	↗	.70	175.	7–8	↗	.67
176.	9	↗	.60	177.	8–9	↗	.52
178.	8	↗	.46	179.	9–11	↙	.78
180.	9	↙	.76	181.	7–8	↘	.31[57]
182.	9	←	.36	183.	9–10		.75
184.	9–10		.75	185.	8–10		.55
186.	8–9		.46	187.	7–9		.40[58]

[55] Unless the form is merely a caprice of the die-cutter, the double A can only be Anastasius, not Justinian.
[56] This is a coin fragment.
[57] Fragment.
[58] Fragment.

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Same, in reel border

188. *Obv.*: ...AVC
8–10 ↓ .67

189. *Obv.*: ...V.
8–10 ↑ .56

190.	9–10	↑	.69	191.	8–9	↑	.64
192.	8–10	↑	.62	193.	8–10	↑	.60
194.	8	↑	.59	195.	8	↑	.46
196.	9	↓	.77	197.	8–9	↓	.76
198.	9–10	↓	.76	199.	8–11	↓	.74
200.	10–11	↓	.71	201.	9–11	↓	.68
202.	8–10	↓	.67	203.	7–8	↓	.59
204.	9	↓	.57	205.	9–10	↓	.55
206.	7–8	↓	.46	207.	8	↗	.62
208.	8–9	↗	.61	209.	7	↗	.53
210.	8–10	↗	.42	211.	8–9	↖	.63
212.	9–10	↖	.61	213.	7–9	↙	.60
214.	9–10	↙	.54	215.	9–10	↘	.52
216.	7–8	→	.48	217.	8–10		.85
218.	8–9		.70	219.	9–10		.67
220.	9		.59	221.	8–10		.51
222.	7–9		.40	223.	9–10		.38

 (Z 5) in reel border

224.	8	↑	.59	225.	7–8	↑	.33
226.	8–9	↓	.52	227.	8	↓	.39

Same, in wreath

*228. 9–10 → .86

 (Z 6)

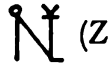
229.	*Obv.*: ...AVC			230.	10–12	↑	.68
	9–11	↑	.55				
231.	7–8	↑	.55	232.	8–9	↑	.60
233.	8–9	↓	.72	234.	8–9	↙	.55
235.	7–10		.60	236.	8–9		.60

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Same, in reel border

237.	*Obv.*: ...V. 8–9	↘	.46	238.	7–10	↓	.37
239.	9		.81	240.	8–10		.70
241.	8–9		.51				

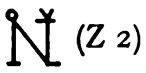
JUSTIN I[59]

 (Z 1) *BMC* 33, 135

242.	9–10	↑	.83	243.	8–9	↑	.57
244.	8–9	↑	.52	245.	8–9	↓	.50
246.	8–9	↓	.47	247.	8	↓	.36[60]
248.	8–9	↗	.80	249.	8–9	↗	.46
250.	9–10	↙	.72	251.	9–10		1.00
252.	8–9		.72				

Same, in reel border

253.	10–11	↑	.84	254.	8–10	↑	.82
255.	8–9	↑	.63	256.	9	↑	.57
257.	9–10	↑	.55	258.	8–9	↑	.41
259.	10–12	↓	.84	260.	8	↓	.70
261.	8–9	↓	.56	262.	8–10	↓	.55
263.	8–9	↓	.41[61]	264.	9	↗	.62
265.	9–10	↙	.65	266.	9–10	↙	.65
267.	9–10	↙	.64	268.	9–10	↘	.52
269.	8		.55	270.	8		.54
271.	7–9		.37[62]				

 (Z 2)

272.	8–9	→	.50				

[59] For the assignment of the next four monograms to this emperor see above, p. 170. *BMC* 33, 135–138 gives the monogram to Anastasius, but there are no accompanying inscriptions. It does not appear as a separate form in Sabatier or Kraus or in Friedländer's description of the Monte Roduni find.
[60] Fragment.
[61] Fragment.
[62] Fragment.

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(Z 3)

273.	*Obv.*: ...FAVG			274.	8–9	↑	.77
	9	↗	.56				
275.	8–9	↑	.41	276.	9–10	↓	1.07
277.	8	↓	.76	278.	8–9	↓	.57
279.	7	↓	.52	280.	8–9		.62

Same, in reel border

281.	*Obv.*: ...AVG			282.	9–10	↑	.90
	8–10	↓	.66				
283.	8–9	↑	.67	284.	8	↑	.61
285.	8–9	↑	.54	286.	8–9	↓	.91
287.	8–9	↓	.41	288.	8–9	↓	.35
289.	9	↗	.73	290.	8–9	↙	.59
291.	9	↙	.43	292.	9–10		.93
293.	8		.68	294.	9–10		.66
295.	8		.54	296.	7–8		.48

(Z 4)

297.	10	↗	1.09				

INDETERMINATE MONOGRAMS, ANASTASIUS THROUGH JUSTINIAN[63]

298.	8	↑	.61	299.	7–9	↓	.41
300.	9–10		.88	301.	8–9		.54
302.	7		.44	303.	6–7		.44

Same, in reel border

304.	*Obv.*: ...AV.			305.	8–10	↑	.83
	10	↑	.54				
306.	8	↑	.60	307.	8–10	↑	.52[64]

[63] The monograms under this heading are not completely on flan and do not permit closer identification.
[64] Fragment.

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308.	10	↓	.92	309.	8–9	↓	.41[65]
310.	8	↙	.41	311.	8	→	.62
312.	7–8	→	.44[66]	313.	8–9		.68
314.	8		.65	315.	8–9		.62[67]
316.	8		.38				

SIXTH CENTURY

Victory advancing l., with wreath and palm[68] *BMC* 20, 21

317.	8–9	↙	.42	318.	8	↖	.23
319.	7–9	↗	.29	320.	9	↘	.48
321.	8–9	↙	.47	322.	8	↙	.43
323.	8	↙	.39	324.	8	↙	.36
325.	8	←	.36	326	7–8		.30
*327.	8–9		.51	328.	8–9		.46
329.	7–9		.34	330.	8–9		.33

Victory standing front, wreath in each hand cf. *BMC* 22, 42

331.	9–10	↑	.66

[65] Fragment.
[66] Fragment.
[67] Fragment.
[68] The coins under this heading have been assigned to the sixth century on two counts: 1) style and fabric; and 2) equivalent specimens do not appear in significant amounts in the fifth century Volo and Yale hoards. The Victory types are more barbarized than on specimens of the late fifth century. The lines of the drapery are finely and symmetrically drawn but seem to exist as geometric designs in their own right and not as the dress pattern itself. Both the thickness and the diameter of the coins are considerably less than coins of the fifth century; in fact, they fall short of many of the sixth century monogram types, for example. The completely erratic die positions also rouse suspicion. The coins may possibly be imitations minted in Italy from a theme which is common on the gold coinage of the period but had not been used on the bronze since early in the fifth century. The sum of these factors leads us to refer more of the Victory types than has previously been done to the sixth century instead of the fifth, or at least to keep in mind that distinctions can and should be made. Most of the fifth century specimens found at Zacha seem in their general characteristics imitative of the coinage of Valentinian III and have been so entered in the catalogue. If so, Italy is again a likely source of mintage. Needless to say, the poor quality of the coins in question, 317–331, renders the exact identification of the stance of the Victory figure sometimes ambiguous.

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Cross potent in reel border[69] *BMC* 38, 173
Pellet in each of two lower segments

332. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ← .46

333. *Obv.*: Dots for inscr.
8–9 ↙ .34

334. 8–9 ↓ .35

335. 7 ↙ .24

336. 9 ↗ .48

337. 8 → .29

*338. 8 → .65

Cross pattée in wreath[70] *BMC* 41, 201
Pellet in each of two lower segments

*339. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↑ 1.02

 (Z 1) in reel border[71]

340. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↙ .86

Indeterminate monograms, barbarous[72]

341 *Obv.*: Traces of letters
10–11 .72

342. 8–10 .40

343. 8–9 .35

[69] As in the case of the Victory figures, the style and fabric of these coins suggest that they be assigned to the sixth century. The relief on the reverse is high and sharp. The strong linear effect of the cross, its lines filling the whole of the reverse field, is very similar to the impression made by coins 392–410, which can on other grounds be assigned to Justinian. The flans are quite thin.

[70] The reverse of this coin is surprisingly well made: the details of the wreath carefully drawn and the cross well centered. It is of heavier weight than the preceding specimens. The severe economy of line with which the obverse bust is drawn and the carelessness in the treatment of the obverse legend mark the coin as belonging to the sixth century. This discrepancy between the artistic quality of obverse and reverse is characteristic of the bronze coinage of the period.

[71] Cf. *BMC* 36, 154. The *BMC* specimens lack the star and the projection from the lower part of the right leg.

[72] The form of monogram is not clearly enough preserved to merit illustration or conjecture. Assignment is on stylistic grounds.

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JUSTIN OR JUSTINIAN (?)

☧ (Z 1) Christogram in reel border[73] *BMC* 37, 159

344. *Obv.*: IVS...
9–10 ↑ .57

*345. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↑ .66

346. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–10 ↑ .62

347. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7 ↑ .51

348. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ↑ .38

349. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↘ 1.00

350. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ↗ .39

351. 8–10 ↑ .53

352. 8–9 .75

353. 7–9 .49

354. 7–8 .39

JUSTINIAN I

Ⱥ (Z 1) in reel border[74] *BMC* 34, 141

*355. *Obv.*: IVSTI...
9 ↖ .84

356. *Obv.*: IVSTI...
10–11 ↗ .57

[73] Coins with a Christogram reverse have generally been assigned to Justinian. The lone specimen in the Monte Roduni find (Friedländer, pp. 43, 52) reads only IVS—. Those listed in the *BMC* have garbled legends which suggest Justinian. A coin in the Italian Castro dei Volsci hoard reads simply IVS.. (L. Cesano, "Della moneta enea corrente in Italia nell' ultima età imperiale romana e sotto i re ostrogoti," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* XXVI (1913), p. 515, no. 225). Sabatier lists the type but does not attempt an ascription. The Zacha specimens are on the whole more poorly made than the other coins of Justinian in the hoard. In some instances the obverse is anepigraphic. Postolakas assigned the type to Justin I but does not record a legend (see above, p. 164). Since a Christogram appears on the larger bronze of Justin (W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, Volume I, London, 1908, p. 16, 40–48 (pl. III, 10), it is at least theoretically possible that some of our coins belong to him. For the Ravenna silver coins of Justinian with a Christogram see *BMC* 117, 69–71.

[74] Four examples of the type were unearthed at Monte Roduni (Friedländer, p. 43). One of the 19 specimens listed by L. Cesano from Castro dei Volsci reads IVS..INIA (op.cit., p. 515, nos. 158–176). The coins are very common and have been found throughout the eastern Mediterranean: 1 at Antioch (Waage, op.cit., no. 2055); 1 at Cyprus (Cox, op.cit., no. 642); 51 at Athens (Thompson, op.cit., no. 1718); 7 at Corinth (K. M. Edwards, *Corinth. Volume VI. Coins 1896–1929*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1933, no. 760); 12 at Caesarea (H. Hamburger, "Minute Coins from Caesarea," *Atiqot. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities* I (1954), p. 136, no. 113); and 5 at Olympia (Postolakas type 3; see above, p. 165).

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357. 9–10 ↑ .66
358. 8 ↑ .54
359. 8–9 ↑ .42
360. 8–9 ↖ .54
361. 8–9 ↖ .37
362. 8–9 ↗ .68
363. 8–9 ↙ .56
364. 8–9 ← .48
365. 9 ← .44
366. 8 ← .47
367. 9–11 ← .68
368. 9 ← .77
369. 9–10 → .67
370. 9–10 → .63
371. 10–11 .82
372. 8–9 .59

Same, barbarous

373. 9 ↑ .41
374. 7 ↑ .59
375. 9–11 ↓ .52
376. 9–10 ↙ .51
377. 9–11 ↖ .36
378. 9 → .33[75]
379. 7–8 .47
380. 7–9 .28[76]

 (Z 2) in wreath[77] *BMC* 33, 140

381. *Obv.*: IVSTIN...
10 ↙ .85
382. *Obv.*: IVSTI...
8–9 ↑ .71
*383. *Obv.*: ...IANVS
9–11 ↓ .59

 (Z 3) in reel border *BMC* 33, 139

*384. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8 ↓ .46
385. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↓ .37
386. 8–9 ↓ .77[78]
387. 9 ↖ .76

[75] The coin is pierced.
[76] Pierced.
[77] Sabatier, vol. I, p. 86 (pl. I, 26) gave this and the following monogram to Anastasius, incorrectly. The name of Justinian has been read on the Monte Roduni specimens of both types (Friedländer, pp. 43, 52), corroborated also by the Castro dei Volsci coins (Cesano, op.cit., p. 515, nos. 177–222).
[78] The monogram on this coin is practically a mirror image of the type:  .

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VOT XIII(I) in wreath[79] *BMC* 28, 86

388. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↑ .69

389. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
10–11 ↓ .88

Same, barbarous

390. 8–9 ↓ .25

VOT XIIII in wreath *BMC* 29, 91

*391. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↑ .64

 (Z 4) in wreath[80] *BMC liv, note*; *Friedländer*, 43

392. *Obv.*: IVSTI...
Emperor, nimbate, facing front,
holding *globus cruciger* in r.
8–10 ↗ .46

393. *Obv.*: IVS...
Same as No. 392
5–10 ↓ .36[81]

*394. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
8–10 ↑ .54

395. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
8–9 ↓ .37

396. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
9–10 ↗ .59

397. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
10 ↙ .62

398. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
9 ↙ .48

[79] The assignment of this and the following type to Justinian is confirmed by the reading of the emperor's name in the *BMC* recorded specimens.

[80] The type has been noted in three examples from Monte Roduni (Friedländer, p. 43) and three from Olympia (type 9 above, p. 165), and no doubt represents an imperial issue. Although the facing bust does not appear on the large bronze of Justinian before A.D. 538, this need not apply to the Æ 4. Examples of a facing bust for Anastasius have been recorded on Byzantine silver stamps. As Dodd points out (op.cit., p. 9, note 35), we are not dealing with an individual likeness of an Emperor but rather with "a formal type-portrait adopted by Anastasius and used by his successors." The adoption of the facing bust on the coinage should be viewed in the same light as Justinian's adoption of the monogram of Anastasius. It serves both as a convenient abstract symbol of imperium as well as a definition of the name of the particular ruler.

[81] Fragment.

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⁂ (Z 5) in reel border[82]

399. *Obv.*: IV...
Emperor, facing front, nimbate
8–9 ↘ .55

400. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399, but bust flanked by cross on either side: † †
7–8 ↑ .44

*401. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|†
7–9 ↓ .66

402. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|†
8–9 ↓ .36

403. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|†
7–10 ↗ .48

404. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|†
8–9 ↗ .79

405. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|†
9–10 ↗ .62

406. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 ''' †
8 ↗ .45

407. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|'''
8–9 ↓ .45

408. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399
7–9 ↑ .37

409. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399
8–12 ↘ .54

ꝗ℔ (Z 6) in reel border[83]

*410. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399
7–10 ↓ .44

VANDAL ROYAL COINAGE

THRASAMUND

Victory running l., holding wreath[84]

*411. *Obv.*: DNRC...
9–11 ↓ .62

412. *Obv.*: DNR...
10 ↖ .40

413. *Obv.*: ...IASI
9–10 ↖ .58

414. 9–10 ↗ .55

[82] Examples of the type have appeared so far at Olympia (10; see above, type 4, p. 165) and at Caesarea (6; H. Hamburger, op.cit., p. 136, no. 114). It is a moot point whether the formula should be read as the letter A or as a triangle with one projecting side. The obverse in most cases seems to be anepigraphic.

[83] Unpublished. Its attribution to Justinian is on stylistic grounds.

[84] The assignment oj these coins to Thrasamund seems to us confirmed by the recent study of M. Troussel, "Les Monnaies Vandales d' Afrique Découvertes de Bou-Lilate et du Hamma," *Recueil des Notices et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Départment de Constantine* LXVII (1950–51), pp. 147–192. The letters are held to stand for *Dominus Noster Rex*. Cf. a similar type with obverse legend —ASI (cf. our coin 413) assigned by Sabatier (vol. I., p. 218, no. 6) and by Wroth (*BMC* 21, 37) to Thrasamund.

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HILDERIC

Reverse illegible, in wreath

415. *Obv.*: HILD...
9–10 .66

GELIMER

 (Z 1) in wreath *BMC* 16,4 *Var.*

*416. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
10–11 → .88

"VANDALIC"

N I (?) in reel border[85]

417. 10 → .89

Palm tree with fruit, in reel border[86] *BMC* 26, 68

418. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9 → .79

419. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ↓ .37

420. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ↗ .29

421. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–11 ↙ .63

422. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↙ .59

*423. Traces of letters
9 ↘ .46

424. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↘ .43

425. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–11 ← .68

426. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ← .57

427. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ← .48

428. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 .72

429. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 .71

430. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 .57

431. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–9 .45

432. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 .30

[85] The piece is too worn to permit of an exact description and it is quite possible that part of the type is off flan. In any case, the specimen is unpublished. Small bronze with N IIII are known in the Vandal series (*BMC* 7, 12), but the formula is always in two lines.

[86] For the possible attribution of this common type to Gelimer see above, p. 165, note 13. The obverse on these coins is very crudely done.

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Imitations[87]

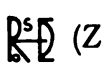
433. 8–9 ↓ .37
434. 8–10 ↖ .50
435. 8–9 ↗ .51
436. 7–8 ↙ .44
437. 7–9 ↙ .38
438. 8 ↘ .50
439. 6–8 .41
440. 8–9 .37
441. 7–8 .35

OSTROGOTHIC ROYAL COINAGE

THEODORIC

 (Z 1) in reel border *Kraus* 96,80

442. 9 ↓ .71

 (Z 2) in reel border *Kraus* 96,80 *Var.*

443. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↑ .54

Indeterminate monograms in reel border

444. 8 .45
445. 8–9 .52

ATHALARIC(?)[88]

MI
IA in reel border

*446. *Obv.*: ATḤ...
9 ↗ .63

[87] The obverse is in all instances anepigraphic.
[88] Unpublished. The reading of the first I on the reverse is doubtful and the ascription to Athalaric, who is not otherwise represented in the hoard, is open to question.

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BADUILA

 (Z 1) in wreath[89] *BMC* 89,24; *Kraus* 196,69

447. *Obv.*: ...PFAVG
9–10 ↓ .82

448. *Obv.*: ...AVG
8–9 ↓ .62

449. *Obv.*: ...AVG
9 ↓ .59

450. *Obv.*: ...AVG
7–10 ↓ .42

451. *Obv.*: ...AVG
8–10 ↙ .75

452. *Obv.*: ...VG
9 ↖ .49

453. 10–11 ↓ .87

454. 9–10 ↓ .70

455. 10 ↓ .83

456. 8 ↑ .69

457. 8–9 ↑ .66

 (Z 2) in wreath

458. 9–10 .76

459. 9 .64

 (Z 3) in wreath

*460. *Obv.*: ...TASI...
9–10 ↗ .52

$\overline{DN}^{*}_{B}$REX in wreath *BMC* 90,28; *Kraus* 196,71

461. *Obv.*: ...SAVG[90]
9–10 ↑ 1.06

462. 8–9 ↑ .75

463. 7–8 ↑ .61

464. 9–10 ↑ .42

*465. 9 ↓ .64

466. 8–9 ↗ .76

467. 9–10 .57

[89] The obverse of these pieces shows the head of Anastasius, who remains on Baduila's bronze until replaced by a portrait of the king himself. There is no evidence that Baduila ever struck bronze with the head of Justinian, who was after all his enemy. Reference to such coins at Sessa Aurunca in Italy (A. Levi, "Sessa Aurunca. Tesoretto di monetine di bronzo bizantine follari o nummi," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, Serie Quinta, XVI (1919), p. 357) bearing the monogram of Baduila with the legend DN IVSTINIANVS PP AC issuspicious. Silver pieces with the head of Justinian are extremely rare and are to be assigned to the very beginning of the reign before the change (see *BMC*, p. 85).

Coins 447–495 and 511 were struck at Baduila's capital, Ticinum (See Kraus, op.cit., p. 183; *BMC*, pp. 89ff.).

[90] These coins have the bust and legend of Anastasius on the obverse.

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DN REX in wreath
B

468. 9 .77
469. 8–9 .59
470. 9–10 .44

DN REX in wreath *Kraus* 197,73
B

471. *Obv.*: ...AVG
8–9 ↓ .76
472. 9 ↑ .87
473. 8–9 ↑ .61
474. 9–10 ↓ .73
475. 8–9 ↓ .71
476. 10–11 ↘ .62
477. 8–9 ← .51
478. 9–10 .45

DN REX in wreath *Kraus* 197,74
B

479. *Obv.*: ...AS...
8–9 ↓ .67
480. *Obv.*: ...SAVG
8–9 ↖ .58
481. *Obv.*: ...SAVG
10 ↙ .75
482. *Obv.*: ...AVG
9 ↑ .55
483. *Obv.*: ...AVG
8 ↓ .41
484. 8–9 ↑ .65
485. 9–10 ↑ .64
486. 10 ↓ 1.00
487. 10 ↓ .86
488. 9–10 ↓ .47
489. 8–9 ↗ .60
490. 8–9 ↗ .48
491. 8 .79
492. 10 .79

DN REX in wreath
B

493. *Obv.*: ...AV.
8–9 ↓ .69

DN REX in wreath
B

494. 9–10 .75

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$\overline{\dot{D}\dot{N}}$ REX in wreath
B

495. 9–10 ↓ .60

Imitations

$\overline{DN}^{*}_{B}$REX in wreath

496. *Obv.*: . . .RIA2
9–10 ↓ .70

497. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↓ .83

Lion advancing r., within wreath[91] *BMC* 94,50; *Kraus* 198,80

498. *Obv.*: DNB ADVI. .
Bust of Baduila, beardless, facing, wearing crown and robes
9–10 ↑ .51

*499. *Obv.*: DNB ADVI. .
Same as No. 498
10–12 ↓ .93

500. *Obv.*: DNB. . .
Same as No. 498
9–11 ↑ 1.01

501. *Obv.*: DNB. . .
Same as No. 498
11–12 ↓ 1.05

502. *Obv.*: DNB. . .
Same as No. 498
9–11 ↓ .76

503. *Obv.*: . .B A. . .
Same as No. 498
9–10 ↗ .53

504. *Obv.*: . . .VILA
Same as No. 498
9 ↙ .37

505. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
9–10 ↑ .92

506. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
9–10 ↑ .52

507. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
9 ↓ .62

508. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
9–10 ↓ .51

Imitations

509. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
6–8 ↑ .26

510. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
7 ↗ .22

[91] Minted at Rome (see Kraus, op.cit., p. 183; *BMC*, p. 94). Wroth points out that these coins are on the model of the small bronze of Justinian also minted at Rome with the same reverse (*BMC* p. 94, n. 1 and pl. XVI, 9, 10).

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Æ 3[92]

[DN] in wreath *BMC* 91,38; *Kraus* 196,68
[BADV]
ELA
REX

*511. 10–14 ↓ 1.29

OSTROGOTHIC

Æ 3

Unidentifiable fragment, in reel border[93]

512. ...A
9–13 .88

UNCERTAIN

Æ 4

Lion standing l., looking back; no border[94]

*513. * above lion
11 ↓ 1.19

HOWARD L. ADELSON AND GEORGE L. KUSTAS

[92] A 10-nummi piece which has been severely cut down.
[93] The piece has been severely cut down so that further identification is impossible. Perhaps same as preceding.
[94] The bust is badly gouged. Although the legend cannot be read there are enough traces of letters remaining to make it certain that this is not a coin of Leo. Likewise, it can not be assigned to Baduila, whose lion series shows consistently a facing bust on the obverse and a lion striding right. The same description applies to the coins of Justinian minted at Ravenna. The coin is very well made and shows traces of a mint mark. It should possibly be assigned to the late fifth or early sixth century and considered an Italian imitation of Leo's issues with standing lion types.

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TABLE OF MONOGRAMS IN THE ZACHA HOARD

MARCIAN



V1 V5 V7

LIBIUS SEVERUS



V1

LEO I



V1 V2 V5

ZENO



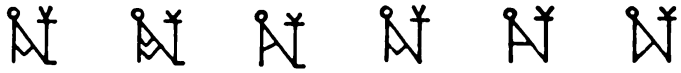
V4 V5

BASILISCUS



V1

ANASTASIUS OR JUSTINIAN



Z1 Z2 Z3 Z4 Z5 Z6

JUSTIN I



Z1 Z2 Z3 Z4

SIXTH CENTURY



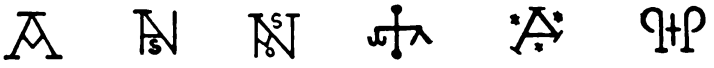
Z1

JUSTIN OR JUSTINIAN (?)



Z1

JUSTINIAN I



Z1 Z2 Z3 Z4 Z5 Z6

GELIMER



Z1

THEODORIC



Z1 Z2

BADUILA



Z1 Z2 Z3

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THREE MORE HOARDS OF BYZANTINE COPPER[1] COINS

(See Plates XXXI–XXXIX)

Two hoards of Byzantine coins belonging to the University of Nebraska have been loaned me for study by the Rev. I. C. G. Campbell, the University's Curator of Coins and the donor of the hoards. They are here published with his permission and with my great gratitude for his generosity and his patience in what neither of us expected to be so long an operation. Correspondence about them with Mr. D. M. Metcalf of Oxford, England, makes it clear to me that a more searching analysis of details and more recorded weights would yield more information, but as it is apparent that I am not going to have the time that such further study would demand, I must content myself with this brief presentation, somewhat supplemented by notes that I have transmitted to him on particular points which he raised. I hope they will be useful for his further researches in a field where he has no superiors and fewer competitors than he could wish.

The third hoard here presented was aquired near Troy in the 30's.

ISTANBUL HOARD A OF 1946

In 1946 Mr. Campbell acquired in Istanbul a large hoard of scyphate coins extending from John II to Alexius III. He had good reason to believe that it was actually found in the city and that it was complete. For the most part the types are familiar but the flans are distinctly smaller than those published by Wroth: 20–23 mm. as against about 30 mm. The difference in the diameter of the dies themselves is only between ca. 16 mm. for the specimens in the hoard and ca. 18 mm. for the published examples, but it is enough to show that they were

[1] I have abandoned the convention of calling these coins bronze since analysis shows that they are predominantly copper.

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prepared for different sized flans. There is no sign of these having been cut down after striking. Except for the earliest pieces the metal is copper which has been silvered as is plainly visible on many of them. John continued to use billon for these small coins as he did for the larger ones of Wroth's Types 5, 6 and 7. One of his specimens, however, seems to have been silvered copper so that perhaps we may conclude that the new fashion came in at the end of his reign. The flans are neatly made and the dies are competently cut. The inscriptions never appear complete and seldom appear at all but the coins as a whole look neither barbarous nor degenerate. Their fabric is exactly like that described for a much smaller group, the Istanbul Hoard of 1933, *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, 1958, pp. 169–171. That also consisted of coins of Manuel I, Andronicus I, Isaac II and Alexius III, and therefore supports the evidence of the present hoard.

The combination of the two and the fact that this fabric appears so rarely elsewhere makes a prima facie case for the theory that they were struck at the capital. It is, however, by no means clear what their relation is to the large flans published by Wroth and heretofore considered the standard scyphate issues of base metal. We have no convincing published evidence for the provenance of those, but if they also are not products of the mint of the capital we must find some other origin for what are the most impressive examples of this class. If they do all come from the same city we must explain the simultaneous issue of two strictly parallel series. The explanation that comes to mind first is that of two different denominations, and this may indeed be the true one. Remarks on that possibility with regard to different types may be found in Bellinger and Metcalf "A Hoard of Byzantine Scyphate Bronze Coins from Arcadia," *NC*, 1959, pp. 155–164 (but see the comment on p. 163, nos. 195–201).

Whatever the ultimate decision, the first step is the assembly of as much evidence as possible. The contents of the Istanbul Hoard A of 1946 is as follows.

John II, 1118–1143

1–7. Bust of Christ bearded nimbate facing. Almost obliterated.

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Rev.: Bust of John in crown, jewelled collar and divitision,[2] holding in r. cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. On one specimen ΠΤ, on one Δ. The full inscription should be, according to Wroth, ΙϢΔЄCΠΟΤΤΠΦVPOΓNT but our ΠΤ shows that there must have been variations.

PLATE XXXI, 1

These are like Wroth's Type 6 (*BMC*, pp. 562f., nos. 53–56) except for the size of the flans. The metal of six of them appears to be billon, as in the BM; one is copper that has been silvered.

Manuel I, 1143–1180

8–10. Bust of Christ beardless nimbate facing. Almost obliterated.

Rev.: Bust of Manuel in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and chlamys decorated with jewels, holding in r.

[2] It is impossible to be certain about the names of the garments. Our fullest information comes from Chapter 46(37) of Book I of the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus which is well summarized by James D. Breckenridge, "The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II," *NNM* 144, 1959, pp. 31f., 35–38. In the 10th century it would seem that there were three imperial garments of capital importance: the divitision, the chlamys and the loros. The first was a long tunic, the second a cloak fastened by a fibula on the right shoulder, the third a long narrow scarf worn around the body, one end generally falling over the left wrist. The divitision might be worn alone or with either of the others. All were essentially civilian garb, the third being a development of the ancient *consular trabea*. It is assumed that the garments that appear on these coins are forms of one or other of these three, though we hear also of two more called sagion and tzitzakion whose form we do not know, and the scaramangion seems to have been either a substitute for the divitision or the same article under a different name. But the illustrations do not exactly coincide with the descriptions. The divitision is said to have been decorated but its richness consisted chiefly in its woven or embroidered ornament. On the coins, however, the emperor is sometimes shown standing in a long robe decorated with three rows of jewels (e.g., *BMC*, pl. LXVI, 6–11). It is the upper part of such a robe which appears on the coins of John, our nos. 2 and 3. This is worn with a loros, also jewelled, which crosses it like a broad belt and is draped over the emperor's left wrist. Whether the long garment is a form of divitision or went by another name we cannot say. It is known that by the 14th century the names divitision and chlamys had given place to saccus and mandyas. Codinus, *De Officialibus Palatii Constantinopolitani* XVII, Bonn, p. 93, ll. 19f. ἐνδύεται ἐ πάνω τοῦ σάκκου καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος μανδύαν χρυσοῦν. Cantacuzenus in *Historia* I. 41, Bonn, p. 200, l. 6 calls the saccus ἡ πορφύρη. Further research may provide more information about 12th century regalia and we may have to abandon the use of 10th century terms.

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labarum, in l. *globus cruciger*. On one specimen MA, on two HΛ.

PLATE XXXI, 2

These bear the same relation to Wroth's Type 9 (*BMC*, p. 574, nos. 34–39) that the preceding ones do to Type 6 of John. The fact that there are only three specimens and that their obverses are much more worn than those of Manuel's other types gives ground for regarding this as his earliest issue, almost exhausted by the time the hoard was buried.

11–86. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$. Christ bearded nimbate seated on throne without back.

PLATE XXXI, 3

Rev.: MANϒHΛ to l. ΔЄCΠOT to r. (never complete and seldom legible at all). On l. Manuel in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and loros with star of jewels, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. To r. Mother of God nimbate crowning him. Beside her head to l. $\overline{\text{MP}}$ to r. $\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$. In 15 cases the jewels on the loros take the form ⁘ (XXXI, 4), in one ✳ (XXXI, 5); in all the others it is ∴ (XXXI, 6).

PLATE XXXI, 4–6

This is the smaller counterpart of Wroth's Type 11, Variety 1 (*BMC*, p. 575, nos. 40–47). The average wear is much less than on the preceding type.

87–105. Similar, but to l. and r. above seat of throne, stars.
Rev.: Same inscription and type. Jewel always ∴.

PLATE XXXI, 7, 8

This is the smaller counterpart of Wroth's Type 11, Variety 2 (*BMC*, p. 575, nos. 48–50). The degree of wear does not distinguish this from the preceding variety.

106–173. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$. Mother of God seated on throne with back.
Rev.: MANϒHΛ upward on l. ΔЄCΠOTHC downward on r. Manuel in crown, jewelled collar, divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus* with patriarchal cross (on two coins the *globus* bears a plain cross).

PLATE XXXI, 9–11

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This is like Wroth's Type 13, Variety 1 (*BMC*, pp. 576f., nos. 56, 57). The condition does not justify any theory as to whether this is an earlier or later issue than nos. 11–86 and 81–105. In view of the numbers included in this hoard, however, it is a fair presumption that the four issues of Manuel involved were the only ones issued on these small flans or at least that, if Wroth's Type 12 was so issued, it was in small quantity and so early in the reign as to have been no longer in circulation by the time the hoard was buried. Wroth's Type 10 is so rare that it cannot be considered a normal emission of the capital.

Andronicus I, 1183–1185

174–181. To l. and r. M̄P Θ̄V̄. Mother of God standing on dais. *Rev.*: ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟC upward on l. ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC downward on r. (Inscription never complete and mostly illegible). On l. Andronicus in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and loros with jewelled star, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. On r. Christ bearded crowning him.

PLATE XXXI, 12, 13

This is the smaller version of Andronicus' regular copper type (*BMC*, pp. 584f., nos. 5–9). Either he struck few coins in his short reign or they were recalled and restruck after his time.

Isaac II, 1185–1195

182–843. To l. and r. M̄P Θ̄V̄. Mother of God seated facing on throne with back (XXXI, 14).
Rev.: To l. and r. ICAAKIOC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC in columns. Isaac in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *anexikakia*. The jewels on the loros generally have the form ⁘ (XXXI, 15), but in 24 cases the design is ⊙ (XXXI, 16), in 5 it is a star (XXXI, 17). In 30 cases there is a star in the lower l. field (XXXI, 18).

PLATE XXXI, 14–18

844–894. Same type but back of throne decorated, in 34 cases with stars (XXXI, 19) to l. and r., in 13 cases with ⁝ (XXXI, 20), in 4 cases with ⁘.
Rev.: Same. In one case the jewels on the loros form ⊙, on all others ⁘.

PLATE XXXI, 19, 20

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Nos. 182–843 correspond to Wroth's Type 4 (*BMC*, pp. 592, nos. 19–31) of which the last two specimens have stars on the back of the throne. It may be questioned whether this difference is of any more importance than the presence or absence of a star in the lower field of the reverse and, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot say, but the constitution of the Arcadian Hoard (*NC*, 1959, p. 163) is well to bear in mind. There were only two coins of Isaac with stars on the throne's back and they of easily distinguished fabric and condition, marking them as strays in that hoard. There was one with ⁘ on the throne like the rest of the hoard in appearance but 67 pieces had the throne undecorated. While it is possible that we have to do here with nothing more than the engraver's preference, as I believe to be the case with the variations of the jewels on the loros, we will do well to suspend judgment until we have more evidence in hand.

Alexius III, 1195–1203

895–1051. +KЄRO HΘЄI. Bust of beardless Christ facing. To l. and r. IC XC (XXXII, 1, 2).

Rev. On l. Alexius in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and loros with star (XXXII, 3), holding in r. *labarum*. On r. St. Constantine in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and jewelled loros, holding in l. *labarum*. They hold between them *globus cruciger*. Between their heads ⊙ (for ὁ ἅγιος). The star on the emperor's loros has sometimes a simplified form ⁙ (XXXII, 4, 5) or ⁘ (XXXII, 6–8).

PLATE XXXII, 1–8

In publishing the large specimens of this type Wroth divides them into two varieties: 1, *BMC*, pp. 602f., nos. 15–19 without the name Comnenus; 2, *BMC*, pp. 603f., nos. 20–36. His inscriptions are very fragmentary and they are equally so on our smaller coins. To judge from the traces of letters very few of which would be visible at all in an illustration—any more than Wroth's are—the legend to the left was intended to be AΛЄ∈Iω or AΛЄ∈Iω ΔЄC, to the right TΩ KωNCTANTI. Of these elements KωN can be read with certainty (XXXII, 9, 10); in several cases there is an upright ω at the top followed by K, KT, KTω or KωN downward (XXXII, 11, 12); once a fairly clear but unintelligible ωHO (XXXII, 13). There is none that can be surely attributed to Wroth's Variety 2. As less than one out of five have any semblance of letters, however doubtful, I have not attempted to divide the issue on that basis.

PLATE XXXII, 9–13

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1052–1088. Same type but no inscription except $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ to l. and r.
Rev.: Same. PLATE XXXII, 14, 15

This is the only instance in which the type may have been modified in the interests of adapting it to a smaller flan. None of the obverses of Alexius' larger bronze has this simplified type, which reverts to Manuel's Type 9 (*BMC*, pl. LXX, 3). However, there is a similar distinction between the two varieties of Alexius' gold Type 1, the former (*BMC*, pp. 599f., nos. 1, 2) with no inscription but $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$, the latter (*BMC*, p. 600, nos. 3–7) with the addition of KERO HEOI. The type there is Christ seated but the analogy would be suggestively close if it were not for the inscriptions of the reverse. If they paralleled the gold, the copper of this group should be without the name Comnenus, but one of our coins certainly seems to read KOM—(XXXII, 16, 17?) and since no such inscription can be read on any coin of nos. 895–1051 the analogy of the gold holds for neither of these copper varieties.
PLATE, XXXII, 16, 17

ISTANBUL HOARD B OF 1946

In contrast to the homogeneity of the Istanbul Hoard A of 1946, a smaller but more diversified group was acquired by Mr. Campbell, also in Istanbul in 1946. It does not, however, show the characteristics which one would expect. The distinctive issues which compose the previous hoard are here represented by two coins only: Nos. 224 and 251. Nos. 1–7 are the only specimens of what we are accustomed to think of as the normal copper scyphates. On the other hand the presence of Manuel's coins of Fabric B (nos. 8–65) and of Theodore's coins (nos. 252–448) parallels the Troad Hoard, while the prominence of Manuel's Fabric C connects this hoard with that from Arcadia (*NC*, 1959, pp. 155–164). This combination of Fabric B and Fabric C is somewhat surprising since they give every indication of issuing from different mints. It is possible that this is a modern conflation of two different hoards but it is equally possible that it is an ancient collection made by a traveller in different places. It does not seem likely that the collection was made in Constantinople itself no matter how the coins finally got there.

Alexius I, 1081–1118

1. Christ bearded seated on throne with back. Details obscure.

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Rev.: Inscription illegible. Half-length figure of Alexius in divitision and jewelled chlamys, holding in r. short cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. PLATE XXXIII, 1

BMC, p. 543, nos. 14–21, Type 4.
The flan is thin with rough edges, the obverse much worn. Traces of silvering.

John II, 1118–1143

2. To l. and r. IC XC. Bust of Christ bearded. Details obscure.
Rev.: IΩ ΔЄCΠOTT Π[. Half-length figure of John in divitision decorated with three rows of jewels, holding in r. short cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. PLATE XXXIII, 2, 3

BMC, p. 562, no. 53, Type 6.
Flan fairly regular, both sides worn; traces of silvering.

3. Same type.
Rev.: Inscription]VPOΓ[. Same type.
PLATE XXXIII, 2, 3

Less worn but with no traces of silvering. The style seems rougher.

Manuel I, 1143–1180

The coins of Manuel in this hoard may be divided into three general classes by fabric.

A. Flans large and smooth with traces of silvering. The inscriptions are small and clear but not wholly visible since the coins show signs of much wear. The workmanship is good and is like that of the issues of Alexius I and John II.

B. Flans large but irregular and with no trace of silvering; the edges are frequently bevelled. The inscriptions are large and clear. The workmanship is good.

C. Flans irregular and varying in size, sometimes very small. There is no trace of silvering. There is seldom any legible inscription. The types are poor and carelessly struck.

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FABRIC A

4, 5. Bust of Christ beardless. Worn and obscure.
Rev.:]HΛ ΔЄC. Half-length figure of Manuel in divitision and chlamys decorated with a star, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. PLATE XXXIII, 4
BMC, 574, nos. 34–37, Type 9.

6. To l. and r. IC XC. Christ seated on throne without back.
Rev.: Above MP to r. ΘV ΔЄCΠ. On l. Manuel in divitision and loros decorated with ⁘ holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. To r. Virgin crowning him.
PLATE XXXIII, 5, 6
BMC, p. 575, nos. 40–47, Type 11 but *BMC* has M (MP no. 43) instead of MP.

7. Similar type but stars to l. and r. above seat of throne.
Rev.: To r. ΘY ΔЄCΠ. Similar type but loros has ⁖ and Manuel holds cross. PLATE XXXIII, 7, 8
BMC, p. 575, nos. 48–50, Type 11, but no mention of cross instead of *labarum*.

FABRIC B

8–41. To l. and r. IC XC. Christ bearded nimbate seated on throne with back. In six cases there is a cross within the nimbus and one pellet in the limbs of the cross (generally one limb visible); in two cases the cross bears ⁖.
Rev.: On l. upward MANOVHΛ on r. downward ΔЄCΠOTHC. Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. sword downward, in l. *globus cruciger*.
PLATE XXXIII, 9–15
Variations of the inscriptions occur: Six times MANOVH ΔЄCΠOTHC. Three times MANOVHΛ ΔЄCΠOTHC. Once MANϒHΛ ΔЄCΠOTH. These may be considered normal. There are also abberations whose misplaced, malformed or omitted letters prove nothing except the general ineptitude of the die-sinkers. The only thing that needs to be recorded is the fact that the great majority of inscriptions are wrong or imperfect.
Not in *BMC*. The flans are ca. 25–30 mm. in diameter, the dies ca. 15–20 mm. There is no sign of silvering.

42–60. Same type. In eight cases there is a cross with a pellet in its limbs within the nimbus.
Rev.: On l. upward ΔЄCΠOTHC on r. downward MANOVHΛ. Same type. PLATE XXXIV, 1–4

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The normal inscriptions are: Three times ΔЄCΠOTHC MANOVHΛ. Five times ΔЄCΠOTH MANOVHΛ. As in the preceding group more often than not the final C of ΔЄCΠOTHC is omitted. In five cases also the form ΔЄCΠOTIC appears.
Sabatier II, p. 209, no. 14, pl. LVI, 1. Not in *BMC*. The fabric is identical with that of nos. 8–41.

61–64. Same type. One with pellet in limb of cross.
Rev.: On l. upward MANOVHΛ on r. downward O ΠORΦHROГЄN. Same type. PLATE XXXIV, 5–7
The inscription is never complete. It appears as:

OVHΛ ΠORΦHROГ
OVHΛ ΠORΦH
VHΛ ΠORΦHP
O ΠORΦH

Not in *BMC*. Same fabric.

65. Same type.
Rev.: On l.]ROГЄΛHT on r.]NOVH. Double struck.
PLATE XXXIV, 8
Not in *BMC*. Flan broader (38 mm.) and partly flattened. Nos. 8–65 obviously belong together, because of the identity of the types. There is at present no evidence as to the order of issue of the different varieties. If they were struck at the capital it seems surprising that they have not been published more often.[3] Manuel uses the title Porphyrogennetos on his gold (*BMC*, pp. 566–569, nos. 1–16) but not elsewhere on his copper. The substitution of H for V is an anticipation of the difficulty that the die-sinkers of Nicaea were to have with the spelling of that word (*BMC Vandals*, pp. 210–213, nos. 1–24).

FABRIC C

1ST TYPE

66–68. Christ seated on throne without back. Stars to l. and r. above seat of throne.

[3] Aside from Sabatier II, p. 209, no. 14, the type is recorded from:
Pergamum. Kurt Regling, "Münzfunde aus Pergamon," *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, Oct.–Nov., 1914, Col. 5681; 1 of our nos. 8–41, 1 of our nos. 42–60, 1 that he records as with ΠORΦVP[.
Corinth. Katharine M. Edwards, *Corinth Vol VI, Coins*, p. 145, no. 143; 30 specimens of our first two varieties.
Athens. Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora Vol II, Coins*, p. 74, no. 1901, 1 specimen; 1 of a number of indications of difference between Athens and Corinth, *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, 1958, pp. 165f.

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Rev.: On l. Manuel in divitision and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. On r. Virgin crowning him.

PLATE XXXIV, 9–11

These are the types of no. 7 but the appearence is quite different. The flans are irregular and there is no trace of silvering. The workmanship is poor.

69–71. Similar type.
Rev.: Similar but Manuel holds *labarum* instead of cross.

72–77. Similar type.
Rev.: Similar but what Manuel holds in r. cannot be distinguished.

78–81. Similar but stars not visible.
Rev.: Similar but Manuel holds cross in r.

82–87. Similar. Stars not visible.
Rev.: Similar but Manuel holds *labarum*.

88–91. Similar. Stars not visible.
Rev.: Similar but what Manuel holds in r. cannot be distinguished.

It is clear that nos. 66–91 form a single group. Although the types are those of no. 7 the superior fabric and workmanship of that piece sets it apart from these miserable coins, which are hardly possible to illustrate. It is to be doubted that the variation between cross and *labarum* in Manuel's hand marks a difference of issue though, of course, that is possible. Probably of more significance is the pair of stars above the seat of the throne which are noted in *BMC*, p. 575, nos. 48–50. The striking is so poor that it is frequently impossible to see them but there is no case where they are surely absent as they are on no. 6.

2ND TYPE

92–149. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$. Virgin seated on throne with back.
Rev.: In one case on l. upward MANO in two cases traces of letters; in one case on r. downward ΔЄCΠOT in one case ΔЄC. Otherwise no visible inscriptions. Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. long cross, in l. *anexikakia*. PLATE XXXIV, 12–15

Cf. *BMC*, p. 577, no. 58 where the *anexikakia* is called sword. The fabric there is different and the inscription is in panels to l.

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and r. These flans vary in diameter from 21 to 25 mm.; the figure of the emperor varies in height from 11 to 15 mm. The workmanship is invariably poor.

150–215. Similar type.
Rev.: Similar type. The *anexikakia* cannot be distinguished though there is no sign of the *globus* shown on *BMC*, p. 577, nos. 56f. Probably they are just like nos. 92–149.

The still poorer appearance of nos. 92–215 makes it apparent that they succeeded nos. 66–91. Everything points to the operation of a mint without competent workmen putting out a great deal of money in a hurry.

Not clearly belonging to any of the above groups by fabric

216. To l. $\overline{\text{IC}}$. Christ seated on throne without back. To l. and r. stars above seat of throne.
Rev.: To r. ΔЄCΠOT. Half-length figure of Manuel in divitision decorated with three rows of jewels, holding in r. short cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. PLATE XXXV, 1, 2
Not in *BMC*. The obverse is very much like no. 8, though the condition makes any exact comparison impossible. The reverse type is borrowed from John II, Type 6 (nos. 2 and 3 above) but is quite unlike it. The figure is smaller and the inscription more careless and differently placed. Flan irregular. No trace of silvering.

217. To l. $\overline{\text{IC}}$. Same type.
Rev.: To r. ΔЄCΠ. Similar figure except that Manuel holds *anexikakia* in l. PLATE XXXV, 3, 4
Not in *BMC*.

218, 219. To l. MH. Virgin seated on throne with back.
Rev.: Inscription illegible. Emperor standing in divitision and loros, holding in r. short cross, in l. *anexikakia*. PLATE XXXV, 5
Not in *BMC* but the types are very much like Manuel. Flan rounder, like no. 7 but smaller. No trace of silvering.

220. Bust of bearded Christ. Beard represented by large dots. Very rough workmanship.
Rev.: Half-length figure of emperor in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. short cross, in l. *globus cruciger*.

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There are traces to the right which might be a very badly misformed ΔЄC. PLATE XXXV, 6

Not in *BMC*, but cf. pl. LXX, 5, 6 for the reverse type.

Isaac II, 1185–1195

221–223. To l. and r. M̄Ṟ Θ̄V̄. Virgin seated on throne with back. *Rev.*: To l. ICAAKIOC in a panel, to r. ΔЄCΠOTHC in a panel. Isaac standing in divitision and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *anexikakia*. In upper r. Manus Dei crowning him. PLATE XXXV, 7–12

The inscriptions are incomplete. They read:

IC ΔЄC
AA Π
KI

I ΔЄC
A ΠO
T
N

A Π
I
H
C

BMC, pp. 592f., nos. 19–31.

The flans are ca. 27 mm. There is no trace of silvering.

224. Same type.

Rev.: To l. AA to r. Δ (very obscure). Same type.

Π
O
T
H

The types and inscription are the same but the flan is only 21 mm. and the fabric is quite different from the foregoing. It is just like the coins illustrated in *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, 1958, pl. 9, 5–7 and there are traces of silvering. The appearance of this and no. 251 is so distinctive as to suggest a different denomination intended or a difference in place of striking.

225–227. To l. IC̄ and OЄMMA to r. X̄C̄ and NϬHΛ in panels. Bust of Christ bearded, nimbate, one pellet in cross.

The inscriptions are incomplete. The best preserved reads:

O
M N
A HΛ

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Rev.: No legible inscription. Emperor in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. The pearls of the loros beneath his l. hand are exaggerated. PLATE XXXV, 13–16

A specimen of this type is assigned to Isaac II in *NC*, 1959, pp. 163f. because of the resemblance of the obverse type to Isaac's copper, *BMC*, pp. 594f., Type 6 and because of the emperor's pointed beard. We repeat the attribution here because there is as yet no surer one to offer. There are, however, reasons for being doubtful. 1) The bust of Christ on Isaac's bronze is beardless; this one is bearded. 2) The exaggeration of the jewels is a characteristic of gold of Alexius I (*BMC*, pl. LXIV, 3) The traces of inscription on the rev. suggest a reading downward to r. whereas that on the scyphate bronze of Isaac is normally in a panel. 4) The only traces that can possibly be interpreted as a letter look like M to the lower r. which might belong to Alexius III, *BMC*, pp. 603f., Type 4, Variety 2. The question cannot be settled until a really legible specimen is found.

Alexius III, 1195–1203

228–231. To l. and r. IC XC; to l. upward +KERO to r. downward HΘEI (i.e. KYPIE BOHΘEI). Bust of Christ beardless nimbate ⁘ in limbs of cross. The inscriptions are incomplete. The best preserved reads: RO Θ E I.

Rev.: No legible inscription. On l. Alexius in divitision and loros, holding *labarum* in r.; on r. St. Constantine in divitision and loros holding *labarum* in l.; they hold *globus cruciger* between them. PLATE XXXVI, 1–4

BMC, pp. 602–604, nos. 15–36, Type 4. It is impossible to tell whether these belong to Wroth's Variety 1 or 2.

232–250. Same type. Details obscure.

Rev.: Same type. Details obscure.

251. To l. and r. IC XC. No other inscription. Same type.

Rev.: No inscription visible. Same type.

PLATE XXXVI, 5, 6

Like no. 224 this is a small neat flan which bears traces of silvering. Not only its appearance but also the omission of the major inscription on the obv. sets it apart from nos. 228–250 and shows that it belongs with *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, p. 170, nos. 22, 23.

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Theodore Lascaris I, 1204–1222

252. To r. ΘV. Virgin seated on throne without back.
Rev.: No inscription visible. On l. Theodore in divitision and loros, holding in r. *labarum*. On r. St. Theodore in military dress holding in l. spear. They hold long patriarchal cross between them. PLATE XXXVI, 7
BMC Vandals, p. 208, nos. 4–9.

253. Similar type. Very obscure.
Rev.: Traces of letters to l. and r. Similar type. Peculiar style and fabric. Flattened. PLATE XXXVI, 8, 9

254–447. To l. and r. IC XC. Christ seated on throne without back. In 54 cases to l. and r. stars above seat of throne. In some further cases stars may have been on the die but in many cases they were certainly absent.
Rev.: To l. ΘЄΟΔΩΡΟC ΔЄCΠΟΤΗC in panel, to r. KOMNHNOC O ΛACKAPHC. Sometimes stars in lower field l. or r. The inscription is never completely preserved, but all the elements of it are found. Theodore in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *anexikakia*. Above, Manus Dei crowning him.
PLATE XXXVII, 1–11
This type is like Sabatier II, p. 301, no. 1, pl. LXVI, 7 and *BMC Vandals*, p. 195, no. 4, pl. XXVI, 4 with some differences. Sabatier's emperor holds a scepter and *globus cruciger*, Wroth's a *labarum* and *globus cruciger*. Sabatier's inscription is given as ΘЄΟΔΟΡΟC ΔЄCΠΟΤΗC KOMNHNOC O ΔϒKAC; on the BM coin the words on the right are obliterated. The name Ducas accounts for the attribution by Sabatier and Wroth to Theodore Angelus Comnenus Ducas, Emperor of Thessalonica. But similar as is our type it cannot belong to that Theodore for our emperor certainly bears the name Lascaris, the family name of the two Theodores of Nicaea. The elder had married a daughter of Alexius III and without further right had adopted the name Comnenus which was much more distinguished than his own. Signor T. Bertelè, whose eminence in the field of later Byzantine numismatics is well known, calls my attention to further evidence of this borrowing of Theodore I: G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* II (*Fontes Rerum Austriacharum* XIII), pp. 205–207 and Heisenberg *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums*, 1923, II, p. 25. Whether this impressive combi-

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nation of names was adopted on his first being crowned in Nicaea in 1206 or was a later confirmation of the security of his position we cannot say. His other copper type seems to bear only ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC and the silver, of which a considerable body has lately been published ("A Hoard of Silver Coins of the Empire of Nicaea," *Centennial Volume of the American Numismatic Society*, 1958, pp. 73–81) has no more than ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC.

Uncertain Emperor

448. To l. I]C to r. X[C. Christ bearded seated on throne without back. He is nimbate with one or two pellets in the limbs of the cross within the nimbus. To lower l. oval of dots whose function cannot be determined; it may have been decoration of the throne. The surface is pitted and corroded so that much of the detail is lost.
Rev.: No legible inscription except for marks on the lower r. which might include the letters ΔЄ. Emperor in divitision (?), chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum* in l. *globus cruciger*. Apparently double struck for the four pearls to the r. of the crown are repeated farther to the r. and above. PLATE XXXVII, 12, 13
This does not seem to be any published type and it may be an unofficial issue. Not only has the oval of dots on the obverse no parallel but the emperor's undergarment which, if it is the divitision ought to extend to the ground, ends above the ankles giving the appearance of misunderstood military costume.
Signor Bertelè believes that this is a coin of John II and points out that it belongs with Ratto (1930), nos. 2101 and 2102.

449–469. Illegible scyphate pieces of the same period as the rest of the hoard.

THE TROAD HOARD

A smaller hoard found in the Troad provides valuable evidence because its provenance is sure and it is reasonably certain that it is complete.

Manuel I, 1143–1180

FABRIC B

1–14. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$. Christ bearded nimbate seated on throne with back.

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Rev.: On l. upward MANOVHΛ on r. downward ΛЄCΠO THC. Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. sword downward, in l. *globus cruciger*.

PLATE XXXVIII, 1–4

15. Similar.
Rev.: Similar but much smaller and carelessly drawn. Apparently overstruck on an earlier type.

PLATE XXXVIII, 5, 6

This resembles the foregoing more than any other known type, but its appearance is so unlike that, in default of any recognizable inscription, it must be considered doubtful. It may be a local or unofficial issue.

16–23. Similar.
Rev.: On l. upward ΔЄCΠOTHC on r. downward MANOVHΛ. In one case the inscription on r. is MANϒHΛ Δ. The final Δ is apparently a mere error. Same type.

PLATE XXXVIII, 7–12

FLAT FABRIC

24. To l. and r. $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$. Bust of Christ (beardless?) nimbate.
Rev.: On l. upward MANOVHΛ (badly blundered and obscure). Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*.

PLATE XXXVIII, 13, 14

This is like the coin attributed by Wroth to Manuel of Thessalonica, *BMC Vandals*, p. 199, no. 4, pl. XXVI, 9 (which is the one previously published by Sabatier, II, p. 303, no. 2, pl. LXVI, 10). The only difference between the types is that here the emperor holds a *labarum* in his right hand; on the published coin it is a long cross. All the other details, however, are so similar that there is no doubt that the emperor is the same. This also may be a local or unofficial issue but I agree with the opinion of Bertelè that it is a coin of Manuel Comnenus and not of Manuel of Thessalonica.

25. Virgin seated. Very obscure.
Rev.: No inscription legible. Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *anexikakia*.

PLATE XXXVIII, 15

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Probably either *BMC*, p. 577, no. 58 or previous hoard nos. 92–149. This fabric is better than those but the details are not clear enough to be sure.
Except for nos. 15, 24 and 25 these all belong to the same series of Manuel already listed in the previous hoard, nos. 8–65. It is significant that they were found in Asia Minor together with coins of Theodore Lascaris and unaccompanied by any of the other types of Manuel whose abundance is so well known—unless no. 25 be an exception.

Isaac II, 1185–1195

26, 27. To l. $\overline{IC}$ and O[Є]MMA to r. $\overline{XC}$ [NϒHΛ] in panels. Bust of Christ (bearded?) nimbate.
Rev.: No inscription legible. Emperor in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. The pearls of the loros beneath the l. hand are exaggerated. PLATE XXXIX, 1, 2
This is the type of nos. 225–227 of the previous hoard. The present specimens do not affect the uncertainty of its attribution.

Theodore Lascaris I, 1204–1222

28–31. Virgin seated. Very obscure.
Rev.: No inscription visible. On l. Theodore in divitision and loros. On r. St. Theodore in military dress, holding in l. spear. They hold patriarchal cross between them. PLATE XXXIX, 3–5
BMC Vandals, p. 208, nos. 4–9. Previous hoard no. 252.

32–140. To l. and r. $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$. Christ seated on throne with back.
Rev.: To l. ΘЄODΩPOC ΔЄCΠOTHC in panel, to r. KOMNHNOC O ΛACKAPHC in panel. Sometimes stars in lower field l. or r. Theodore in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *anexikakia*. Above, Manus Dei crowning him. PLATE XXXIX, 6–10
Previous hoard nos. 254–447.

There is a gratifying proportion of rarities in this hoard but more important is its general composition. Of its total of 140 pieces, 131 belong to two issues (considering nos. 1–14, 16–23 as a single group);

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22 of Manuel, 1143–1180, 109 of Theodore, 1204–1261. Now everybody knows that coins of Manuel are extremely common and it is not at all surprising to find them still circulating in the 13th century. But it is surprising to find that his coins in this hoard are not of the common types but almost all of a type practically unknown before. So also the great majority of the coins of Theodore belong not to the type already known from *BMC Vandals*, pp. 207–209, nos. 4–11 (5 of them from a single find in Cyprus) and *Greek and Byzantine Studies* Vol. I, pp. 163–168 (Piraeus, Corinth, Athens) but to an unknown one. The simplest explanation of these facts and, I believe, the correct one is that Manuel had a mint in Asia Minor which produced enough money for the district so that his successors did not need to supplement it with their own. But this regional money was not intended to move far from its place of origin, nor did it; hence its rarity in collections. In view of the similarity in style and fabric it is reasonable to suppose that the bronze of Theodore was issued from the same mint, and in the case of Theodore that mint was presumably Nicaea. We then have a workable hypothesis that Manuel had a mint at Nicaea the coins of which, like Theodore's, were sometimes used side by side with the products of other mints, as illustrated in the previous hoard, but may have been expected to satisfy the normal demands of a restricted region.

Why then is the earlier known type of Theodore so slightly represented here (nos. 28–31) and in the larger hoard (nos. 252, 253)? There are two available explanations: a difference in time or a difference in place. If the type with Theodore and St. Theodore was issued later its earliest specimens and those only might have been included with the large number of coins of Theodore alone. The condition of these few pieces does not favor this possibility; they seem rather more than less worn. It would be rash to rely too much on such an argument with coins like these but it is worth keeping in mind. If, on the other hand, Theodore had a second mint nearer the Aegean coast, that would explain why its products should have been carried as far as Corinth while at the same time they had some currency in such a district as the Troad.

We must not ignore the alternative: that the second type of Theodore was the product of Nicaea and that our coins were struck at a

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second mint in the interior which had previously been used by Manuel but not by his successors. It may be urged in favor of this that a second mint at Nicaea would have been unnecessarily close to Constantinople for Manuel, but it will be recalled that there were late Roman imperial mints at Heraclea, Cyzicus and Nicomedia as well as at Constantinople. It might be argued that the capital mint should be the source of the largest issue and that we now have far more specimens of our type than of the other, but a short time ago that would not have been true and in the future a single large hoard might reverse the picture. We can be sure that Theodore's coins were struck in Asia Minor and reasonably sure that one type of Manuel was also, but whether Theodore had one or more mints and which was Nicaea, we cannot settle definitely with the evidence in hand.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

PLATE XXXI. 1, John II; 2–11, Manuel I; 12–13, Andronicus I; 14–20, Issac II.
PLATE XXXII. 1–17, Alexius III.
PLATE XXXIII. 1, Alexius III; 2–3, John II; 4–15, Manuel I.
PLATE XXXIV. 1–15, Manuel I.
PLATE XXXV. 1–6, Manuel I; 7–16, Issac II.
PLATE XXXVI. 1–6, Alexius III; 7, Theodore I; 8–9, Theodore I(?).
PLATE XXXVII. 1–11, Theodore I; 12–13, Uncertain Emperor.
PLATE XXXVIII. 1–15, Manuel I.
PLATE XXXIX. 1–2, Issac II; 3–10, Theodore I.

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A MILIARESION OF ROMANUS III AND A NOMISMA OF MICHAEL IV

(See Plates XL–XLI)

One of the most beautiful coins in the Byzantine series is the miliaresion with the Virgin and infant Christ on the obverse and the emperor standing with patriarchal cross on the reverse. Encircling the figures on both sides is a hexameter verse, παρθένε σοι πολύαινε ὃς ἤλπικε πάντα κατορθοῖ, which begins on the side with the Virgin and thus denotes it as the obverse.

A choice example of this coin was recently added to the Byzantine collection of the American Numismatic Society and although it has been illustrated in the sales catalog[1] it seems desirable to publish it here with some additional comments. A full description of the coin is as follows:

Obv.: ✝ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ COIΠΟΛVAINE

The Virgin, draped and wearing nimbus, standing facing on footstool, holding infant Christ in l. arm and placing r. hand to her breast; Christ wearing nimbus, raises r. hand in benediction and holds scroll in l.; three linear borders ornamented with eight globules; $\overline{M}$ $\overline{\Theta}$ above, l. and r. in field.

Rev.: OCHΛΠIKEΠAN TAKATOPΘOI

The emperor standing facing on footstool, bearded, wearing crown with cross and long jeweled robe with loros which is draped over l. arm, holds long patriarchal cross in r. hand and *globus* surmounted by patriarchal cross in l. hand; three borders ornamented as on obverse.

2.91 gr. ↙ Plate XLI, 1

[1] *Münzen und Medaillen*, XXV (Nov. 17, 1962), no. 728. This specimen is of unusually small flan but it is not unique in this respect. Hirsch Cat. XXIV (1909), no. 3305 and Glendining Cat. (March 9, 1931), no. 672 illustrate specimens with small flans, and the gold coin of this type which is known only from Sabatier's collection is also of this small size. The weight is normal.

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The coin is remarkable in many respects. The figure of the Virgin is common on Byzantine coins but this is the only instance on the coinage of the type known as Hodegetria (the Conductress) in which the Virgin, standing or seated, holds the infant Christ in her left arm and places her right hand to her breast.

The Hodegetria is well known in other art media,[2] however, and along with the types portraying the Theotokos, received a stimulus from the Council of Ephesus in 431 which upheld the title "Mother of God" for the Virgin. Though probably of Egyptian derivation it was introduced to Constantinople from one of the eastern centers, Antioch or Jerusalem.[3] One tradition records that Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II, during her visit to Jerusalem in ca. 443, sent back to Constantinople an image of the Theotokos, reputedly painted by St. Luke and identified as the Hodegetria.[4] At any rate, it was an established form in Byzantine art at an early date and remained popular for centuries. The epithet Hodegetria is inscribed on several icons of the Virgin and thus has become the term commonly applied to this type. However, the same type does bear other epithets as well and there is reason to believe that the Virgin portrayed on this coin is the one known as Peribleptos. This question will be discussed below.

Also remarkable is the metrical inscription on the obverse and reverse of this coin. Only one other instance is known in the Byzantine series—that of an iambic trimeter legend on an issue of Constantine IX (1042–1055).[5] However, metrical inscriptions are common on Byzantine lead seals[6] and such verses or epigrams are well known from Byzantine literature[7] of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Iambic trimeter was the usual form on the seals and in the literature although a few hexameter verses are known too.

[2] For other examples of the Hodegetria, cf. G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (Paris, 1896–1905), vol. I, pp. 33, 181 and 489; vol. II, p. 192; vol. III, frontispiece.
[3] Cf. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Dover ed., New York, 1961), pp. 386 and 673.
[4] *Enkyklopaidikon Lexikon*, vol. 9, p. 954, s.v. ὁδηγήτρια.
[5] W. Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908), vol. I, p. lvi; vol. II, p. 502, nos. 16–17.
[6] W. Froehner, "Bulles métriques," *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique et d'archéologie* VI, 1882, 40–66; VIII, 1884, 312–42.
[7] Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 1897).

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The coin is attributed to Romanus IV in the standard catalogues but this is undoubtedly incorrect. It was first published in 1847 by Sabatier in his *Iconographie d'une collection choisie de cinq mille médailles* where it was attributed to John II Comnenus (1118–1143).[8] Two coins of this type were described, one of gold and one of silver, the former having a smaller flan. In a letter of Count de Salis to Sabatier in 1859,[9] de Salis stated his belief that the issue belonged to Romanus IV (1067–1071) and it is this latter attribution that appears in Sabatier's *Monnaies byzantines* (1862) and all successive catalogues.[10] However, as early as 1900 Hauberg pointed out the evidence of Danish imitations of this type which were issued in Skåne by Sven Estridsen before 1047.[11] The attribution to Romanus IV is then clearly impossible and Hauberg suggested Romanus III (1028–1034). The article was cited by Wroth but the evidence was not accepted and the coin was listed under Romanus IV. Since this evidence is not acknowledged in any of the standard catalogues it is perhaps worthwhile to review Hauberg's arguments and revaluate the evidence.[12]

The reverse type of the miliaresion, with the standing emperor holding a long patriarchal cross in his right hand and a *globus* surmounted by a patriarchal cross in his left hand, is found on Danish coins of Sven Estridsen, King of Denmark 1047–1075.[13] There can be

[8] J. Sabatier, *Iconographie d'une collection choisie de cinq mille médailles* (St. Petersburg, 1847), Byzantines Pl. Sup. XXIV, no. 32 (gold) and no. 33 (silver). However, F. de Saulcy describes the coin in his *Essai de classification des suites monétaires byzantines* (Metz, 1836), p. 246 and assigns it to John I Zimisces (969–976).

[9] *RN* 1859, 448.

[10] J. Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862), vol. II, p. 172, no. 6 (gold) and no. 7 (silver); Wroth, p. 525, Type 1; H. Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1928), p. 253, no. 5.

[11] P. Hauberg, "De l'influence byzantine sur les monnaies du Danemark au xi^e^ siècle," *Congres international de numismatique réuni à Paris, en 1900; Procès-verbaux et mémoires* (Paris, 1900), pp. 335–45.

[12] The evidence is accepted by Philip Grierson, however, in his article "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus" (*BZ* 54, 1961, p. 94) in reference to the nomisma of Michael discussed below.

[13] P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146* (Copenhagen, 1900); cf. pl. VIII and pp. 213f.; no. 1 is of medallic size and a faithful reproduction of the type and nos. 4 and 9 are close derivatives; types 1 and 4 = nos. 5 and 6 on pl. XXVI in the Congress Proceedings.

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no doubt that the type was copied from the Byzantine miliaresion in question. In the paper read at the International Numismatic Congress in Paris in 1900, Hauberg stated that the evidence of finds indicated that these imitations were issued by Sven before 1047 when he was a potentate in Skåne and contesting the throne with Magnus the Good.[14] The find evidence is listed and commented upon in Hauberg's study *Myntforhold* which appeared in the same year as the Congress Proceedings.[15] Five hoards (nos. 93, 97, 99, 100 and 101 listed on pp. 169–171) close with one or two specimens only of Sven Estridsen and presumably were deposited shortly after Magnus the Good's death in 1047. According to Hauberg, the issues of Sven included in these finds must date from the period of struggle for power between Magnus and Sven from 1044–1047.[16] These are types 4, 5, 6 and 8, of which 4 is a close derivative of the miliaresion. Type 1, the medallion and exact copy of the reverse of the miliaresion, is not known from any find, yet its analogies with type 4 must date it to the same period and it was undoubtedly the prototype of type 4.

The Danish evidence would seem to be conclusive in dating the coin before 1047 or shortly afterwards,[17] but other factors as well suggest an early date. There have been many reattributions in the Byzantine series as set forth by Wroth and for the eleventh century one can cite Grierson's "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century"[18] and "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus."[19] In these articles, certain gold issues of various emperors (Constantine, Romanus and Michael) are reattributed on the basis of the fineness of the gold. It can be noted that the tetarteron assigned

[14] "De l'influence . . .," op.cit., p. 341.
[15] See note 13.
[16] *Myntforhold*, op.cit., p. 215.
[17] Cf. Brita Malmer, "En Vikingatida Silverskatt från Gandarve i Alva på Gotland," in *Gotländskt Arkiv*, 1957, p. 32. However, Hauberg's contention that the Byzantine prototypes were introduced by the Norwegian prince, Harald Hardråde, when he returned to Scandinavia in 1046 after several years' service in the Byzantine armies, has been criticized. Cf. Erik Moltke, "De danske runemønter og deres praegere," in *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1950, p. 2 and Brita Malmer, "A Contribution to the Numismatic History of Norway During the Eleventh Century," in *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in suecia repertis* (Stockholm, 1961), p. 356.
[18] *BZ* 47, 1954, 379–94.
[19] *BZ* 54, 1961, 91–97.

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by Wroth to Romanus IV (p. 525, Type 3) belongs in fact to Romanus III.[20] These are gold coins, however, and they also bear the legend of a Romanus, neither of which is the case with our miliaresion. Nevertheless, Grierson believes that this coin also belongs to Romanus III and this has subsequently become quite apparent to me from a study of the style and from examination of the literary evidence.[21]

The miliaresion has a triple ringed border on both sides ornamented with eight globules on the center ring. This type of border was undoubtedly influenced by the Arab dirhem although the earliest miliaresion does not show these ornaments.[22] They first are noted on the silver coinage of Leo VI and, except for our miliaresion and another silver coin attributed to Romanus IV, are not evident after John I (969–976). If it can be expected that such ornamentation should fall within a more or less restricted chronological period, the miliaresion cannot be much later than the early eleventh century.

The weight of the coin is of some significance. It fits into the weight-group of silver coinage from the late ninth century down to the reign of Constantine IX (1042–1055).[23] With the succeeding silver coinage the weights have fallen considerably and are not restored until the time of Alexius I. In this case also, the miliaresion fits into the period before the mid-eleventh century.

An important factor is style. The form of the loros worn by the standing emperor is a common one on the late Byzantine coinage and is first noted on the gold coins of Romanus III. In the careful execution of the design and in the treatment of certain details, the miliaresion is most similar to these gold coins of Romanus III (PLATE XLI, 2). On both issues, the crown is identical in that the jeweled pendants on either side of the head terminate in two tear-

[20] *BZ* 47, 1954, 383.
[21] I am indebted to Philip Grierson who first suggested this to me in a letter.
[22] For the influence of the Arab dirhem on the Byzantine miliaresion, see George C. Miles, "Byzantine Miliaresion and Arab Dirhem: Some Notes on Their Relationship," in *ANSMN* IX, 1960, 189–218. Many of the early miliaresia were overstruck on dirhems but due to clipping, they do not show the Arab globules which are always outside the third ring.
[23] Wroth, vol.I, p. lxxvii; however, the data on the silver coinage are undoubtedly incomplete and may be subject to revision. For additional data on Constantine IX, cf. P. Grierson, "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 498–c.1090," in *Moneta e Scambi nell'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1961), p. 430.

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shaped beads rather than in three as in most other cases. The loros, also, on the miliaresion and on some of the gold specimens, is draped across the emperor diagonally while on all other emperors, it is perfectly straight.[24]

Above all, the literary evidence strongly favors an attribution to Romanus III who, according to Michael Psellus, was particularly devoted to the icon of the Virgin. Much of Psellus' account, actually, is concerned with Romanus' piety and the forms it took. The emperor was determined to build a church in honor of the Theotokos that would rival the church of St. Sophia built by Justinian I. This was the church of St. Mary Peribleptos, the building of which, according to Psellus, turned out to be "the cause of evil and the occasion for many injustices."[25] Romanus also was responsible for adorning St. Sophia and restoring the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Of special interest, however, in view of the figure of the Virgin on the coin and, particularly, of the hexameter verse accompanying the type—*Whoever puts faith in you, most glorious Virgin, is successful in all things*[26]—is another passage in Psellus. The sentiment expressed in this verse is reminiscent of Psellus' account of the near disaster suffered by Romanus in an ill-considered military venture. In a battle against the Arabs near Aleppo in 1030, the imperial forces were

[24] The only exception is found on the nomisma of Michael IV discussed below.
[25] Michael Psellus, *The Chronographia*, tr. E. R. A. Sewter (New Haven, 1953), III, 14.
[26] A similar sentiment is expressed on a miliaresion of Basil II and Constantine VIII (cf. Wroth, p. 476, Type 2 under John I). The legend, much abbreviated, reads Μήτηρ θεοῦ δεδοξασμένη ὁ εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει — *Glorious Mother of God, he who puts his hope in you will not fail.* This remarkable miliaresion also portrays the Theotokos but of the type known as Nikopoia with the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ. Traditionally attributed to John I, it has recently been assigned to Basil II (Ph. Grierson, "A Misattributed Miliaresion of Basil II," in *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines, No. VIII*$_1$. *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky I*, Belgrade, 1963, pp. 111–16). The occasion of the issue was in commemoration of a victory of Basil over Bardas Phocas in 989. The victory, surrounded by miraculous circumstances, was attributed to the intervention of the Mother of God. The parallels between this issue and our miliaresion are striking with respect to the legend and the portrayal of the Virgin and in view of her intervention at a critical moment in both emperor's lives. Romanus was undoubtedly aware of the earlier coin and, in a similar circumstance, was influenced in his choice of type and legend.

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ambushed and Romanus was cut off from his troops, who were routed. Wandering around by himself, Romanus came upon some of his own men in flight who recognized him by the color of his sandals. Then, Psellus says, "... someone came up with the ikon of the Theometor, the image which Roman emperors habitually carry with them on campaign, as a guide and guardian of all the army. This alone had not been taken by the enemy. When the emperor saw this beautiful sight (he was particularly reverent in his veneration for this ikon) he immediately took heart, and holding it in his hands—but no words can describe how he embraced it, how he bedewed it with his tears, how heartfelt were the words with which he addressed it, how he recalled Our Lady's kindnesses in the past and those many times when She, his ally, had rescued and saved the Roman power in moments of crisis. From now on he was full of courage ..."[27]

Though defeated, Romanus miraculously escaped with his life and, collecting his forces, returned to Constantinople. It was at this time that the church of St. Mary Peribleptos was constructed and perhaps also this was the occasion for the beautiful miliaresion with its dedicatory inscription, so appropriate in the light of his recent good fortune.

Of great interest for this association of the miliaresion with the church of St. Mary Peribleptos are the several icons of the Virgin of the so-called Hodegetria type from the monastery of St.Clement at Ochrida. One of these icons bears the epithet "Peribleptos" (PLATE XL)[28] while two others are identified as "Hodegetria" and "Psychosostria" but, in any event, they are not labeled exclusively Hodegetria although all are of the Hodegetria type.[29] The earliest representation of this type of the Virgin to be inscribed with the epithet Hodegetria, illustrated in Kondakov, is somewhat later than the eleventh century and it is apparent that several epithets were used for the same type.[30] Furthermore, the epithet Peribleptos seems to have been first applied to the Virgin by Romanus III, if one can believe Psellus when he

[27] Psellus, op.cit., III, 10–11.
[28] Reproduced from V. J. Djurić, *Icônes de Yougoslavie* (Belgrade, 1961), no. 8.
[29] N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonografia Bogomateri* (Petrograd, 1915), vol. II, p. 237 and figs. 102, 115 and 116.
[30] Ibid., figs. 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 102 and 108; cf. also fig. 106 inscribed Η ΕΟΛΕVCA.

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states, "It was his wish to honour the Theometor with some name of more than ordinary beauty. Unfortunately, he failed to notice that the epithet he gave her was in fact more suited to a woman than a saint ..."[31] In view of all this it would seem almost certain that the Virgin represented on this coin is the "Peribleptos" whom Romanus honored with a church.

Closely associated with this miliaresion, both in style and in the problem of its attribution is an uncommon nomisma, also in the collection of the American Numismatic Society and generally attributed to Michael VI. The description of the coin is as follows:

Obv.: +IHSXISREX RЄSNANTIHM

Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne without back, wearing nimbus, tunic and mantle; r. hand outstretched in benediction, in l. hand book of the Gospels with ⁘ on cover; three borders of dots.

Rev.: +MI XAHL ΔЄSTOT

The Archangel Michael, winged, standing l. facing, with tunic and mantle, holds *labarum* in r. hand along with the emperor who stands r. facing, with jeweled robe and loros; the *manus Dei* touches crown of emperor; three borders of dots.

4.38 gr. ↓ PLATE XLI, 3

This coin is even more rare than the miliaresion and although other specimens are known to exist in permanent collections, it apparently is not reproduced in sales catalogs.[32] The type with the Archangel Michael is unusual and marks his first appearance on the Byzantine coinage. That it is the Archangel Michael rather than another archangel is assumed from the name of the emperor.

The attribution of this coin has a history similar to that of the miliaresion. First published in Sabatier's *Iconographie* where it was attributed to Michael VII, it appeared later in Sabatier's *Monnaies byzantines* and all successive catalogs under Michael VI (1056–1057).[33] This coin also was imitated on the coins of Sven Estridsen which ap-

[31] Psellus, op.cit., III, 15.
[32] Grierson states (*BZ* 54, 1961, 94 n. 3) that he knows of only four specimens.
[33] *Iconographie*, Byzantines Pl. Sup. XXIV, no. 4; *Monnaies byzantines*, vol. II, p. 161, no. 2; Wroth, vol. II, p. 509, type 2; Goodacre, p. 236, no. 2.

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pear in the early finds dated shortly after 1047.[34] Hauberg suggested Michael IV or V as a more likely attribution but the evidence was ignored for Michael as well as for Romanus.[35] Recently, Philip Grierson assigned it to Michael V (1041–1042) on the basis of the fineness of the gold.[36] It is my belief that the coin belongs to Michael IV (1034–1041).

The Danish imitations of this coin and of the Romanus coin are dated to the period 1044–1047. It is clear that the Danish issues were of about the same time and it is suggestive that the Byzantine prototypes were also nearly contemporary. Further, the two coins reveal a uniformity of style that must place them very close to each other. The form of the loros is identical in both cases even to the diagonal sweep across the emperor. There is a triple border on our nomisma which is also found on the definitely attributed series of Michael IV[37] (PLATE XLI, 4) but not on the issue assigned to Michael V or VI.[38] Grierson's data for the fineness of the gold show conclusively that the nomisma cannot belong to Michael VI but do not help in the choice between Michael V or Michael IV. Of the two specimens examined by Grierson, one shows a figure of 21½ carats, the other 22½. In comparison, those of Michael IV were 23, 22, 20½, 21½ and 19½ carats.[39] The fact, however,

[34] Cf. Hauberg, *Myntforhold*, pl. VIII, types 7, 8 and 11 of which type 7 copies the obverse and reverse of the nomisma and types 8 and 11, the reverse only. Type 8 is included in the early finds mentioned above, pp. 230f.; type 7 = no. 3 on pl. XXVI in the Congress Proceedings.

[35] "De l'influence ...," p. 340 but in the *Myntforhold*, p. 128 he names only Michael IV.

[36] *BZ* 54, 1961, 94–95.

[37] Wroth, p. 496, nos. 1–5. The Dumbarton Oaks specimen also shows three rings while the line drawing in Sabatier's works shows two rings and is undoubtedly the source of Wroth's description.

[38] Wroth, p. 498, no. 1 (Michael V) which Grierson assigns to Michael VI (*BZ* 54, 1961, 94).

[39] *BZ* 54, 1961, tables II and III, pp. 93–95. The attribution to Michael IV means that Michael V is left without a coinage if Grierson's reattribution of Wroth, p. 498, no. 1 (Michael V) to Michael VI is correct (see n. 38 above). However, it would not be surprising that no coinage of the four-month reign of Michael V has survived to us. On the other hand, Grierson has not provided data on the fineness of this issue and, believing that such data would be helpful in determining the issuing authority of this coin, I tested the ANS specimen. The results were inconclusive, in my opinion, for the coin was of approximately 19 carat gold (specific gravity 16.5) which is a degree of fineness possible for either Michael V or VI if one can assume that the debasement initiated by Michael IV was continued by Michael V.

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that Michael IV was Romanus' immediate successor and reigned for seven years while Michael V's reign extended for only four months is a consideration favorable to the attribution of the coin to Michael IV.

Once again the literary sources are most helpful for they reveal to us circumstances that explain the minting of this special issue. About Michael IV we learn from Psellus that he was a very devout man and a very sick man. He was afflicted with epilepsy and dropsy, and concern over his health dominated most of his actions. Psellus states, "He tried various methods, such as prayers and purifications, in the hope of being cured, but he was confident of ultimate recovery for one reason in particular—the building of a church in honour of the Anargyroi, in a suburb of the city, on the east side."[40] It was a magnificent structure, according to Psellus, and when it was finished Michael dedicated it as a monastery. Psellus also states, "The object of all this was, in some measure, to honour the Deity, but the emperor also hoped to propitiate the 'Servants of God'; perchance they might heal his affliction. It was all in vain, though, for the measure of his life was fulfilled, and his health still continued to break up."[41]

The Holy Anargyroi were the saints, Cosmas and Damian, physicians of the third century who accepted no pay for their services and who were martyred under Diocletian.[42] The fact that it is the Archangel Michael portrayed on this coin is consistent with the emperor's actions and beliefs for the Archangel Michael was particularly venerated as a healer.[43] His cult flourished in various places where springs with medicinal waters were said to have been caused by him and at Constantinople he was the great heavenly physician. Illustrative of his worship as a healer is this poem from the Palatine Anthology: "Here is kept divine help for wretched men afflicted in mind or body. For vexing trouble at once is put to flight, Michael, by thy name, thy image, or thy house."[44] It is reasonable to infer that honoring St. Michael on this coin was another attempt on the part of the ailing emperor to propitiate a saint whose healing powers were well known.

JOAN M. FAGERLIE

[40] Psellus, op.cit., IV. 31.
[41] Ibid., IV. 32
[42] *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. IV, p. 403.
[43] Ibid., vol. X, pp. 275f.
[44] *The Greek Anthology* (Loeb Classical Library), tr. W. R. Paton, vol. I, Book I. 32.

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THE STAVRATON: EVIDENCE FOR AN ELUSIVE BYZANTINE TYPE[1]

(See Plates XLI–XLII)

To Umberto Dorini and Tommaso Bertelè economic historians owe a special debt. The publication of Giacomo Badoer's account book[2] affords a view of commerce in the Byzantine capital shortly before its demise that is unique both in wealth of detail and range of interests. This is surely the most useful document to be made available in the field since Evans's edition of Pergolotti.[3]

For the numismatist the *Libro dei Conti* is a mixed blessing; or, rather, a blessing in disguise. The information it purveys is concealed behind Venetian orthography and some unusual terms. The accounts are kept in a "language" that has to be learned:[4]

> a di dito per el dito ser Carlo Chapelo per
> l'amontar de livre 10 de stravati grievi dadi
> a Critopulo de la zecha de so hordene, a perp.
> 22 car. 6 ..... a c. 101 perp. 226. car. 6[5]

Further acquaintance with Badoer's columns elucidates both their manner and their contents. One phase, however, that does not readily offer a meaning is *stravati grievi*. Occurring rarely in the book,[6] on

[1] I am grateful to the staff of the American Numismatic Society, and in particular to Professor Howard Adelson, for much helpful advice in the preparation of this note. From the society's vault I have taken figures 1–4; figures 5 and 6 are after Laurent.

[2] Giacomo Badoer, *Il Libro dei Conti* (Rome, 1956).

[3] F. B. Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans, Mediaeval Academy of America (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

[4] Of one such difficulty the editors give forewarning: depending on the preceding verb, *per* in the text can mean "to" or "from"—an important distinction in business!

[5] Badoer, p. 179 (9 November, 1437).

[6] Bertelè, "L'Iperpero bizantino dal 1261 al 1453," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, LIX (1957), p. 86, suggests that the phrase occurs often (spesso). Inspection of the account book revealed only four occasions on which it is employed. Bertelè's article is devoted to an elucidation of some of the problems raised by Badoer's text. It is more enlightening about the Palaeologan economic situation than it is about the actual currency of the period.

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each occasion it describes coins weighed in bulk and then converted into the familiar *hyperpyra* and carats.

Evidently, in addition to his dealings in ginger, slaves, canvas, sugar, gold-leaf, horses, wine and other commodities, Badoer made a not insubstantial profit out of money itself. But we are concerned not so much with the *utilità* to which he put his specie as with the coins themselves. *Tornesi*, florins, aspers, *carlini* and ducats all appear: about none of these is there the darkness—unrelieved by Du Cange or any other lexicographer—that surrounds the *stravati*. The editor is of little help. Having established that the term refers to a silver coin "on which a cross is particularly visible,"[7] Bertelè abandons the problem. Certainly little more can be deduced from the text beyond the fact that *stravato* is a likely transliteration of σταυράτον and that this designation indicates an actual coin rather than a money of account.[8]

Is the name given to this coin-with-a-cross merely a piece of commercial *argot* used only in the capital towards the middle of the fifteenth century? No *stravato* appears in the list of one hundred and sixty-eight coins in the *Pratica della Mercatura*, written almost exactly a hundred years before Badoer closes his accounts, despite its author's long residence in the eastern Mediterranean in the service of the Bardi and his almost certain visits to his bank's branch in Constantinople.[9] The *lacunae* in Pegolotti's work have been justly observed,[10] but it is improbable that he would have omitted such a term had it been current commercial usage in his time. Again, if the *stavraton* was simply a local nickname for the *hyperpyron* it would be unlikely to occur in a foreigner's business accounts. *A fortiori*, it would not appear with the infrequency that it does in the *Libro dei Conti*, a rarity that suggests the author especially noted the coin by name rather than using it loosely as a synonym for the more usual designation.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Professor G. L. Kustas has suggested that *stavraton* could, by extension, indicate a crooked or bent coin. Its use in the context of Badoer's account, however, precludes such an interpretation.

[9] Evans, op.cit., pp. xx–xxi.

[10] P. Grierson, "The Coin List of Pegolotti," *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, I (Milan, 1957), 492.

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That the name was not, in fact, confined to the mercantile world of the capital is indicated in a nearly contemporary Greek source, an anonymous document known to numismatists for nearly fifty years. On end-papers used to strengthen a thirteenth century codex of Aristides, Sokrates Kugeas discovered the personal *aide-memoire* and account-book of an important churchman of Thessalonika.[11] These notes cover a period from 1419 to 1437 and deal mostly with the cleric's ecclesiastical revenue. Being obviously incomplete, they give no impression of a formal account-book. For our purposes it is of greater importance that they record his petty receipts than that they present a thorough picture of his finances. It is our good fortune that he reveals himself to posterity as much concerned with secular things as was Giacomo Badoer. These receipts, while less systematic than the Venetian's, show where lay at least one Greek ecclesiastic's treasure and his heart also.

His piece-meal accumulation is lovingly recorded; with pleasure the cleric notes that between October, 1425 and November, 1426 he received a monthly increment of ten *stavrata*.[12] He uses the term often by itself, sometimes adjectively to qualify *nomismata*. The *hyperpyron* figures less frequently: where it does occur it is never accompanied by *stavraton*.

An entry of 1426 provides us with an exchange of twelve *stavrata* for one hundred aspers.[13] And this rate is sufficiently close to that given by Badoer—asp. 11 *a perparo*[14]—for us to be certain that the *stavraton* and the *hyperpyron* represent the same unit of value. When associated with the *nomisma*—as they are in both the Venetian and Thessalonikan texts—we are faced with the problem of three names for the same concept. Any solution must wait upon the numismatic evidence. However, since our two sources are not exactly con-

[11] "Notizbuch eines Beamten der Metropolis in Thessalonike," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIII (1914–1919), pp. 143–163. In his notes, Kugeas determines the chronology of the entries and where they were written. This dating and location (Thessalonika and Constantinople) I have followed throughout.

[12] Ibid., p. 150.

[13] This passage is quoted by V. Laurent, "το πολίτικον, monnaie divisionnaire de l'époque des Palaeologues," *Cronica Numismatica Si Arheologica* (Bucharest), CXIV (1940), p. 17, where he ascribes the passage to 1452. As far as I can determine, Laurent has been the only Byzantinist to make use of Kugeas's text.

[14] Badoer, p. 253 and passim.

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temporary it is worth digressing to see what information can be gleaned from their differences.

We should expect variants of value for together the two account-books cover nearly a quarter of a century. To the Greek, in 1426, twelve and one half aspers were worth one *hyperpyron*. To Badoer, a decade later, the exchange rate was 11:1. Had the asper weakened or the *hyperpyron* strengthened? At the same time, the ecclesiastic notes that the *hyperpyron* is worth one fourth of the Φλοριον βενέτικον.[15] For the ducat—which is undoubtedly the coin in question—the merchant would give not more than three *hyperpyra*. Thus on two separate, if related, exchanges the Greek currency seems to have hardened. This may only have been a temporary rallying but it nonetheless should give pause to those who have suggested a progressive and inflexible devaluation of the *hyperpyron* under the later Palaeologi.[16] Much more comparative study of the account-books needs to be done before we will be able to trace the Palaeologan monetary situation in its true complexity. But it is already evident that the postulate of an unswerving descent into fiscal and monetary chaos is a gross oversimplification. The capital, at least in the period of Badoer's accounts (1436–1440) remained a thriving commercial center. Written a hundred years after Nicephoros Gregoras[17] had recorded the daily decline of the *hyperpyron*, the Venetian text offers little or no substantiation for this *fin-du-monde* attitude.

Bertelè has pointed out that the few gold *nomismata* known of Manuel II's reign (1391–1423) are all of considerable weight (averaging 4.70 gr.) and high title, higher indeed than any gold since the Comnenian era.[18] They all bear the traditional iconography and nothing about them suggests the description *stavraton*. Furthermore, their good alloy would have given them a ratio of almost 1:1 in relation to

[15] Kugeas, p. 149. The description of ducats as Φλορια βευέτικα in this Byzantine text suggests some corrective to the general view that the Venetian coin dominated the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean, while the florin ruled only in the west. The good fortune of the *fiorino* in Byzantium is also suggested by the adoption of the Baptist motif on *nomismata* of John V Palaeologos.

[16] Cf. G. I. Bratianu, "L'Hyperpère byzantine et la monnaie d'or des republiques italiennes," *Etudes byzantines d'histoire economique et sociale*, Paris, 1938, pp. 225–237.

[17] *Hist. Byz.* (ed. Bonn), III, 52.

[18] Bertelè, "L'iperpero bizantino," p. 82.

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the *ducato d'oro* while, as has been seen, our early fifteenth century texts suggest a rate of three or four to one. The inevitable conclusion is that the *hyperpyron*, if it is a coin and not a unit of reckoning, is silver. A unique passage in Badoer suggests as much: *l' utilità che ho fato di hi perperi grievi vendudi per arzento.*[19] The debased quality implied in this passage would account for their evaluation by weight although there is no intimation in the anonymous Greek's account that he ever took such a measure.

Weighing was, of course, normal procedure for transactions involving bronze and the great majority of cross-bearing Palaeologan coins are of this material. With the exception of Bellinger[20] and Whitting,[21] Byzantine numismatists have unjustifiably ignored the bronze and thus missed the sometimes close relations between its iconographical types and those on the precious metals.

The cross, for instance, has been regarded as an exceptional motif on later Byzantine issues. Only ten years ago Stewart suggested that the emblem, appearing on a fourteenth century bronze scyphate, was "of course not Byzantine but purely Western in origin" and that the coin was "a Latin-Byzantine hybrid."[22] The piece in question undoubtedly has an obverse motif closely connected with the Neapolitan *gigliati* and their Rhodian and Turkish imitations. But crosses akin to this had occurred on Byzantine bronze long before the Latin conquest. Bellinger presented at least fourteen different types of cross that appeared between the accession of Michael IV (1304) and the death of Alexius I Comnenus (1118).[23] And cruciferous issues of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries held very close to these prototypes. In this way a bronze of Andronicus II's first period of lone rule (1282–1295) has a reverse with *crux ansata* and pellets (PLATE XLI, 1) that derives directly from a type of Andronicus I Comnenus.[24]

[19] P. 334 (18 January 1437).
[20] *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage*, *NNM* 35 (New York, 1928).
[21] "The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze," *Numismatic Chronicle*. 6th series, XV (1955), pp. 89–99.
[22] "A Latin-Byzantine Hybrid," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, II (St. Louis, 1953), 251–260.
[23] Op.cit.
[24] Cf. J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862), pl. LVII, 14 and W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, II (London, 1908), 617, 11.

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Following the re-taking of Constantinople by the Greeks, coins with cross motifs appear to be linked in series rather than created as novel, independent types without precedent or successor.

For example, the device on a flat bronze of Andronicus II and his grandson (PLATE XLI, 2)[25] is very like that on the scyphate *nomisma* of Michael VIII included in the Ratto sale.[26] From the same period of Andronicus's reign (1325–28) there exists in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society an interesting variant (PLATE XLII, 3) on Wroth's scyphate with large cross and $\frac{\text{B}\Theta}{\text{B}\Theta}$.[27] On the A.N.S. coin the fabric is flat and the letters set at forty-five degrees, rather than upright, within the quadrants of the cross. Again unknown to Wroth, there exists from Andronicus II's second reign alone a bronze with the reverse legend ΒΟΗΘΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ enclosing a cross pattée (PLATE XLII, 4) identical with that on a silver *nomisma* of John V Palaeologos published by Sabatier and unrecorded since then.[28]

This last coin bears the legend πολιτικον and is used by Laurent to demonstrate that these issues were actual coins rather than tokens.[29] Of seven such *politika*, four carry crosses. One is of billon,[30] the others of silver (PLATE XLII, 5, 6). In the light of their existence, we must reconsider Bertelè's refusal to recognize the *stravati*.[31] The very rarity of cross-bearing types in silver is perhaps reflected in the infrequency with which they appear in Badoer. But the fact of their existence is attested to both by the documents and the coins themselves.

[25] Wroth, op.cit., p. 628,50. Nearly forty years ago, Bertelè published a flat bronze coin of Andronicus II with a cross similar to our figure 2. It dates, however, from this emperor's joint reign with Michael IX (1295–1320) and shows the co-emperors on the obverse with four rays in the center and a six ray star in each of the quadrants (*Zeitschr. für Numism.*, XXVI, 1926, pl. III, 79). Here Bertelè gives it to the reign of the two Andronici (1325–28) but A. Veglery and G. Zacos, "The coins of Andronicus II with the inscription 'Emperor of the Romans'," *Num. Circ.*, LXIX (1961), attribute it to the joint reign with Michael IX.

[26] *Monnaies byzantines et d'autres pays contemporaines* (Lugano, 1930), no. 2219.

[27] Wroth, op.cit., p. 627, 49.

[28] Sabatier, II, pl. LXII, 16.

[29] "το πολίτικον," p. 6.

[30] This coin appeared in the Cahn sale of May, 1932 (catalogue 75, no. 1749) where it is described as silver and attributed to John V Palaeologos.

[31] "L'Iperpero bizantino," p. 86.

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All the silver coins illustrated are of the reign of John V (1341–1391), either alone or with his son, or else are anonymous issues. Thus there is no way of showing—except by the evidence here adduced—that they were current in the fifteenth century, in the Byzantium of Giacomo Badoer and the nameless cleric whose notes are so fortunately preserved. But the imperial government in this period did not attempt to withdraw older coins;[32] there is no *a priori* reason why some of these fifty year old coins should not come into the hands of our two sources. In the capital, in its last days almost ignorant of gold and desperately short of silver,[33] what survived would almost certainly have been employed in commerce.

Every cruciferous bronze that we possess dates from before the accession of John V (15 June 1341). Their silver successors, as we have seen, follow an iconographical tradition as old as the eleventh century.[34] To all of them, silver and bronze alike, the name *stavraton* could be equally applied. It was apparently used only for the silver to distinguish them from the more usual *nomismata*, those that did not bear the emblem. The account books still speak of the *hyperpyron*, but where this does not refer to a very rare gold minting,[35] the term probably represents a concept, an ideal standard like the carat, as much as a specific currency unit. The silver expression of this unit was that which bore a cross.

The conservative character of Byzantine money—the feature which makes its study at once so monotonous and so fascinating—showed itself for the last time when Palaeologan moneyers set upon their silver the crosses which had previously adorned the bronze. For the merchant, the ecclesiastic, indeed for anyone concerned with recording his transactions, the term *stavraton* graphically distinguishes this type of silver not only from other types but equally from the cross-bearing bronze. The difference in value is identified by name; for this reason Badoer specifies *stravati* when he receives them.

[32] R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, (New York, 1955), p. 15.
[33] R. S. Lopez, "The Dollar of the Middle Ages," *Journal of Economic History*, XI (1953), p. 229.
[34] Supra, p. 156.
[35] "L'Iperpero bizantino," p. 81.

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There is a close parallel in the history of Venetian coinage. When the maritime republic first minted its silver *soldino* (ca. 1330), the coin was popularly called the *ginocchiello* for the kneeling doge on its obverse.[36] With equal justice, the name could have been applied to the *ducato d'oro* then familiar for more than forty years. But the descriptive epithet was reserved for the motif as now used on a coin of different material and value. When, some time after 1341, the cross was impressed on Byzantine silver instead of bronze an analogous situation arose. Some means of recording the change had to be found and the obvious choice was the new coin's salient feature. To name something is to distinguish it and the distinction is all the more important when otherwise confusion is likely. With the coin in his hand, Badoer knew immediately if it were silver or bronze, even though he might not know the quality of its content. But in a document intended for later use some record of this identification was necessary. In a city and a century where gold and silver were heavily alloyed, when the *nomisma* and the *hyperpyron* were quite other than they had been in more prosperous days, *stavraton*, to Greeks and Italians, meant a specific coin. Its name remains as a monument to that period of confusion and the evidence of one small effort at clarification.

ANTHONY CUTLER

[36] N. Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia* ... (Venice, 1893), I, 159.

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A HOARD OF LEEUWENDAALDERS FROM AINTAB

(See PLATES XLIII–XLIV)

In 1959 the American Numismatic Society acquired from Vassar College a lot of 115 Dutch Leeuwendaalders and half daalders which bore the unmistakable aspect of hoard specimens in that they were covered with a green copper compound. The earliest date was 1613 and the latest 1692 and the mints of all six provinces that had struck leeuwendaalders were represented as well as the three cities of Overijssel: Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle.

No one at Vassar knew where they had been found, how they had come to Vassar, how long they had been there or even whether they represented an entire hoard or only a part of one, but with the kind assistance of Mrs. Hilda Pratt Benedict, Vassar-Class of 1910, Mrs. Alfred Coons, Mrs. Daniel Dorman, Dr. Fred Field Goodsell, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Miss Elsa Hasbrouck, Vassar-Class of 1909 and Mr. George T. Welch, Comptroller of Vassar College, to all of whom the author is greatly indebted, the actual history of the hoard was finally discovered.

As must be expected with events that took place more than fifty years ago the memories of all the parties that could give us information do not coincide in every detail, but by and large the facts could be established with sufficient certainty.

On the morning of February 17, 1906, the main building of the Girl's Seminary at Aintab (now Gaziantep), Turkey was destroyed by fire and as it had already become inadequate for the purposes of the growing school it was decided that a new building should be constructed on a nearby site. During the excavations for that building in the summer of 1906 the coins were found.

No eyewitness of the event appears to be living, at least not in the United States, but we are fortunate that the late Mrs. John Merrill, the acting principal of the school, recorded the discovery and ensuing events at the time. Mrs. Merrill wrote:

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"A Wonderful Find

> When the foundations for the new school building were being dug, the workmen came upon a large iron pot, shaped like a goldfish bowl, and filled with silver coins. The head workman sat on top of the jug to prevent the men from grabbing the coins, and sent word to Mr. Sanders. There were 1300 of the coins, most of them about the size of a silver dollar, the others of a half dollar. They were Dutch coins and many bore the date 1639! They had Latin mottoes around the edge, a lion on one side, and a shield and a head on the other. The larger number bore the words: *Confidens Domino Non Movetur*. When we came to America in 1908 we brought them with us and were able to sell most of them for belt buckles, pins, etc. to the people who contributed a dollar (or 50¢ for the small ones) to the new building. Who buried them and why remained a mystery."

The Mr. Sanders mentioned in Mrs. Merrill's story was Dr. Charles S. Sanders, President of Central Turkey College, a boy's school that was also located in Aintab and where the late Dr. Merrill taught. Eventually Dr. Sanders had to clear the hoard with the Turkish authorities as there was a law that all "antiquities" found in the Turkish Empire had to be delivered up to the government. In the case of the Lion Dollars, however, that had been found in Aintab it was finally decided by the authorities that coins sufficiently resembling them had been in circulation recently enough to permit the verdict that they were not antiquities.

As for the contents of the hoard the most important statement in Mrs. Merrill's account is that there were 1300 coins in the pot. Since she took charge of them and eventually sold most of them we must accept this statement as at least roughly accurate. In addition she states positively that all the coins were Dutch, that all had the lion on one side and "a head" (i.e., the knight) and a shield on the other, that all had Latin mottoes and that they were of two sizes, dollar and half dollar. This would confirm that all the coins in the pot were either leeuwendaalders or half daalders. As she says, most of them have the legend CONFIDENS DOMINO NON MOVETUR although

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there are some with other Latin mottoes as DA PACEM IN DIEBVS NOST which appears on some of the Zwolle coins in the Aintab Hoard.

This lot, in fact, represents the balance remaining of the hoard after the greatest part had been sold by Mrs. Merrill, the proceeds of those sales being used to support the Girl's School in Aintab.

In addition to the 115 pieces found at Vassar we have only been able to trace eight more of the 1300 coins; namely two daalders which have been made into pins and which are the property of the two daughters of Mrs. Merrill: Mrs. Coons and Mrs. Dorman, two which we acquired from Miss Ruth Blankenhorn, who was a student at Vassar at the time, one of them a daalder and the other a half daalder, both of which Miss Blankenhorn kindly donated to the ANS, and finally four pieces which are the property of Miss Harriet Norton, who had been a teacher at the school. Two of these are daalders, one a half daalder and one a testoon of Lorraine. Such testoons are occasionally found in Leeuwendaalder hoards in the Middle East, and the piece in question both by its aspect and Miss Norton's testimony came from the Aintab hoard. But there cannot have been many, as Mrs. Merrill does not mention quarter-size pieces.

Out of about 1300 pieces we have been able to catalogue only 123, and it is not even likely that this sample is in any way representative of the whole.

It is, of course, well known that the leeuwendaalders, at least from about 1620 on, were struck for circulation in the Levante and were struck in great quantities, the latter being to some extent supported by the fact that no two specimens in the hoard are from the same pair of dies. It is also known that they circulated well into the nineteenth century, as the Turkish authorities confirmed, and the thoroughly mixed aspect of the hoard would seem to indicate that it, too, circulated a long time before it was buried.

Even if we had the whole hoard, the end date would be meaningless for the determination of the burial date since leeuwendaalders were struck only in small quantities after 1700 and not at all after 1713 while they circulated for more than a century after that. The "large iron pot" which might have given some indication of the burial date has disappeared, but from the location in which the hoard was found, it might be conjectured that the hoard might have been buried in the

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latter part of the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century during the internal disturbances with the Derebeys, or perhaps during the war between Sultan Mahmud II of Turkey and Mohammed Ali of Egypt when the latter's armies defeated the Turks at Aleppo in 1832 and advanced into Anatolia. Aintab is about 100 miles due north of Aleppo.

The principal reason that this remainder of the Aintab Hoard has been considered in such detail is that it contains a few pieces that have heretofore been unknown and also that this is the first time that any Near Eastern hoard of leeuwendaalders has been published in any detail at all; the only previous publications, namely, those of the Beyrouth Hoard and the Saida Hoard being of extreme brevity. The previously unknown pieces are the following:

a. Westfriesland Daalder 1674 (No. 15)
   Previously unknown with a crowned lion in the shield on the obverse.

b. Gelderland Half Daalder 1643 (No. 44)
   Flan rather small and while we read the date as 1643 it might conceivably be 1645 but either of these dates was previously unknown to van Gelder who listed under Gelderland only half-daalders of 1640, 1641 and 1646. The whole daalder for 1643 is listed but that for 1645 is not.

c. Kampen Daalder 163– (No. 68)
   Date not legible in its entirety and from its position the 3 could conceivably have been a mint mark. This seemed a possibility especially since otherwise no leeuwendaalders of Kampen are known between the years 1597 and 1646. The ANS not having any similar coins of Kampen that could have been used for comparison, a rubbing was submitted to the Royal Cabinet at the Hague. Dr. van Gelder very kindly informed us that no mint mark other than the lys of the Wijntgens family could be expected since that family had been in charge of the municipal mint from 1590 until 1653 and that therefore the shape in question could be nothing else than a 3. Also it could not be ruled out that some leeuwendaalders could have been minted in Kampen in 1639 as there is a copper duit of 1639 and a schelling with the title of Ferdinand III. Furthermore the reversed N (И) which appears on the piece under

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discussion also appears constantly on schellingen of Kampen with the title of Emperor Mathias. There is however no evidence that the mint in Kampen operated in the thirties before 1639. In addition to its date the piece is also remarkable because of the two small wavy lines appearing in front of the lion in the shield on the obverse which represent the waves characteristic of the lion in the arms of Overijssel.

d. Kampen Daalder 1689 (No. 110)
This piece fills in the series listed by van Gelder under Kampen that runs from 1681 to 1693. The date 1689 has previously been known only in a gold specimen.

e. Zwolle Daalder 1633 (No. 112)
This piece has the lion in the shield on the obverse charged with the shield of Zwolle, a type previously unknown.

f. Zwolle Daalder 1639 (No. 113)
While there is a daalder in the hoard (No. 114) which corresponds to v. G. Zwolle III, i.e., with the large lion on the reverse not charged with the shield of the city, this other daalder of 1639 (No. 113) is different from any type previously listed by either Verkade or van Gelder. On the obverse the shield displays St. Michael with not one but two shields of the city and on the reverse the large lion is charged with the city arms. Thus, were it not for the different obverse the piece would fall under v.G. type Zwolle II, for which only the date 1637 had previously been listed. It may, however, be noted that the legend on the obverse has A.L. IMP as given in v. G. Zwolle III, while No. 114 which otherwise corresponds to that type has the legend ending with ZWOLLE IMP.

There never has been a complete catalogue of the dates and mints of leeuwendaalders and half-daalders and, in fact, until a few years ago many dates of the various mints for the coinage of which documentary evidence exists were unknown in actual specimens. Recently, however, a flood of leeuwendaalders and half-daalders has turned up on the European coin market. They are believed to have come from extensive but unpublished hoards which are being dispersed by Near Eastern coin dealers.

Dr. Enno van Gelder has been compiling a complete list of all known dates and mints (including those known only from the Aintab

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Hoard, but excluding seignorial and foreign imitations) and has provided it for publication here in conjunction with this discussion. For this and much other assistance the author is most grateful to Dr. van Gelder.

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CATALOGUE

INTRODUCTION

All coins have on the obverse a knight with a shield and on the reverse a large lion rampant. Except for the leeuwendaalders of Westfriesland of 1674 and Utrecht of 1646, the small lion in the shield appears to be uncrowned on all specimens listed although the preservation of some pieces leaves this not quite certain.

Equally the question whether the inner circle is dotted or solid is sometimes hard to decide. It may seem solid, but in some cases this might be due only to wear which caused the small dots to have been blurred into the aspect of a solid line. "Almost solid" describes this case.

The description of the legends does not take into account differences in interpunctuation, but does record fully differences in the abbreviation of words and accidental mistakes in spelling such as DON in place of DNO. The stops used after each word in the description do not mean that they are or are not on the coins or that there may not be double stops (:) on the coin. The description also does not go into the size of the small shield, the shape of its ornaments, the size and position of the large lion or other details of the design which are quite impossible to describe accurately. Suffice it to state that no two coins in the catalogue are of the same pair of dies.

The following abbreviations are used:

Mm.—Mint mark.

MMm.—Mint Master's mark.

*—Indicates the previously unknown specimens.

V.—Verkade. Coins are given a V. reference even if the abbreviations of the legends are not exactly as in Verkade, but not where there is a material difference in legend or design.

v.G.—The "Provisional List" compiled by Dr. van Gelder and appearing in conjunction with this discussion. Since this list does not take into account variations in abbreviation or punctuation, references to it have been handled in the same manner as references to Verkade.

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THE AINTAB HOARD

Holland

1. 1662 Daalder. V. 49.1, v.G. II.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FŒ · BELG · HOL · Mm. Rose
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
   Inner circle dotted

Westfriesland

2. 1622 Daalder. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WESTF
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR no Mm.
   Inner circle dotted

3–4. 1633, 1637 Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WESTF
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · MMm. Lys
   Inner circle dotted

5–8. 1637, 1640, 1641 (2) Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WEST
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Lys
   Inner circle dotted

9–11. 1642, 1643, 1647 Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WES
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR date, MMm. Lys

12.–13. 1649, 1650 (property of Mrs. Alfred Coons) Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WEST ·
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Lys
   Inner circle dotted

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14. 1670 Daalder. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MON · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WESTF
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. Starfish

15–16. 1674,* 74 (?) Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MON · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WEST
Knight looking right, lion in shield clearly crowned in one specimen, indistinct in the other, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. Starfish

17–18. 1632, 1634 Half Daalders. V. 66.5, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WESTF
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Lys
Inner circle dotted

Zeeland

19–20. 1617 (property of Miss Norton), 16-- Half Daalders. V. 88.2, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · ZEL · Mm. Castle
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: Mm. Castle CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

Utrecht

21. 1646 Daalder. V. 107.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: Mm. Shield. MO · ARG · PRO · CO – NFŒ · BELG · TRA
Knight looking right, lion in shield crowned and with saltire on breast, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

22–25. 1685 (2), 1688 (2) Daalders. V. 107.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BEL · TRA · Mm. Shield
Knight looking right, lion in shield uncrowned but with saltire on breast, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. within date

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Gelderland

26. 1638 Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: Mm. Croix recroisée · MO · ARG · PRO · CO – NFOE · BELG · GEL
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

27. 1638 (property of Miss Norton), Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CO – NFOE · BEL · GEL
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DON · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

28. 1639 Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CO – NFOE · BEL · GEL ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

29. 1639 Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FEO · BELG · GEL
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR
Inner circle dotted

30–32. 1639 (property of Mrs. Dorman), 1640 (2) Daalders. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · GEL ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

33–36. 1641 (2), 1642, 1643 Daalders. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CO – FOE · BELG · GEL
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
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Inner circle dotted

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37. 1647 Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · GEL ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

38–40. 1647 (2), 1648 Daalders. V. 11.2, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · C – ONFOE · BEL · GEL ·
Knight looking left, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle almost solid

41–42. 1648 (2) Daalders. V. 11.2, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO· ARG · PRO · C – ONFOE · BEL · GEL ·
Knight looking left, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. within date

43–44. 1641 (donated by Miss Ruth Blankenhorn), 1643* Half Daalder. V. 11.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · GEL ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

Overijssel

45–47. 1613 (?)(later than 12), 1617 (property of Miss Ruth Blankenhorn), 1643 Daalders. V. 139.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · TRAN
Knight looking right, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle almost solid

48. 1633 Daalder. V. 139.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · ⅂RAN
Knight looking right, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DON · NON · MOVEVR · date
Inner circle almost solid

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49. 1640 (property of Miss Norton), V. 139.3. v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CO – FOE · BELG · TRA
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVET
Inner circle dotted

50–51. 1641, 1644 Daalders. V. 139.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · TRA
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETR · date
Inner circle dotted (1644 almost solid)

52–56. 1677 (3), 1679 (2) Daalders. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CONFOE – BELG · PRO · TRANS
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. Rosette within date

57. 1681 Daalder. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · NO · ARG · CONF – Œ · BELG · PRO · TRA
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Rosette within date

58. 1688 Daalder. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · NO · ARG · CON – BELG · PRO · TRANS
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. Rosette within date

59. 1688 Daalder. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · NO · ARG · CONF – BELG · PRO · TRANS
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. Rosette within date

60–61. 1688, 1692 Daalders. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MON · ARG · CONF – BEL · PRO · TRANS
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. Rosette within date

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Friesland

62. Undated (ca. 1615–1625) Daalder. V. 124.2, v.G. IV.
Obv.: MO · AR · PR · CO – NFOE · BEL · FRI
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR ·
Inner circle dotted

Deventer

63. 1664 Daalder. V. 150.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVIT · – IMPER · DAVENT ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Moor's head within date

64–67. 1687 (2), 1688 (2) Daalders. V. 150.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIV · IMP – BEL · DAVENTR
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. dog within date

Kampen

68. 163–* Daalder. V. 163.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIV · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN
Knight looking right, inner circle almost solid (Behind the lion in the shield are the "waves" which characterize the arms of Overijssel)
Rev.: CONFIDEИS · DИO · ИOИ · MOVETVR · date, Mm.
Inner circle solid

69–70. 1648 (2) Daalder. V. 163.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · AR · CIVI · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN ·
Knight looking left, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Lys within date

71–79. 1648 (7), 1649 (2) Daalders. V. 163.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · AR · CIVI · IM – P · BELG · CAMPEN
Knight looking left, inner circle dotted

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Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Lys within date
(one 1649 almost solid)

80–84. 1649 (4), 1650 Daalders. V. 163.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · AR · CIVI · IM – P · BEL · CAMPEN
Knight looking left, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle almost solid [MMm. Lys within date

85–94. 1681 (2), 1682 (5), 1683 (3) Daalders. V. 163.1, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIV · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN ·
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. Horseman within date
(one 1683 dotted)

95–110. 1684 (7), 1685 (2), 1686, 1686 (later than 84), 1688 (4), 1689* Daalders. V. 163.1, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIV · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted (one 1686 almost solid)
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Horseman within date
(one 1686 almost solid)

111. 1646 Half Daalder. V. 163.2, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVI · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Lys
Inner circle dotted [within date

Zwolle

112. 1633* Daalder. v.G. I.
Obv.: MO · ARG · IMP · CIVI – ZWOL · A · L · IMP ·
(i.e. *ad legem imperii*)
Knight looking right, in shield lion with arms of Zwolle on breast, inner circle dotted
Rev.: DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOST ·
Lion with city arms on breast, dividing date, inner circle dotted

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113. 1639* Daalder. v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP ·
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with two city arms of Zwolle, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOST ·
Lion with city arms on breast dividing date, inner circle dotted

114. 1639 Daalder. v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOLL · IMP ·
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOSTR ·
Lion without city arms dividing date, inner circle dotted

115. 1640 Daalder. v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOST ·
Lion without city arms dividing date, inner circle dotted

116. 1642 Daalder. V. 172.2, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP ·
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, rowel in left field, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOST ·
Lion without city arms dividing date, inner circle dotted

117–119. 1646 (2), 1648 Daalders. V. 172.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP ·
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOM · IN · DIEBVS · NOST · date
Lion without city arms, inner circle dotted

120. 1649 Daalder. V. 172.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · D · IN · DIEBVS · NOST · date
Lion without city arms, inner circle dotted

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121. 1652 Daalder. V. 172.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVIT – ZWOL · A · L · IMP
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: DA · PACEM · DOM · IN · DIEBVS · NOS · date, MMm. Starfish
Lion without city arms, inner circle dotted

122. 1685 Daalder. v.G. IV.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CONFŒ – BELG · CIV · ZWOL ·
Knight looking right, in shield lion, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Starfish
Lion without city arms, inner circle solid

Lorraine

123. (property of Miss Norton), Testoon of Nancy. Henri le Bon (1608–1624).
Obv.: HENRI · D:G: · DVX · LOTH · MARCH · D:C · B · G
Bust right
Rev.: MONETA · NOVA · NANCEII · CVSA ·
Crowned shield of Lorraine with eight quarters and center shield
de Saulcy, p. 162.

SUMMARY OF HOARD

	Daalders	*Half Daalders*	*Total*
Holland	1	–	1
Westfriesland	15	2	17
Zeeland	–	2	2
Utrecht	5	–	5
Gelderland	17	2	19
Overijssel	17	–	17
Friesland	1	–	1
Deventer	5	–	5
Kampen	43	1	44
Zwolle	11	–	11
	115	7	122
Lorraine	*Testoon*		1
			123

HERBERT J. ERLANGER

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A PROVISIONAL LIST OF DUTCH LION-DOLLARS

The type of the Dutch lion-dollar was created once for all by the die-engraver of the provincial mint of Holland in 1576:

Obv.: A warrior clad in contemporary armor stands three quarters to the left; his head covered by an open crested helmet is sharply turned to the right; with his right hand he holds a large shield with ornamental border, under which his feet appear; with his left hand he holds a slip of the light cloak that flows freely from his back; the shield displays the coat of arms of Holland, a lion rampant; legend MO[neta] NO[va] ARG[entea] ORDIN[um] HOL[landiae]

Rev.: A large heraldic lion rampant; legend CONFIDENS D[omi]NO NON MOVETVR

Only the very oldest lion-dollars struck in 1575 and early in 1576 show some slight hesitancies before the definitive type was established; the warrior of these early specimens wears armor of "antique" design and lacks the characteristic turn of the head. All later issues of Holland as well as of other provinces and towns show hardly any deviation from this prototype which was neither varied nor modernized in the course of more than a century.

The imitations by other provincial mints started in 1585; these took over the essential characteristics of the type, but usually replaced the elements peculiar to Holland by their own equivalents: the coat of arms in the shield on the obverse, the motto and the mint mark on the reverse. Later, the desire to produce as exact replicas as possible of the prototype brought back many of the original features to the lion dollars struck outside Holland: the plain lion in the shield, the CONFIDENS motto, and even the rose mint mark of Dordrecht. By a clever device legends of the type MO[neta] NO[va] ORD[inum] TRAI[ecti] AD VA[lorem] HOL[landie] produced an obverse legend beginning and ending with the same words as the original.

This conformity to the Holland prototype was more or less legalized in 1606 when the States-General accepted the lion-dollar as a

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general coin for all the provinces. Its new status found expression in the new obverse legend—similar to that of other denominations—MO[neta] ARG[entea] PRO[vinciarum] CONFOE[deratarum] BELG[icarum], followed by the name of the province. For the reverse the plain lion of Holland with the traditional motto was tolerated, whereas all other coins bore the crowned and armored lion of the United Provinces and the accompanying device "Concordia Res Parvae Crescunt." Besides that the date was shifted from the obverse to the reverse where it took the place of the rose mint mark.

The provinces adhered with hardly any exceptions to the new pattern, but the towns maintained individual variations much longer. Only after 1659, when they accepted a general supervision of the central authorities over their coinage, did they resign themselves to the same conformity; the municipal arms disappeared from the coins as well as local mottoes for reverse legends, while the obverse legends too were adapted to the general pattern suggesting coinage in the name of the United Provinces.

Apart from the differences in the heraldry and the legends mentioned before, the most notable exceptions to the uniformity of obverse design are:

a. in a few cases the lion in the shield on the obverse is crowned, probably the effect of a confusion with the crowned lion of the States-General;
b. one die-engraver, working both for the provincial mint of Gelderland and the municipal mint of Kampen, reversed the position of the warrior;
c. in the second half of the 17th century the crest on the warrior's helmet was almost universally suppressed;
d. after 1606 all provincial issues show the lion rampant, as prescribed in the ordinance of that year; the province of Utrecht only continues to use its own arms, but these being a lion rampant bearing a small saltire on his shoulder could hardly be distinguished from the general pattern.

The large lion of the reverse suffered still fewer attacks:

a. Zeeland replaced the lion rampant during a few years by its own lion issuant;

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b. the town of Zwolle for a few years permitted the lion to be charged with the municipal arms and later added some new elements to the field such as a grassy ground or a date.

Before 1606 the place of the mint mark was at the top of the reverse; it was a fairly regular feature of the coins in so far as it was not replaced by the Holland rose. The latter abuse was made impossible by the new design of 1606 and from then onwards the usual place of the mint mark was at the end of the obverse legend. However, many provinces discontinued this mark altogether in the course of the century. On the other hand some provinces, and all of the towns, introduced eventually the use of a mintmaster's mark for which room was found at different places in the design. Utrecht alone ended by putting both a mint mark and a mintmaster's mark on the coins.

The following survey is a first attempt to list the lion-dollars struck by the provinces and towns of the Republic of the United Netherlands, excluding both the unauthorized imitations of a few Dutch *seigneuries* and the numerous lion-dollars struck abroad, especially in Germany and Italy.

For the sake of simplification in the description of the types and variations no stops have been indicated (saltires, crosslets or pellets before 1606, almost exclusively pellets after that date). For the same reason slight variations in the abbreviations of the legends or in the details of the design (e.g., the nature of the inner circles, the position of the shield and the decoration of its frame) have been neglected.

The list contains all the dates of lion-dollars (left hand column) and half lion-dollars (right hand column) known to the author either from specimens seen in public or private collections both in Holland and abroad or, for a small number, from descriptions in reliable catalogues and reports of hoards. However the list must of necessity remain incomplete as our knowledge of the series is continually expanding as a result of new information about Middle East hoards. Additionally, anyone having a date or mint of a lion-dollar or half lion-dollar that is not contained in this list is requested to communicate with the Koninklijk Penningkabinet at the Hague.

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Holland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying the arms of Holland (lion rampant), date at the bottom of the shield; MO · NO · ARG – ORDIN · HOL(L)

Rev.: Lion rampant; rose CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR

undated		warrior in Roman armor with head turned to the left	emaciated bust (struck 1575)
1575		similar	similar
1576		similar	broad bust
1576			
1577	1577		
	1578		
1585	1585		
1586			
1589	1589		
1597			
	1598		
1601	1601		
1602			
1604	1604		
1605	1605		

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · HOL rose

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1606	1606
1607	
1608	1608
1609	
	1610
1611	
1612	
1616	1616
1617	1617
	1618
1622	1622

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1623	1623
1624	
1625	
1626	
1627	
1628	
1632	
1633	
1634	1634
1635	
1636	1636
1637	
1640	1640
1641	1641
	1645
	1647
1648	1648
1649	
1650	1650
1651	
1652	1652
1655	
1662	
1663	
1664	
1666	
1668	
1674	
1680	
1683	
1684	
1685	
1687	

West-Friesland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying the arms of West-Friesland (two lions passant guardant), date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ARG WEST – FRI VALOR HOL

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Rev.: Lion rampant; rose CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1588		
1589		

II *Obv.*: as obv. of I, except place of date
Rev.: Lion rampant; rose DEVS FORTITVDO ET SPES NOSTRA

1600		date at the bottom of the shield
1601		similar
1603		similar
undated		(struck ca. 1603)
	1603	date in the field divided by shield
1604	1604	similar
1605	1605	similar

III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG PRO CON – FOE BELG WES(TFRIS)
Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR (usually mintmaster's mark before or after date)

1606		no mintmaster's mark
1609		no mintmaster's mark
1611		no mintmaster's mark
1612		no mintmaster's mark
1613		no mintmaster's mark
1613		mark: fleur-de-lis
1614		no mark
1615		mark: fleur-de-lis
1616	1616	fleur-de-lis
1617	1617	fleur-de-lis
1618		fleur-de-lis
1622		mark: rose
1622		no mark
	1623	no mark
1623	1623	mark: rose
1624	1624	rose
1626	1626	rose
1628		rose
1629	1629	rose

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1629	1629	no mark	
1631	1631	mark: fleur-de-lis	
1632	1632	fleur-de-lis	
1633	1633	fleur-de-lis	
1634	1634	fleur-de-lis	
1635	1635	fleur-de-lis	
1636	1636	fleur-de-lis	
1637		fleur-de-lis	
1638	1638	fleur-de-lis	
1639		fleur-de-lis	
1640	1640	fleur-de-lis	
1641	1641	fleur-de-lis	
1642	1642	fleur-de-lis	
1643	1643	fleur-de-lis	
1644	1644	fleur-de-lis	
	1645	fleur-de-lis	
1646	1646	fleur-de-lis	
1647	1647	fleur-de-lis	
1648	1648	fleur-de-lis	
	1649	fleur-de-lis	
1649		mark: flower	
1650	1650	flower	
1651	1651	flower	
1652		flower	
1654	1654	flower	
1655		flower	
1661	1661	flower	
1662	1662	flower	
1664	1664	flower	
1665		flower	
	1666	flower	
1668		flower	
1670		flower	
1671		flower	crowned lion in shield on obv.
1674		flower	similar
1675		flower	similar
1677		flower	similar

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1678		flower	similar
1697		flower	similar
1699		flower	similar
1700		flower	similar
1713		mark: stork	similar

Zeeland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Holland (lion rampant), date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ORD ZEL – AD VA ORD HOL

Rev.: Lion rampant; castle CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1589	1589

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Zeeland (lion issuant above waves), date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ARG – ORDIN ZEL

Rev.: Lion issuant above waves; castle DOMINE SERVA NOS PERIMVS

1597	1597
1598	1598
1599	

III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant: MO ARG PRO CON – FOE BELG ZEL castle

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1606		
1609		
1612		date between rosettes
1613		similar
1614	1614	similar
1615	1615	date between saltires
1616	1616	similar
1617	1617	similar
1618	1618	similar
	1619	similar
1623	1623	date between rosettes
1624		similar
1628	1628	similar

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1629		
1633		
1634		
	1635	
1637?		
1638	1638	date between rosettes (except on half-dollar)
1640		date between rosettes
1644		
1645	1645	
1646		
1648		
1649		
1650		
1651		
1652	1652	

Utrecht

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying quartered arms of Utrecht (1,4 lion, 2,3 cross), date at the bottom of the shield; MONETA NOV – ORDIN TRAI

Rev.: Lion rampant; escutcheon CONCORDIA RES PARVAE CRESCVNT

1585	known as piedfort only

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Utrecht (lion bearing saltire on his shoulder), date at the bottom of the shield; legend (a) MO NO OR(D) TRA – AD VA ORD HOL or (b) MO NO ORDI – TRA(I) VA HOL

Rev.: Lion rampant; rose CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1589		legend a; escutcheon on rev. instead of rose
1589		legend a
1597		legend b
1598		legend a or b
1599	1599	legend a or b
1600		legend b
1601		legend a
1602		legend b

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III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Utrecht (lion bearing saltire on his shoulder); escutcheon MO ARG PRO CON – FOE BEL(G) TRA(I) (from 1647 onwards the escutcheon is placed at the end of the legend)

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR (from 1674 onwards a mintmaster's mark is added, dividing the date)

1606	1606	
1607		
1608		
1609	1609	
1610	1610	
1613		
1614	1614	
1615		
1616	1616	
1617	1617	
1618	1618	
1623		
1626	1626	
1628		
1629	1629	escutcheon before MO or after TRA
1632		escutcheon after TRA
1634		escutcheon after TRA
1635		crowned lion in the shield on the obv.
1636	1636	crowned or uncrowned lion
1637		crowned lion
1638		crowned lion
1639		crowned lion
1640		crowned lion
1641		crowned lion
1642	1642	crowned lion
1643	1643	crowned lion
1644		crowned lion
1645	1645	crowned lion
1646		crowned lion
1647	1647	escutcheon before MO or after TRA

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1648	1648	escutcheon after TRA		
1649	1649			
1650	1650			
1651				
1652				
1653				
1654	1654			
1655				
1656				
1657				
1658				
1660	1660			
1661				
1662				
1663	1663			
1664				
	1667			
1674	1674	mintmaster's mark:	pascal lamb	
1676	1676		pascal lamb	
1679		mintmaster's mark:	rose	
1680			rose	
1681			rose	
1682			rose	helmet with or without crest
1683			rose	helmet with or without crest
1685			rose	helmet without crest
1686			rose	similar
1687			rose	similar
1688			rose	similar
1689			rose	similar
1697			rose	similar

Gelderland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Hollan d (lion rampant); date at the bottom of the shield MO NO ORDI – GEL VA HOL

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Rev.: Lion rampant; rose CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVET VR

1589		recrossed cross on rev. instead of rose
1589		
1593		
1597	1597	
1599	1599	
1600		
1602	1602	

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG PRO CON – FOE BEL(G) GEL (until 1638 inclusive followed by mintmark recrossed cross)

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR (from 1647 onwards a mintmaster's mark is added dividing the date)

1606	1606	crowned lion in shield on obv.	
1607		similar	
1608		similar	
1609		similar	
1610	1610	similar	uncrowned lion on half-dollar
1611		similar	
1613		similar	
1615		similar	
1616	1616	crowned or uncrowned lion	
1617	1617	crowned or uncrowned lion	
1618		crowned lion	
1619			
1622			
1628	1628		
1629			
1631			
1632		crowned or uncrowned lion	
1633	1633		
1634			
1635			
1636		without mint mark	

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1637	1637	with mint mark	
1637		without mint mark	
1638		with mint mark	
1638	1638	without mint mark	
1639			
1640	1640		
1641	1641		
1642			
1643	1643		
1644			
1646	1646		
1647		no mintmaster's mark	
1647		no mintmaster's mark	warrior reversed (looking to the left)
1647		mark: fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
	1647	fleur-de-lis	
1648		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1648	1648	fleur-de-lis	
1649		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1651		fleur-de-lis	
1652		fleur-de-lis	
1652		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1653		fleur-de-lis	
1654		fleur-de-lis	
1655		mark: sitting dog	
1657		sitting dog	
1662		sitting dog	
1663		sitting dog	
1666		sitting dog	
1667		sitting dog	
1668		sitting dog	
1674		sitting dog	
1675		sitting dog	
1676		sitting dog	
1694		mark: mounted warrior	helmet without crest
1697		mounted warrior	helmet without crest
1699		mounted warrior	helmet without crest

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Overijssel

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Overijssel (lion rampant covering waved fess); date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ORD TRS – ISL VALOR HOL

Rev.: Lion rampant; castle in roseate frame CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1585		
1589		
1591		
1593		
1594		
1597		
1602		

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG PRO CO(N) – FOE BEL(G) TRA or TRAN(S)

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1606	1606	
1607		
1608		
1610		
1611		
1612	1612	
1613		
1614	1614	
1615	1615	on half-dollar sometimes reversed lion in shield on obv.
1616	1616	similar
1617		
1619?		
	1622	
1623		
1628		
1629	1629	
1633	1633	on obv. sometimes crowned lion in shield on rev. sometimes date repeated in field
1636		

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1637	1637			
	1638?			
1639	1639			
1640	1640			
1641	1641			
1643				
1644				
1647				

III *Obv.*: as obv. of II, but helmet without crest

Rev.: Lion rampant; date and mintmaster's mark before legend MO ARG CONFOE – BELG PRO TRANS (a) or MO NO ARG CONF(OE) (or CONE) – BELG PRO TRA(NS) (b)

1675	mark: flower	legend a	helmet with crest
1676	with or without mark	legend a	helmet with crest
1677	mark: flower	legend a	
1678?	flower	legend b	
1679	flower	legend a or b	
1680	flower	legend a or b	
1681	flower	legend b	
1682	flower	legend b	
1683	with or without mark	legend b	
1685	mark: flower	legend b	
1688	flower	legend b	
1689	flower	legend b beginning MON:ARG	
1692	flower	similar	
1697	flower	similar	
1700	flower	similar	
1701	flower	similar	

Friesland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Friesland (two lions passant); date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ARG ORD – FRI VAL HOL

Rev.: Lion rampant; lion CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1589	1589

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II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Holland (lion rampant), date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ORD – FRI(SI) VA HO(LL)
Rev.: Lion rampant; mintmark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1591		mark: lion
1594		mark: escutcheon of Friesland
1594		mark: rectangle
1597		rectangle
1600		mark: escutcheon of Friesland
1601		escutcheon of Friesland
1602	1602	escutcheon of Friesland
1603		escutcheon of Friesland

III *Obv.*: As obv. of I, but legend MONE NOVA – ORDIN FRISIAE
Rev.: Lion rampant; NISI DOMINVS NOBISCVM

1603	only known as mule with rev. of type II
1604	
1605	

IV *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO AR(G) PRO – CONFOE BEL(G) FR(IS) sometimes followed by mint mark lion
Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR; sometimes mint mark lion before or after date

1607		without mint mark
1608		without mint mark
1608		lion on rev.
1609		without mark
1610		without mark or lion on rev.
1611		lion on rev.
1612		without mark or lion on obv.
1613		lion on obv.
1614	1614	without mark
1615		lion either on obv. or on rev.
1616		without mark
	1616	lion on obv.

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1617	1617	lion on obv. or on rev. or on both sides
	1619	lion on obv.
undated	undated	lion on obv. or on rev. or on both sides
undated	undated	without mark (struck ca. 1615–25)
	1626	date on obv. divided by head of warrior and lion on rev.
1628	1628	lion on obv. or date on obv. and lion on rev.
1629		lion on obv.
	1632	date on obv. divided by head of warrior
1650		lion on rev. dividing date
1653		without mark
	1663	lion on obv.

V *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO NO(VA) ARG – ORDIN FRI(S) lion (or date)
Rev.: Lion rampant; lion (or date) CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

undated	lion on both sides (struck ca. 1615–17)
1616	lion on obv. and date on rev. in legend
1617	lion on rev. and date on obv. at the bottom of the shield
1622	similar

Nijmegen

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG CIVI IMP – BELG NOVIOMAG
Rev.: Lion rampant; date divided by mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1692	mark: moor's head		helmet without crest

Zutphen

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG CIVI IMP – BEL ZVTPHANI
Rev.: Lion rampant; date divided by mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1691	mark: antlers		helmet without crest
1692		antlers	helmet without crest

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Deventer

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Deventer (eagle); IMP CIV CONF BE – LG PR SOCI date
Rev.: Lion rampant; mintmaster's mark ME VIGILANTE FLORET DAVENT

1640 1640 mark: fleur-de-lis

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; legend MO ARG CIVIT – IMPER DAVENT (a)
or MO ARG CIV IMP – BEL(G) DAVENTR(IAE) (b)
or MO ARG PRO CON – FOE BELG CIV DAV (c)
Rev.: Lion rampant; date divided by mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1662	legend a	mark: moor's head	
1663	legend a	moor's head	
1664	legend a	mark: sitting dog	
1666	legend a	sitting dog	
1667	legend a	sitting dog	
1685	legend b	sitting dog	helmet without crest
1687	legend b	sitting dog	similar
1688	legend b	sitting dog	similar
1698	legend c	sitting dog	similar

III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Deventer (eagle); MO ARG CIV IMP – BELG DAVENTRIAE
Rev.: as rev. of II

1684 mark: sitting dog helmet without crest

Kampen

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant dangling an escutcheon of Kampen (castle) on long strings; MO ARG R P IMP – CAMP VA HOL
Rev.: Lion rampant; castle in roseate frame CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

undated undated (struck ca. 1593–95)

1597 date on rev. divided by mint mark

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II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Overijssel (lion rampant covering waved fess); MO ARG CIVI IMP – BELG CAMPEN

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR 1639?

III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO AR(G) CIV(I) IMP – BEL(G) CAMPE(N)

Rev.: Lion rampant; date divided by (or preceding) mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1646		without mark	warrior reversed (looking to the left)
	1646	mark: fleur-de-lis	
1646		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
	1647	fleur-de-lis	
1647		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1648		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1649		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1650		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1650		fleur-de-lis	
1651		fleur-de-lis	
1652		fleur-de-lis	
1653		fleur-de-lis	
1654		fleur-de-lis	
1655		fleur-de-lis	
1662		fleur-de-lis	
1664		mark: moor's head	
1667		moor's head	
1675		mark: mounted warrior	helmet without crest
1676		similar	similar
1677		similar	similar
1681		similar	similar
1682		similar	similar
1683		similar	similar
1684		similar	similar
1685		similar	similar
1686		similar	similar

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1687	similar	similar
1688	similar	similar
1690	similar	similar
1691	similar	similar
1692	similar	similar
1693	similar	similar

IV *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Kampen (castle); MO ARG CIVITA – IMP BELG CAM

Rev.: as rev. of III

1672 mark: moor's head

Zwolle

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant: MO ARG CIVI IMP – ZWOL A L IMP

Rev.: Lion rampant charged with shield displaying arms of Zwolle (cross), date in the field divided by the lion; DA PACEM DOMINE IN DIEBVS NOST

1633

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying St. Michael bearing shield with arms of Zwolle (cross); MO ARG CIVIT(A) – ZWOL A L IM(P)

Rev.: as rev. of I

1637 1637

1639

III *Obv.*: as obv. of II

Rev.: Lion rampant standing on natural ground; rowel DA PACEM D(OMINE) IN DIEB(VS) NOST(R); date:

(a) in the field divided by the lion, or

(b) in the field behind the lion along the inner circle, or

(c) at the end of the legend (from 1651 on followed by mintmaster's mark)

1639	1639	date a	obv. legend sometimes ending in ZWOL(L) IMP(ER)
1640		date a	
1641	1641	date a	

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1641	1641	date c	sometimes one rowel in the field of the obv.
1642	1642	date a	sometimes one rowel in the field of the obv.
1642		date b	one rowel in the field
1644		date a	one or two rowels in the field
1644	1644	date b	one rowel in the field
1644		date c	
1646	1646	date c	sometimes one rowel in the field
1647		date c	
1648	1648	date c	
1649	1649	date c	
1650	1650	date c	
1651	1651	date c	
1651		date c	mark: flower
1652	1652	date c	flower
1653		date c	flower
1655		date c	flower

IV *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant MO ARG CONFOE – BELG CIV(I) ZWOL

Rev.: Lion rampant; date and mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1661	mark:	flower
1663		flower
1664		flower
1665		flower
1666		flower
1677		flower
1685		flower
1688		flower

H. Enno van Gelder

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A PORTRAIT OF THE BUYID PRINCE RUKN AL-DAWLAH

(See PLATES XLV–XLVII)

In the summer of 1960 M. R. Gurnet of Momignies, a small town in Belgium south of Charleroi, sent me a plaster-cast of a curious coin that he had acquired and requested my help in identifying it. The coin so aroused my curiosity that I seized the opportunity of a brief visit in Brussels to run down to Momignies with M. Gurnet so that I could examine it at first hand. The trip was well worth it, not only because of M. Gurnet's hospitality but also because the piece turned out to be unique and, I think, of uncommon interest.

The coin (PLATE XLV, enlarged about 2½ diameters) is of silver, of unusually large dimensions and weight for a dirhem of its period (32 mm. in diameter and weighing 10.13 grams). The obverse presents in general the usual characteristics of a conventional Buyid coin; in the area, a six-line Kufic inscription reading:

لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
محمد رسول الله
المطيع لله
ركن الدولة
ابو على بويه

—that is, the *shahadah*, or declaration of faith, in full, followed by the name of the Caliph al-Muṭī' li'llāh, and the name of the Buyid prince Rukn al-Dawlah, abu-'Ali Buyeh. The *ṭā* of *al-Muṭī'* is braided. The single marginal legend has some unusual features. It reads:

بسم الله عمل (؟) هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة احدى وخمسين وتلثمائة
... (about 8 letters) صلى الله عليه.

The word following the *basmalah* appears to read *'umila*, "was made," rather than the usual formulary *ḍuriba*, "was struck." The coin, being

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of silver, should be called a dirhem, but the word after *hadha* seems to be *al-dīnār*. The words following the date (which usually concludes the marginal formula) are crowded and blurred and difficult to decipher, but I suspect they are *min hijrah nabī* (or *nabawīyah*), "of the *hijrah* of the Prophet," which would suit the concluding words, "may God bless him." I imagine that the die-engraver added these phrases after the date to fill the space provided by the unusually large size of the flan.

Thus the piece announces itself as a dinar, although in silver,[1] of Rukn al-Dawlah, struck in the year 351 H./962 A.D. at al-Muḥammadīyah, the ceremonial or beaurocratic name of Rayy, the great city of northern Jibāl, located a few miles south of present-day Teheran.

With the exceptions noted there is nothing particularly remarkable about this side of the coin, but it is when we turn it over that we meet with a real surprise. Instead of the usual epigraphical reverse we find a facing bust with two lines of Pahlevi inscription, one at either side of the head. Both the bust and the Pahlevi legend are strongly reminiscent of the Sasanian tradition. A ceremonial robe of honor is suggested by the oval compartments across the chest. The full face is bearded and moustached. On the head is a winged crown, which while it has no exact Sasanian prototype, is distinctly of Sasanian inspiration. The crescents in the margin are also a Sasanian survival. While most Sasanian numismatic heads are in profile, there are exceptions, such as the frontal portrait on a rare drachm of Khosrau II dated in the 36th year of his reign (PLATE XLVI, 1); and the goddess with the flaming nimbus, Khurāsān Khurrah, also appears frontally, as on the reverse of the same coin (PLATE XLVI, 2).[2]

The Pahlevi legend (Fig. 1) is, in the perverse way of most Pahlevi legends, difficult to decipher. It would be difficult enough, even if the

[1] The piece has been holed at some time, and later plugged. The plug has a brassy color, which suggests that at the time it was holed, or perhaps even immediately after it was struck, the whole piece may have been gilded. This might explain the anomalous "dinar" denomination.

[2] ANS (ex-E. T. Newell Collection), 33 mm., 3.98 gr. →. This specimen was mentioned by John Walker in "Some recent oriental coin acquisitions of the British Museum," *NC* 1935, p. 244, note 4. It is from the same dies as the British Museum specimen, loc.cit., pl. XVIII, 2. For the bibliography relating to Khurāsān Khurrah, see G. C. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region* (*NNM* No. 143, New York, 1959), p. 30.

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letters were not somewhat blurred through wear. I believe a possible reading is *GDH 'pzwt/MLKyn'n* (sic) *MLK'*, that is, *xvarreh afzūt/ shāhān shāh*, or "May the glory increase (of the) King of Kings," a reading which my friend Richard N. Frye agrees is probable. Further support for this probability is provided by another unique, almost contemporary piece, a gold medallion, published by Mehdi Bahrami in the Herzfeld Memorial Volume in 1952.[3]

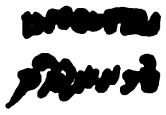


FIG. 1

This remarkable medallion (PLATE XLVI, 3) was struck at the mint of Fārs, that is, Shīrāz, in the year 359 H., just eight years after the coin of Rukn al-Dawlah under discussion. Both sides bear a similar portrait, but with different inscriptions, both in Kufic and in Pahlevi. The Pahlevi inscription on one side was read by Bahrami and Henning as *zīy dīr shā panā Kosraw*, that is, "May Shāh Fannā Khosraw live long," Fannā Khosraw being the name of the Buyid ʿAḍud al-Dawlah. The two Pahlevi lines on the other side of the medallion very closely resemble those on M. Gurnet's coin and were read *farrah afzud shāhān shāh*, in other words essentially the same legend as I propose to find on the coin of Rukn al-Dawlah. The robe bears quite a close resemblance to that on the Rukn al-Dawlah piece, and the head and crown are quite similar, although the execution in

[3] *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N. Y., 1952), p. 18 and pl. I, figs. 2a and b. This medallion has subsequently been illustrated by Ernst Kühnel in "Die Kunst Persiens unter den Buyiden" (*ZDMG* 1956, pp. 78–92), Abb. 11, and by Gaston Wiet in "L'Islam et l'art musulman," in *L'Art et l'Homme* (ed. René Huyghe, fasc. 16, pp. 133 ff.), fig. 375. A drawing of the bust appears in Mehdi Bahrami's *Gurgan Faiences* (Cairo, 1949), p. 57, fig. 10. Some doubt has been expressed about the authenticity of this medallion, but its resemblance to the coin under discussion, about whose genuineness there can be no question, would be an argument in its favor. It might perhaps be a modern copy of an original, but I doubt very much that the busts and the legends are fabrications. I have not examined the piece at first hand, nor do I know where it is. In May 1963 during a brief visit to Teheran I endeavoured to determine its location. Evidently it is not in Teheran; it may be in Meshhed.

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general is finer, the winged and jewelled crown more symmetrical and precisely defined.[4]

While we can scarcely call these two busts portraits in the ancient or the modern sense, I think there can be no doubt that they are intended as portraits of these two rulers, who were father and son. Rukn al-Dawlah abu-'Ali Ḥasan was ruler of Jibāl from 335[5] until his death in 366 H./946–976 A.D., and became overlord of the entire Buyid house from the time of his brother 'Imād al-Dawlah's death in 338.[6] He is believed to have been born in 284/897, so that at the time this portrait coin was struck he would have been about 65 years of age. We must search the chronicles for such biographical details as may enliven this face with more flesh and blood than the die-engraver has been able to achieve. While there is a very considerable body of information about the military and political events of Rukn al-Dawlah's reign, we learn relatively little about the man's character and personality. Ibn Khallikān's biography is lifeless.[7] Here and there scraps preserved in Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-umam* give us a few hints. Miskawayh says[8] that Rukn al-Dawlah, "though superior to the contemporary Dailemite princes, was still on the level of the predatory soldier, who is in a hurry for plunder, and saw no occasion to consider the effects of his conduct or the future of his subjects. By way of gratifying his troops he would permit them to commit acts from which no one else could restrain them and which were after-

[4] One wonders whether there may be some connection between this medallion and an allusion by Rūdhrāwari to a *dirham tāji* issued by 'Aḍud al-Dawlah. "One of 'Adud al-Dawlah's spies who returned from Cairo informed him among other things that he had gone to an old confectioner in Lamp Street, and handed him a dirhem of that prince's coinage (*Tāji*) to pay for something he was buying. The man returned the coin, and a dispute ensued wherein the confectioner abused the spy and the prince who had ordered the coin to be struck." (H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford, 1920–1921, III, p. 60, transl. VI, p. 59). There follows a long and involved spy story, but no further light is shed on what kind of coin this was or why it was not acceptable. Was there perhaps a dirhem issue with a crowned (*tāji*) bust similar to this gold presentation piece, and were there objections to its portrayal of a human figure?

[5] Miskawayh (in *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*), II, p. 108.

[6] Ibid., II, p. 120.

[7] Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, I, p. 407.

[8] II, p. 279, transl. V, p. 298; cf. Gaston Wiet, *Soieries Persanes* (Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte, Vol. LII, Cairo, 1947), p. 117.

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wards irreparable. He was compelled to do this because he was not himself of a royal house, and had not among the Dailemites the authority of an autocrat." This is an interesting remark, to which I will revert in a few moments. He goes on to say that Rukn al-Dawlah "was only their chieftain by virtue of the great liberality which formed a feature of his character, and his toleration of conduct which a prince does not ordinarily endure on the part of those whom he governs."

We know that he, like most of his contemporaries who were in a position to indulge their expensive tastes, amassed great wealth and practised extortion on a huge scale. We are told, for example, of one occasion before Rukn al-Dawlah succeeded to the rule when he was sent by his brother 'Imād al-Dawlah to Kāzirūn and other districts of Fārs and there not only extorted vast sums but also "unearthed great treasures that belonged to the Kisras, and had been inherited by certain families there; he raised more money than his brother had raised."[9] But if Rukn al-Dawlah was a robber baron of the first order, he also was not averse to dispensing great sums on occasion for the public weal. He spent 150,000 dinars on the repair of the great stone bridge known as the Qanṭarah Khurrah Zād over the Dujayl near Idhāj;[10] and the irrigation and water-supply canal at Shīrāz known as Ruknābād was built at his order.[11] However avaricious and predatory he also could be personally generous. He had, as Ibn al-Athīr says, an "impulsive and emotional character."[12] Some idea of his munificence, at least when it was politic to be magnanimous, and of the splendor of his court, may be gained from the account of the gifts which Rukn al-Dawlah bestowed on Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzabān the Sallārid when the latter fled from Azerbaijān to Rayy in such dire straits that he arrived "with a horse and riding-whip only, none of his followers having escaped." The incident occurred in 355 H., just four years after the coin we are discussing was issued.[13] Miskawayh was an

[9] Miskawayh, I, p. 281, transl. IV, p. 319.
[10] Yāqūt I, p. 416, IV, p. 189; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 245; Wiet, *Soieries*, p. 191.
[11] Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 250.
[12] VIII, 493. Cf. H. F. Amedroz, "The Vizier Abu-l-Faḍl Ibn al 'Amîd, from the 'Tajârib al-Umam' of Abu 'Ali Miskawaih," in *Der Islam* III (1912), pp. 323–351, specifically p. 345.
[13] Miskawayh, II, pp. 218–219; transl. V, p. 232.

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eye-witness. He stood with other sightseers close to Government House and watched the procession of gifts: "trays, bales and boxes of wearing apparel of all sorts ... borne on the heads of a hundred men ... gifts of perfume borne on silver dishes with the cases and other instruments that appertained thereto ... on the heads of thirty men ... sacks of coin ... on men's chests, with the purses of gold ... The bags of dirhems were upon fifty men, and the purses of dinars on twenty; the latter were of red silk, and the former of white, that they might be distinguished ... Stores of textiles on mules, which I did not count ... riding horses with saddles of gold and silver and horsecloths ... camels also beautifully equipped, laden with heavy articles of furniture, tents, pavilions, canvas sheets and marquees in great number and of fine quality. I never saw a gift of this size presented at a single time."

It was on just such occasions as this that special issues of dinars and dirhems were struck and distributed as presentation pieces or "pièces de circonstance." Perhaps the dinars and dirhems mentioned by Miskawayh were special issues. We know of several other Buyid examples. There is the gold medallion of ʿAḍud al-Dawlah discussed above. In 363 H./973–4 A.D. ʿIzz al-Dawlah struck a gold(?) piece in Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdād), with a lion devouring a gazelle or deer on one side, and a leopard (?) attacking an ibex or moufflon on the other (PLATE XLVI, 4).[14] And two years later, in 365, the same Buyid prince issued another gold presentation piece in Baghdād, portraying on the obverse a prince seated cross-legged, holding a cup and accompanied by two attendants (a familiar theme in Sasanian and Islamic art), and on the reverse a squatting lute-player (PLATE XLVII,

[14] So far as I know this piece has never been published. My photographs are of plaster casts presented to the American Numismatic Society by the British Museum in 1955. At that time Dr. John Walker did not know the provenance or location of the medallion. In my files are pencil rubbings, almost certainly of the same piece (in any case from the same dies), acquired from Mr. Edward Gans in 1941. Mr. Gans informed me that he had bought the piece from the estate of Dr. Hans Nussbaum of Zurich and that he had in turn sold it to Joseph Brummer in 1943. I have not been able to trace its subsequent history. Mr. Gans' (or Dr. Nussbaum's?) rubbings bear the notation "38 mm., 20.5 grms." As the mint/date formula gives no denomination (etc.... ضرب بمدينة السلام), it is not certain that the metal is gold, but to judge by the weight I surmise that it is.

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1).[15] Comparable iconographically is an anonymous gold medal in the Freer Gallery of Art, the obverse of which is illustrated in PLATE XLVII, 2.[16] Unfortunately no specimen of another Buyid "pièce de luxe" has survived, but in Ibn al-Athīr[17] we are told of an enormous 1000-*mithqāl* (that would be 4250 grams) medallion of gold which the famous vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād presented on the 1st of Muḥarram 378 H./988 A.D. to his master Fakhr al-Dawlah of Rayy.[18]

The Prime Minister Ibn ʿAbbād, or the Ṣāḥib, was the successor at Rayy of Ibn al-ʿAmīd II, Dhu'l-Kifāyatain, who in turn succeeded his father, Abu'l-Faḍl al-Kātib, Ibn al-ʿAmīd I, in this powerful position. The latter was Rukn al-Dawlah's vizier for many years and was in office in 351 when our portrait coin of Rukn al-Dawlah was struck. Ibn al-ʿAmīd was a man of many talents; a writer, poet, grammarian and philosopher, who among other intellectual gifts appears to have been endowed with an almost photographic memory. Not only was he a distinguished man of letters but he also enjoyed a

[15] The photographs reproduced here were taken by me directly from the medallion in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in May, 1963. This gold piece (36 mm., 18.30 grms.) was formerly in the Etnografya Müzesi in Ankara (Osman Ferit Sağlam, "Eşsiz bir madalya," in *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, 1935, figs. on pp. 3 and 4; cf. E. Kühnel, loc.cit., Abb. 10; Ibrahim Artuk, "Abbasiler devrine aid madalyalar," in *Tarih Dergisi*, VIII (1956), p. 152, and idem, "Abbasiler devrinde sikke," in *Belleten*, XXIV (1960), pl. II, no. 2). Almost identical is another specimen which has been illustrated and described several times: Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928), p. 126, pl. LIX a; M. Bahrami, loc.cit. in footnote 3, above, pp. 18–19, pl. I, 3a and b; John Walker, "A unique medal of the Seljuk Ṭughrilbeg," in *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society* (New York, 1958), p. 694, fig. 2. Walker's photographs are of plaster casts in the British Museum. I believe that this specimen is the same as one of which I have pencil rubbings from Edward Gans, a piece with the same history as that of the other medallion of 365 H., related in the preceding footnote. The rubbings bear the notation "36½ mm., 17.9 grms."

For the lute-player cf. E. Kühnel, "Der Lautenspieler in der islamischen Kunst des 8. bis 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den ehem. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Neue Folge*, I (1951), pp. 29–35.

[16] Published by Bahrami in *AOiMEH* (see footnote 3), pp. 5–20, pl. I, 1a and 1b.

[17] IX, 20; cf. M. Bahrami, *AOiMEH*, p. 6, and idem, *Gurgan Faiences*, p. 36.

[18] Another luxury object of Fakhr al-Dawlah's is mentioned in the literature: a seal of *nadd* (a compound of amber, musc and aloes) of 1000 *mithqāls* in a Fāṭimid treasure (cf. P. Kahle, "Die Schätze der Fatimiden," in *ZDMG* 1935, p. 357).

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VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, (VALENTINIAN III)

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Victory running l., dragging captive

51. *Obv.*: ...AVG
SALVS...
7–12 ↓ .45 SMHA[43]

52. SALVS...
10–12 ↑ .49

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, (VALENTINIAN III): BARBAROUS

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Victory running l., dragging captive

53. 11–12 .42

MARCIAN

 (V 5) within wreath

54. *Obv.*: DNMARC...
9–10 ↓ .77

 or (V 1 or 7) within wreath

55. *Obv.*: DN...
10–11 ↙ .98

 (V 7) within wreath

56. *Obv.*: ...AV.
10 ↙ 1.02 NIC

Indeterminate monogram within wreath

57. *Obv.*: ...N...
10–11 ↑ .89

58. 10–11 ↑ 1.23

59. 9–10 ↑ .94

60. 9–10 1.10

61. 7–10 .71[44]

[43] The coin has been halved. For the mint mark see note 34.
[44] Halved.

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MARCIAN: BARBAROUS

Barbarous monogram within wreath[45]

62. *Obv.*: ...ᔕ....
9–10 ↓ .63

VALENTINIAN II, VALENTINIAN III, OR MARCIAN

Reverse Illegible

63. *Obv.*: ...NVSPFA..[46]
9–11 .47

LIBIUS SEVERUS[47]

RᶜE (V 1)

64. 8 ↗ .49

LEO I

Anepigraphic. Lion crouching l., looking r. *Sab.* 19

65. *Obv.*: .NL...
7–8 ↓ .77 CON

66. 7–8 ↑ .61 CON

67. 7–8 ↙ .95

68. 9–11 .83

ᔕE (V 1) within wreath. *Sab.* 18

69. *Obv.*: DNL..
6–7 1.07

70. *Obv.*: ...PA..
7 ↓ 1.03

71. *Obv.*: ...AVG
6–7 ↑ .84

72. *Obv.*: ...O
4–7 ↓ .90

73. 6–7 ↑ .90

74. 6–7 .84

[45] Possibly an attempt at V 12.
[46] The coin is pierced.
[47] The monogram was first identified by I. Friedländer (*Die Münzen der Ostgothen*, Berlin, 1844, pp. 5f.) as that of Ricimer. The bust on the obverse is Libius Severus III, to whose reign (461–465) the piece must be assigned. CK assigns the type to the mint of Rome (no. 871, 872). Y 502; V 1059–1062.

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 or  (V 1 or 2) within wreath. *Sab.* 18

75. 6 ↓ 1.07 76. 6 ↓ .82

 (V 2) within wreath. *Sab.* 18

77. *Obv.*: ...AVG
7 ↑ 1.16 78. 10 .77

 (V 5) within wreath. *Sab.* 18

79. *Obv.*: ...NISP...
10 ↑ 1.04 *80. *Obv.*: ...OSP...
10–11 ↓ .80 ..NA[48]

Anepigraphic. Figure in long robes, nimbate, standing facing, holding globe surmounted by cross in r., and scepter transversely in l.[49]

Cf. *Sab.* 15

81. *Obv.*: ..LEO...
10–11 ↑ 1.06 bE 82. 10–11 ↑ 1.18 bE

83. 10–11 ↓ 1.02 "E 84. 10–11 ↙ .58

Same type, barbarous

85. 9 ↙ .41

[48] If the third letter of the mintmark is truly N, we have a rare instance of what must have been the early issue of Leo with the longer version of the mint mark, SMNA, before it was changed to NIC. Another example with the same obverse legend and apparently the same form of monogram on the reverse is listed by J. W. E. Pearce and M. E. Wood, "A Late Roman Hoard from Dalmatia," *Numismatic Chronicle* 5th Series XIV (1934), p. 276 (pl. VII, 26).

[49] The identification of the figure is a matter of dispute. Despite difficulties in accounting for bE in the reverse field, ascription to Leo's wife, Verina, seems more attractive than to Basilissa Eudoxia, the member of the Theodosian house who was released from Vandal captivity in 461. The latter event might call for a commemorative issue, but would not *prima facie* require continued reference over a number of years such as the abundance of the type in the coin finds would indicate. We should, however, prefer to suspend judgment pending further evidence. An ivory in Florence showing a female figure in the same pose and with the same attributes may represent the same figure. It is illustrated in H. Pierce and R. Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, vol. II, Paris, 1934, pl. 27, and, most recently, in J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople*, London, 1961, fig. 48, but assigned to the Empress Ariadne (d. 515).

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ZENO

 (V 4) within wreath

86. 8–10 .52

 (V 5) within wreath

87. *Obv.*: .NZEN...
8–9 ↓ .80

BASILISCUS

 (V 1) within wreath[50]

88. *Obv.*: ...I...S...
10–11 ↓ .73

ZENO OR BASILISCUS

Indeterminate monogram[51]

89. 7–8 .39

BASILISCUS AND MARCUS OR LEO AND VERINA

Two emperors enthroned[52]

*90. 10–11 ↑ 1.15

ROMAN, ILLEGIBLE[53]

91. *Obv.*: ...PFAVG
10 .70

92. *Obv.*: ...AVG
9–11 .71

[50] V 1023–28; CK 2284–6. *BMC* 31, 109 (pl. IV, 8) is probably a monogram of this type which has been printed upside down and attributed to Marcian. Nos. 1 and 2 under Basiliscus in the Table of Monograms in V should be reversed.

[51] The coin is badly enough damaged that it is impossible to decide between Zeno V3 and Basiliscus V2 for the form of monogram.

[52] The coin is quite heavy but must be placed in the latter part of the fifth century. It is either an example of the last coinage of Leo (V 887; CK 2276) with two emperors seated, facing, nimbate, each with transverse scepter, or a similar type depicting Basiliscus and Marcus. The type, first published in V (1042), shows them each not with scepter but with possibly a globe. This particular specimen is in such poor condition that it adds nothing to our knowledge of the issue.

[53] Fabric and style of lettering assign these to the early fifth century.

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ANASTASIUS OR JUSTINIAN[54]

 (Z 1) in reel border *BMC* 32, 128; *CK* 2288

93.	*Obv.*: ...AVG			94.	9	↑	.83
	8–9	↑	.54				
*95.	9	↑	.79	96.	9	↑	.76
97.	8	↑	.75	98.	8–9	↑	.71
99.	9–10	↑	.67	100.	9	↑	.66
101.	7–8	↑	.65	102.	8–10	↑	.61
103.	8–10	↑	.60	104.	9	↑	.58
105.	8–9	↑	.58	106.	9	↑	.57
107.	8–9	↑	.56	108.	9	↑	.50
109.	10	↓	1.03	110.	9–11	↓	.96
111.	10–11	↓	.76	112.	8–10	↓	.76
113.	8–9	↓	.65	114.	9	↓	.63
115.	8–9	↓	.60	116.	10	↓	.57
117.	9–10	↓	.56	118.	9–10	↓	.56
119.	8–9	↓	.55	120.	7–11	↓	.53
121.	7–10	↓	.52	122.	8–9	↓	.50
123.	8	↓	.48	124.	7–8	↓	.44
125.	8–9	↓	.43	126.	8	↓	.39
127.	7	↓	.34	128.	9	↗	.75
129.	8–10	↖	.75	130.	9–10	↖	.87
131.	7–9	↖	.41	132.	9	↙	.65
133.	9–10	↙	.54	134.	8–9	↙	.44
135.	9	↙	.63	136.	10	↘	.56
137.	8–9	←	.54	138.	9–10		.89
139.	8		.80	140.	8–9		.69
141.	8		.68	142.	9		.64

[54] Two coins found in the Italian Monte Roduni hoard with this monogram yielded the obverse inscription DNANASTA (Friedländer, p. 42). The attribution has been accepted and confirmed by later scholarship. The reverse type seems always to have been minted with a reel border. Since it is most likely that Justinian availed himself of the same formula (see above, p. 167), one should like to have some means of distinguishing, such as is not presently available. No coin with Justinian's name on it has come to our attention.

In the monogram series which follows (nos. 93–316) we have separated the coins showing a reel border from those which, if it existed, have it off flan.

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143.	7–8		.62	144.	9		.58
145.	8–9		.58	146.	8–10		.58
147.	9–10		.48	148.	8–9		.42
149.	8		.38				

 (Z 2) in reel border[55]

150.	9–10	↑	.50

 (Z 3) in reel border

151.	9	↓	.49

 (Z 4) in reel border

152.	8–9	↑	.77	153.	8–9	↓	.83
154.	8–11	↓	.73	155.	8–10	↓	.63
156.	8–9	↗	.78	157.	8		.36

 (Z 1 or 4)

158.	8–9	↑	.65	159.	9	↑	.58
160.	8–9	↑	.58	161.	8–9	↑	.57
162.	7–8	↑	.55	163.	8	↑	.54
164.	7–8	↑	.49	165.	7–8	↑	.46
166.	7	↑	.27[56]	167.	8–9	↓	.94
168.	8	↓	.76	169.	8–9	↓	.64
170.	7–9	↓	.61	171.	8–9	↓	.51
172.	9–11	↗	.90	173.	9–10	↗	.73
174.	8–9	↗	.70	175.	7–8	↗	.67
176.	9	↗	.60	177.	8–9	↗	.52
178.	8	↗	.46	179.	9–11	↙	.78
180.	9	↙	.76	181.	7–8	↘	.31[57]
182.	9	←	.36	183.	9–10		.75
184.	9–10		.75	185.	8–10		.55
186.	8–9		.46	187.	7–9		.40[58]

[55] Unless the form is merely a caprice of the die-cutter, the double A can only be Anastasius, not Justinian.
[56] This is a coin fragment.
[57] Fragment.
[58] Fragment.

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Same, in reel border

188.	*Obv.*: ...AVC			189.	*Obv.*: ...V.		
	8–10	↓	.67		8–10	↑	.56
190.	9–10	↑	.69	191.	8–9	↑	.64
192.	8–10	↑	.62	193.	8–10	↑	.60
194.	8	↑	.59	195.	8	↑	.46
196.	9	↓	.77	197.	8–9	↓	.76
198.	9–10	↓	.76	199.	8–11	↓	.74
200.	10–11	↓	.71	201.	9–11	↓	.68
202.	8–10	↓	.67	203.	7–8	↓	.59
204.	9	↓	.57	205.	9–10	↓	.55
206.	7–8	↓	.46	207.	8	↗	.62
208.	8–9	↗	.61	209.	7	↗	.53
210.	8–10	↗	.42	211.	8–9	↖	.63
212.	9–10	↖	.61	213.	7–9	↙	.60
214.	9–10	↙	.54	215.	9–10	↘	.52
216.	7–8	→	.48	217.	8–10		.85
218.	8–9		.70	219.	9–10		.67
220.	9		.59	221.	8–10		.51
222.	7–9		.40	223.	9–10		.38

 (Z 5) in reel border

224.	8	↑	.59	225.	7–8	↑	.33
226.	8–9	↓	.52	227.	8	↓	.39

Same, in wreath

*228.	9–10	→	.86				

 (Z 6)

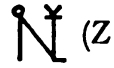
229.	*Obv.*: ...AVC			230.	10–12	↑	.68
	9–11	↑	.55				
231.	7–8	↑	.55	232.	8–9	↑	.60
233.	8–9	↓	.72	234.	8–9	↙	.55
235.	7–10		.60	236.	8–9		.60

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Same, in reel border

237.	*Obv.*: ...V.			238.	7–10	↓	.37
	8–9	↘	.46				
239.	9		.81	240.	8–10		.70
241.	8–9		.51				

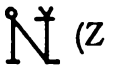
JUSTIN I[59]

 (Z 1) *BMC* 33, 135

242.	9–10	↑	.83	243.	8–9	↑	.57
244.	8–9	↑	.52	245.	8–9	↓	.50
246.	8–9	↓	.47	247.	8	↓	.36[60]
248.	8–9	↗	.80	249.	8–9	↗	.46
250.	9–10	↙	.72	251.	9–10		1.00
252.	8–9		.72				

Same, in reel border

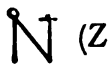
253.	10–11	↑	.84	254.	8–10	↑	.82
255.	8–9	↑	.63	256.	9	↑	.57
257.	9–10	↑	.55	258.	8–9	↑	.41
259.	10–12	↓	.84	260.	8	↓	.70
261.	8–9	↓	.56	262.	8–10	↓	.55
263.	8–9	↓	.41[61]	264.	9	↗	.62
265.	9–10	↙	.65	266.	9–10	↙	.65
267.	9–10	↙	.64	268.	9–10	↘	.52
269.	8		.55	270.	8		.54
271.	7–9		.37[62]				

 (Z 2)

272.	8–9	→	.50				

[59] For the assignment of the next four monograms to this emperor see above, p. 170. *BMC* 33, 135–138 gives the monogram to Anastasius, but there are no accompanying inscriptions. It does not appear as a separate form in Sabatier or Kraus or in Friedländer's description of the Monte Roduni find.
[60] Fragment.
[61] Fragment.
[62] Fragment.

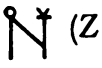
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 (Z 3)

273.	*Obv.*: ...FAVG			274.	8–9	↑	.77
	9	↗	.56				
275.	8–9	↑	.41	276.	9–10	↓	1.07
277.	8	↓	.76	278.	8–9	↓	.57
279.	7	↓	.52	280.	8–9		.62

Same, in reel border

281.	*Obv.*: ...AVG			282.	9–10	↑	.90
	8–10	↓	.66				
283.	8–9	↑	.67	284.	8	↑	.61
285.	8–9	↑	.54	286.	8–9	↓	.91
287.	8–9	↓	.41	288.	8–9	↓	.35
289.	9	↗	.73	290.	8–9	↙	.59
291.	9	↙	.43	292.	9–10		.93
293.	8		.68	294.	9–10		.66
295.	8		.54	296.	7–8		.48

 (Z 4)

297.	10	↗	1.09

INDETERMINATE MONOGRAMS, ANASTASIUS THROUGH JUSTINIAN[63]

298.	8	↑	.61	299.	7–9	↓	.41
300.	9–10		.88	301.	8–9		.54
302.	7		.44	303.	6–7		.44

Same, in reel border

304.	*Obv.*: ...AV.			305.	8–10	↑	.83
	10	↑	.54				
306.	8	↑	.60	307.	8–10	↑	.52[64]

[63] The monograms under this heading are not completely on flan and do not permit closer identification.
[64] Fragment.

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308.	10	↓	.92	309.	8–9	↓	.41[65]
310.	8	↙	.41	311.	8	→	.62
312.	7–8	→	.44[66]	313.	8–9		.68
314.	8		.65	315.	8–9		.6?[67]
316.	8		.38				

SIXTH CENTURY

Victory advancing l., with wreath and palm[68] *BMC* 20, 21

317.	8–9	↙	.42	318.	8	↖	.23
319.	7–9	↗	.29	320.	9	↘	.48
321.	8–9	↙	.47	322.	8	↙	.43
323.	8	↙	.39	324.	8	↙	.36
325.	8	←	.36	326	7–8		.30
*327.	8–9		.51	328.	8–9		.46
329.	7–9		.34	330.	8–9		.33

Victory standing front, wreath in each hand cf. *BMC* 22, 42

331.	9–10	↑	.66

[65] Fragment.
[66] Fragment.
[67] Fragment.
[68] The coins under this heading have been assigned to the sixth century on two counts: 1) style and fabric; and 2) equivalent specimens do not appear in significant amounts in the fifth century Volo and Yale hoards. The Victory types are more barbarized than on specimens of the late fifth century. The lines of the drapery are finely and symmetrically drawn but seem to exist as geometric designs in their own right and not as the dress pattern itself. Both the thickness and the diameter of the coins are considerably less than coins of the fifth century; in fact, they fall short of many of the sixth century monogram types, for example. The completely erratic die positions also rouse suspicion. The coins may possibly be imitations minted in Italy from a theme which is common on the gold coinage of the period but had not been used on the bronze since early in the fifth century. The sum of these factors leads us to refer more of the Victory types than has previously been done to the sixth century instead of the fifth, or at least to keep in mind that distinctions can and should be made. Most of the fifth century specimens found at Zacha seem in their general characteristics imitative of the coinage of Valentinian III and have been so entered in the catalogue. If so, Italy is again a likely source of mintage. Needless to say, the poor quality of the coins in question, 317–331, renders the exact identification of the stance of the Victory figure sometimes ambiguous.

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Cross potent in reel border[69] *BMC* 38, 173
Pellet in each of two lower segments

332. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ← .46

333. *Obv.*: Dots for inscr.
8–9 ↙ .34

334. 8–9 ↓ .35

335. 7 ↙ .24

336. 9 ↗ .48

337. 8 → .29

*338. 8 → .65

Cross pattée in wreath[70] *BMC* 41, 201
Pellet in each of two lower segments

*339. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↑ 1.02

 (Z 1) in reel border[71]

340. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↙ .86

Indeterminate monograms, barbarous[72]

341 *Obv.*: Traces of letters
10–11 .72

342. 8–10 .40

343. 8–9 .35

[69] As in the case of the Victory figures, the style and fabric of these coins suggest that they be assigned to the sixth century. The relief on the reverse is high and sharp. The strong linear effect of the cross, its lines filling the whole of the reverse field, is very similar to the impression made by coins 392–410, which can on other grounds be assigned to Justinian. The flans are quite thin.

[70] The reverse of this coin is surprisingly well made: the details of the wreath carefully drawn and the cross well centered. It is of heavier weight than the preceding specimens. The severe economy of line with which the obverse bust is drawn and the carelessness in the treatment of the obverse legend mark the coin as belonging to the sixth century. This discrepancy between the artistic quality of obverse and reverse is characteristic of the bronze coinage of the period.

[71] Cf. *BMC* 36, 154. The *BMC* specimens lack the star and the projection from the lower part of the right leg.

[72] The form of monogram is not clearly enough preserved to merit illustration or conjecture. Assignment is on stylistic grounds.

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JUSTIN OR JUSTINIAN (?)

☧ (Z 1) Christogram in reel border[73] *BMC* 37, 159

344. *Obv.*: IVS...
9–10 ↑ .57

*345. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↑ .66

346. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–10 ↑ .62

347. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7 ↑ .51

348. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ↑ .38

349. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↘ 1.00

350. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ↗ .39

351. 8–10 ↑ .53

352. 8–9 .75

353. 7–9 .49

354. 7–8 .39

JUSTINIAN I

Ⓐ (Z 1) in reel border[74] *BMC* 34, 141

*355. *Obv.*: IVSTI...
9 ↖ .84

356. *Obv.*: IVSTI...
10–11 ↗ .57

[73] Coins with a Christogram reverse have generally been assigned to Justinian. The lone specimen in the Monte Roduni find (Friedländer, pp. 43, 52) reads only IVS—. Those listed in the *BMC* have garbled legends which suggest Justinian. A coin in the Italian Castro dei Volsci hoard reads simply IVS.. (L. Cesano, "Della moneta enea corrente in Italia nell' ultima età imperiale romana e sotto i re ostrogoti," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* XXVI (1913), p. 515, no. 225). Sabatier lists the type but does not attempt an ascription. The Zacha specimens are on the whole more poorly made than the other coins of Justinian in the hoard. In some instances the obverse is anepigraphic. Postolakas assigned the type to Justin I but does not record a legend (see above, p. 164). Since a Christogram appears on the larger bronze of Justin (W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, Volume I, London, 1908, p. 16, 40–48 (pl. III, 10), it is at least theoretically possible that some of our coins belong to him. For the Ravenna silver coins of Justinian with a Christogram see *BMC* 117, 69–71.

[74] Four examples of the type were unearthed at Monte Roduni (Friedländer, p. 43). One of the 19 specimens listed by L. Cesano from Castro dei Volsci reads IVS..INIA (op.cit., p. 515, nos. 158–176). The coins are very common and have been found throughout the eastern Mediterranean: 1 at Antioch (Waage, op.cit., no. 2055); 1 at Cyprus (Cox, op.cit., no. 642); 51 at Athens (Thompson, op.cit., no. 1718); 7 at Corinth (K. M. Edwards, *Corinth. Volume VI. Coins 1896–1929*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1933, no. 760); 12 at Caesarea (H. Hamburger, "Minute Coins from Caesarea," *Atiqot. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities* I (1954), p. 136, no. 113); and 5 at Olympia (Postolakas type 3; see above, p. 165).

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357. 9–10 ↑ .66
358. 8 ↑ .54
359. 8–9 ↑ .42
360. 8–9 ↖ .54
361. 8–9 ↖ .37
362. 8–9 ↗ .68
363. 8–9 ↙ .56
364. 8–9 ← .48
365. 9 ← .44
366. 8 ← .47
367. 9–11 ← .68
368. 9 ← .77
369. 9–10 → .67
370. 9–10 → .63
371. 10–11 .82
372. 8–9 .59

Same, barbarous

373. 9 ↑ .41
374. 7 ↑ .59
375. 9–11 ↓ .52
376. 9–10 ↙ .51
377. 9–11 ↖ .36
378. 9 → .33[75]
379. 7–8 .47
380. 7–9 .28[76]

 (Z 2) in wreath[77] *BMC* 33, 140

381. *Obv.*: IVSTIN...
10 ↙ .85
382. *Obv.*: IVSTI...
8–9 ↑ .71
*383. *Obv.*: ...IANVS
9–11 ↓ .59

 (Z 3) in reel border *BMC* 33, 139

*384. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8 ↓ .46
385. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↓ .37
386. 8–9 ↓ .77[78]
387. 9 ↖ .76

[75] The coin is pierced.
[76] Pierced.
[77] Sabatier, vol. I, p. 86 (pl. I, 26) gave this and the following monogram to Anastasius, incorrectly. The name of Justinian has been read on the Monte Roduni specimens of both types (Friedländer, pp. 43, 52), corroborated also by the Castro dei Volsci coins (Cesano, op.cit., p. 515, nos. 177–222).
[78] The monogram on this coin is practically a mirror image of the type:  .

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VOT XIII(I) in wreath[79] *BMC* 28, 86

388. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↑ .69

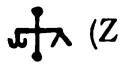
389. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
10–11 ↓ .88

Same, barbarous

390. 8–9 ↓ .25

VOT XIIII in wreath *BMC* 29, 91

*391. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↑ .64

 (Z 4) in wreath[80] *BMC liv, note*; *Friedländer*, 43

392. *Obv.*: IVSTI...
Emperor, nimbate, facing front,
holding *globus cruciger* in r.
8–10 ↗ .46

393. *Obv.*: IVS...
Same as No. 392
5–10 ↓ .36[81]

*394. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
8–10 ↑ .54

395. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
8–9 ↓ .37

396. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
9–10 ↗ .59

397. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
10 ↙ .62

398. *Obv.*: Same as No. 392
9 ↙ .48

[79] The assignment of this and the following type to Justinian is confirmed by the reading of the emperor's name in the *BMC* recorded specimens.

[80] The type has been noted in three examples from Monte Roduni (Friedländer, p. 43) and three from Olympia (type 9 above, p. 165), and no doubt represents an imperial issue. Although the facing bust does not appear on the large bronze of Justinian before A.D. 538, this need not apply to the Æ 4. Examples of a facing bust for Anastasius have been recorded on Byzantine silver stamps. As Dodd points out (op.cit., p. 9, note 35), we are not dealing with an individual likeness of an Emperor but rather with "a formal type-portrait adopted by Anastasius and used by his successors." The adoption of the facing bust on the coinage should be viewed in the same light as Justinian's adoption of the monogram of Anastasius. It serves both as a convenient abstract symbol of imperium as well as a definition of the name of the particular ruler.

[81] Fragment.

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⁂ (Z 5) in reel border[82]

399. *Obv.*: IV...
Emperor, facing front, nimbate
8–9 ↘ .55

400. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399, but bust flanked by cross on either side: † †
7–8 ↑ .44

*401. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|†
7–9 ↓ .66

402. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 † †
8–9 ↓ .36

403. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|†
7–10 ↗ .48

404. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|†
8–9 ↗ .79

405. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|†
9–10 ↗ .62

406. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 ''' †
8 ↗ .45

407. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399 †|'''
8–9 ↓ .45

408. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399
7–9 ↑ .37

409. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399
8–12 ↘ .54

ϘΗΡ (Z 6) in reel border[83]

*410. *Obv.*: Same as No. 399
7–10 ↓ .44

VANDAL ROYAL COINAGE

THRASAMUND

Victory running l., holding wreath[84]

*411. *Obv.*: DNRC...
9–11 ↓ .62

412. *Obv.*: DNR...
10 ↖ .40

413. *Obv.*: ...IASI
9–10 ↖ .58

414. 9–10 ↗ .55

[82] Examples of the type have appeared so far at Olympia (10; see above, type 4, p. 165) and at Caesarea (6; H. Hamburger, op.cit., p. 136, no. 114). It is a moot point whether the formula should be read as the letter A or as a triangle with one projecting side. The obverse in most cases seems to be anepigraphic.

[83] Unpublished. Its attribution to Justinian is on stylistic grounds.

[84] The assignment oj these coins to Thrasamund seems to us confirmed by the recent study of M. Troussel, "Les Monnaies Vandales d' Afrique Découvertes de Bou-Lilate et du Hamma," *Recueil des Notices et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Départment de Constantine* LXVII (1950–51), pp. 147–192. The letters are held to stand for *Dominus Noster Rex*. Cf. a similar type with obverse legend —ASI (cf. our coin 413) assigned by Sabatier (vol. I., p. 218, no. 6) and by Wroth (*BMC* 21, 37) to Thrasamund.

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HILDERIC

Reverse illegible, in wreath

415. *Obv.*: HILD...
9–10 .66

GELIMER

 (Z 1) in wreath *BMC* 16,4 *Var.*

*416. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
10–11 → .88

"VANDALIC"

N I (?) in reel border[85]

417. 10 → .89

Palm tree with fruit, in reel border[86] *BMC* 26, 68

418. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9 → .79

419. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ↓ .37

420. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ↗ .29

421. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–11 ↙ .63

422. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↙ .59

*423. Traces of letters
9 ↘ .46

424. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↘ .43

425. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–11 ← .68

426. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ← .57

427. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 ← .48

428. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 .72

429. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 .71

430. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 .57

431. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–9 .45

432. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
7–8 .30

[85] The piece is too worn to permit of an exact description and it is quite possible that part of the type is off flan. In any case, the specimen is unpublished. Small bronze with N IIII are known in the Vandal series (*BMC* 7, 12), but the formula is always in two lines.

[86] For the possible attribution of this common type to Gelimer see above, p. 165, note 13. The obverse on these coins is very crudely done.

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Imitations[87]

433. 8–9 ↓ .37
434. 8–10 ↖ .50
435. 8–9 ↗ .51
436. 7–8 ↙ .44
437. 7–9 ↙ .38
438. 8 ↘ .50
439. 6–8 .41
440. 8–9 .37
441. 7–8 .35

OSTROGOTHIC ROYAL COINAGE

THEODORIC

 (Z 1) in reel border *Kraus* 96,80

442. 9 ↓ .71

 (Z 2) in reel border *Kraus* 96,80 *Var.*

443. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
8–9 ↑ .54

Indeterminate monograms in reel border

444. 8 .45
445. 8–9 .52

ATHALARIC(?)[88]

MI
IA in reel border

*446. *Obv.*: ATH...
9 ↗ .63

[87] The obverse is in all instances anepigraphic.
[88] Unpublished. The reading of the first I on the reverse is doubtful and the ascription to Athalaric, who is not otherwise represented in the hoard, is open to question.

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BADUILA

 (Z 1) in wreath[89] *BMC* 89,24; *Kraus* 196,69

447. *Obv.*: ...PFAVG
9–10 ↓ .82

448. *Obv.*: ...AVG
8–9 ↓ .62

449. *Obv.*: ...AVG
9 ↓ .59

450. *Obv.*: ...AVG
7–10 ↓ .42

451. *Obv.*: ...AVG
8–10 ↙ .75

452. *Obv.*: ...VG
9 ↖ .49

453. 10–11 ↓ .87

454. 9–10 ↓ .70

455. 10 ↓ .83

456. 8 ↑ .69

457. 8–9 ↑ .66

 (Z 2) in wreath

458. 9–10 .76

459. 9 .64

 (Z 3) in wreath

*460. *Obv.*: ...TASI...
9–10 ↗ .52

$\overline{\text{DN}}^{*}_{\text{B}}$REX in wreath *BMC* 90,28; *Kraus* 196,71

461. *Obv.*: ...SAVG[90]
9–10 ↑ 1.06

462. 8–9 ↑ .75

463. 7–8 ↑ .61

464. 9–10 ↑ .42

*465. 9 ↓ .64

466. 8–9 ↗ .76

467. 9–10 .57

[89] The obverse of these pieces shows the head of Anastasius, who remains on Baduila's bronze until replaced by a portrait of the king himself. There is no evidence that Baduila ever struck bronze with the head of Justinian, who was after all his enemy. Reference to such coins at Sessa Aurunca in Italy (A. Levi, "Sessa Aurunca. Tesoretto di monetine di bronzo bizantine follari o nummi," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, Serie Quinta, XVI (1919), p. 357) bearing the monogram of Baduila with the legend DN IVSTINIANVS PP AC issuspicious. Silver pieces with the head of Justinian are extremely rare and are to be assigned to the very beginning of the reign before the change (see *BMC*, p. 85).

Coins 447–495 and 511 were struck at Baduila's capital, Ticinum (See Kraus, op.cit., p. 183; *BMC*, pp. 89ff.).

[90] These coins have the bust and legend of Anastasius on the obverse.

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DN$_{B}^{*}$REX in wreath

468. 9 .77
469. 8–9 .59
470. 9–10 .44

$\overline{\text{DN}}$ REX in wreath *Kraus* 197,73
B

471. *Obv.*: ...AVG
8–9 ↓ .76
472. 9 ↑ .87
473. 8–9 ↑ .61
474. 9–10 ↓ .73
475. 8–9 ↓ .71
476. 10–11 ↘ .62
477. 8–9 ← .51
478. 9–10 .45

DN REX in wreath *Kraus* 197,74
B

479. *Obv.*: ...AS...
8–9 ↓ .67
480. *Obv.*: ...SAVG
8–9 ↖ .58
481. *Obv.*: ...SAVG
10 ↙ .75
482. *Obv.*: ...AVG
9 ↑ .55
483. *Obv.*: ...AVG
8 ↓ .41
484. 8–9 ↑ .65
485. 9–10 ↑ .64
486. 10 ↓ 1.00
487. 10 ↓ .86
488. 9–10 ↓ .47
489. 8–9 ↗ .60
490. 8–9 ↗ .48
491. 8 .79
492. 10 .79

DN $\underline{\text{REX}}$ in wreath
B

493. *Obv.*: ...AV.
8–9 ↓ .69

$\underline{\overline{\text{DN}}}$ REX in wreath
B

494. 9–10 .75

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$\overline{\dot{D}\dot{N}}$ REX in wreath
B

495. 9–10 ↓ .60

Imitations

$\overline{DN}^{*}_{B}$REX in wreath

496. *Obv.*: . . .RIA2
9–10 ↓ .70

497. *Obv.*: Traces of letters
9–10 ↓ .83

Lion advancing r., within wreath[91] *BMC* 94,50; *Kraus* 198,80

498. *Obv.*: DNB ADVI. .
Bust of Baduila, beardless, facing, wearing crown and robes
9–10 ↑ .51

*499. *Obv.*: DNB ADVI. .
Same as No. 498
10–12 ↓ .93

500. *Obv.*: DNB. . .
Same as No. 498
9–11 ↑ 1.01

501. *Obv.*: DNB. . .
Same as No. 498
11–12 ↓ 1.05

502. *Obv.*: DNB. . .
Same as No. 498
9–11 ↓ .76

503. *Obv.*: . .B A. . .
Same as No. 498
9–10 ↗ .53

504. *Obv.*: . . .VILA
Same as No. 498
9 ↙ .37

505. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
9–10 ↑ .92

506. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
9–10 ↑ .52

507. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
9 ↓ .62

508. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
9–10 ↓ .51

Imitations

509. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
6–8 ↑ .26

510. *Obv.*: Same as No. 498
7 ↗ .22

[91] Minted at Rome (see Kraus, op.cit., p. 183; *BMC*, p. 94). Wroth points out that these coins are on the model of the small bronze of Justinian also minted at Rome with the same reverse (*BMC* p. 94, n. 1 and pl. XVI, 9, 10).

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Æ 3[92]

D N in wreath *BMC* 91,35; *Kraus* 196,65
BADV
ELA
REX

*511. 10–14 ↓ 1.29

OSTROGOTHIC

Æ 3

Unidentifiable fragment, in reel border[93]

512. ...A
9–13 .88

UNCERTAIN

Æ 4

Lion standing l., looking back; no border[94]

*513. * above lion
11 ↓ 1.19

HOWARD L. ADELSON AND GEORGE L. KUSTAS

[92] A 10-nummi piece which has been severely cut down.
[93] The piece has been severely cut down so that further identification is impossible. Perhaps same as preceding.
[94] The bust is badly gouged. Although the legend cannot be read there are enough traces of letters remaining to make it certain that this is not a coin of Leo. Likewise, it can not be assigned to Baduila, whose lion series shows consistently a facing bust on the obverse and a lion striding right. The same description applies to the coins of Justinian minted at Ravenna. The coin is very well made and shows traces of a mint mark. It should possibly be assigned to the late fifth or early sixth century and considered an Italian imitation of Leo's issues with standing lion types.

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TABLE OF MONOGRAMS IN THE ZACHA HOARD

MARCIAN



V1 V5 V7

LIBIUS SEVERUS



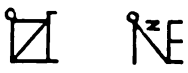
V1

LEO I



V1 V2 V5

ZENO



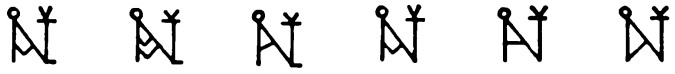
V4 V5

BASILISCUS



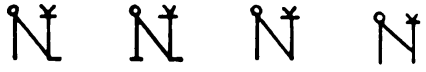
V1

ANASTASIUS OR JUSTINIAN



Z1 Z2 Z3 Z4 Z5 Z6

JUSTIN I



Z1 Z2 Z3 Z4

SIXTH CENTURY



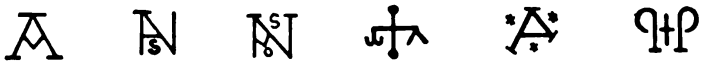
Z1

JUSTIN OR JUSTINIAN (?)



Z1

JUSTINIAN I



Z1 Z2 Z3 Z4 Z5 Z6

GELIMER



Z1

THEODORIC



Z1 Z2

BADUILA



Z1 Z2 Z3

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THREE MORE HOARDS OF BYZANTINE COPPER[1] COINS

(See Plates XXXI–XXXIX)

Two hoards of Byzantine coins belonging to the University of Nebraska have been loaned me for study by the Rev. I. C. G. Campbell, the University's Curator of Coins and the donor of the hoards. They are here published with his permission and with my great gratitude for his generosity and his patience in what neither of us expected to be so long an operation. Correspondence about them with Mr. D. M. Metcalf of Oxford, England, makes it clear to me that a more searching analysis of details and more recorded weights would yield more information, but as it is apparent that I am not going to have the time that such further study would demand, I must content myself with this brief presentation, somewhat supplemented by notes that I have transmitted to him on particular points which he raised. I hope they will be useful for his further researches in a field where he has no superiors and fewer competitors than he could wish.

The third hoard here presented was aquired near Troy in the 30's.

ISTANBUL HOARD A OF 1946

In 1946 Mr. Campbell acquired in Istanbul a large hoard of scyphate coins extending from John II to Alexius III. He had good reason to believe that it was actually found in the city and that it was complete. For the most part the types are familiar but the flans are distinctly smaller than those published by Wroth: 20–23 mm. as against about 30 mm. The difference in the diameter of the dies themselves is only between ca. 16 mm. for the specimens in the hoard and ca. 18 mm. for the published examples, but it is enough to show that they were

[1] I have abandoned the convention of calling these coins bronze since analysis shows that they are predominantly copper.

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prepared for different sized flans. There is no sign of these having been cut down after striking. Except for the earliest pieces the metal is copper which has been silvered as is plainly visible on many of them. John continued to use billon for these small coins as he did for the larger ones of Wroth's Types 5, 6 and 7. One of his specimens, however, seems to have been silvered copper so that perhaps we may conclude that the new fashion came in at the end of his reign. The flans are neatly made and the dies are competently cut. The inscriptions never appear complete and seldom appear at all but the coins as a whole look neither barbarous nor degenerate. Their fabric is exactly like that described for a much smaller group, the Istanbul Hoard of 1933, *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, 1958, pp. 169–171. That also consisted of coins of Manuel I, Andronicus I, Isaac II and Alexius III, and therefore supports the evidence of the present hoard.

The combination of the two and the fact that this fabric appears so rarely elsewhere makes a prima facie case for the theory that they were struck at the capital. It is, however, by no means clear what their relation is to the large flans published by Wroth and heretofore considered the standard scyphate issues of base metal. We have no convincing published evidence for the provenance of those, but if they also are not products of the mint of the capital we must find some other origin for what are the most impressive examples of this class. If they do all come from the same city we must explain the simultaneous issue of two strictly parallel series. The explanation that comes to mind first is that of two different denominations, and this may indeed be the true one. Remarks on that possibility with regard to different types may be found in Bellinger and Metcalf "A Hoard of Byzantine Scyphate Bronze Coins from Arcadia," *NC*, 1959, pp. 155–164 (but see the comment on p. 163, nos. 195–201).

Whatever the ultimate decision, the first step is the assembly of as much evidence as possible. The contents of the Istanbul Hoard A of 1946 is as follows.

John II, 1118–1143

1–7. Bust of Christ bearded nimbate facing. Almost obliterated.

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Rev.: Bust of John in crown, jewelled collar and divitision,[2] holding in r. cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. On one specimen ΠΤ, on one Δ. The full inscription should be, according to Wroth, ΙϢΔЄCΠΟΤΤΠΦVPOГNT but our ΠΤ shows that there must have been variations.

PLATE XXXI, 1

These are like Wroth's Type 6 (*BMC*, pp. 562f., nos. 53–56) except for the size of the flans. The metal of six of them appears to be billon, as in the BM; one is copper that has been silvered.

Manuel I, 1143–1180

8–10. Bust of Christ beardless nimbate facing. Almost obliterated.

Rev.: Bust of Manuel in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and chlamys decorated with jewels, holding in r.

[2] It is impossible to be certain about the names of the garments. Our fullest information comes from Chapter 46(37) of Book I of the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus which is well summarized by James D. Breckenridge, "The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II," *NNM* 144, 1959, pp. 31f., 35–38. In the 10th century it would seem that there were three imperial garments of capital importance: the divitision, the chlamys and the loros. The first was a long tunic, the second a cloak fastened by a fibula on the right shoulder, the third a long narrow scarf worn around the body, one end generally falling over the left wrist. The divitision might be worn alone or with either of the others. All were essentially civilian garb, the third being a development of the ancient *consular trabea*. It is assumed that the garments that appear on these coins are forms of one or other of these three, though we hear also of two more called sagion and tzitzakion whose form we do not know, and the scaramangion seems to have been either a substitute for the divitision or the same article under a different name. But the illustrations do not exactly coincide with the descriptions. The divitision is said to have been decorated but its richness consisted chiefly in its woven or embroidered ornament. On the coins, however, the emperor is sometimes shown standing in a long robe decorated with three rows of jewels (e.g., *BMC*, pl. LXVI, 6–11). It is the upper part of such a robe which appears on the coins of John, our nos. 2 and 3. This is worn with a loros, also jewelled, which crosses it like a broad belt and is draped over the emperor's left wrist. Whether the long garment is a form of divitision or went by another name we cannot say. It is known that by the 14th century the names divitision and chlamys had given place to saccus and mandyas. Codinus, *De Officialibus Palatii Constantinopolitani* XVII, Bonn, p. 93, ll. 19f. ἐνδύεται ἐ πάνω τοῦ σάκκου καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος μανδύαν χρυσοῦν. Cantacuzenus in *Historia* I. 41, Bonn, p. 200, l. 6 calls the saccus ἡ πορφύρη. Further research may provide more information about 12th century regalia and we may have to abandon the use of 10th century terms.

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labarum, in l. *globus cruciger*. On one specimen MA, on two HΛ.

PLATE XXXI, 2

These bear the same relation to Wroth's Type 9 (*BMC*, p. 574, nos. 34–39) that the preceding ones do to Type 6 of John. The fact that there are only three specimens and that their obverses are much more worn than those of Manuel's other types gives ground for regarding this as his earliest issue, almost exhausted by the time the hoard was buried.

11–86. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$. Christ bearded nimbate seated on throne without back.

PLATE XXXI, 3

Rev.: MANϚHΛ to l. ΔЄCΠOT to r. (never complete and seldom legible at all). On l. Manuel in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and loros with star of jewels, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. To r. Mother of God nimbate crowning him. Beside her head to l. $\overline{\text{MP}}$ to r. $\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$. In 15 cases the jewels on the loros take the form ⁘ (XXXI, 4), in one ✳ (XXXI, 5); in all the others it is ∴ (XXXI, 6).

PLATE XXXI, 4–6

This is the smaller counterpart of Wroth's Type 11, Variety 1 (*BMC*, p. 575, nos. 40–47). The average wear is much less than on the preceding type.

87–105. Similar, but to l. and r. above seat of throne, stars.
Rev.: Same inscription and type. Jewel always ∴.

PLATE XXXI, 7, 8

This is the smaller counterpart of Wroth's Type 11, Variety 2 (*BMC*, p. 575, nos. 48–50). The degree of wear does not distinguish this from the preceding variety.

106–173. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$. Mother of God seated on throne with back.
Rev.: MANϚHΛ upward on l. ΔЄCΠOTHC downward on r. Manuel in crown, jewelled collar, divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus* with patriarchal cross (on two coins the *globus* bears a plain cross).

PLATE XXXI, 9–11

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This is like Wroth's Type 13, Variety 1 (*BMC*, pp. 576f., nos. 56, 57). The condition does not justify any theory as to whether this is an earlier or later issue than nos. 11–86 and 81–105. In view of the numbers included in this hoard, however, it is a fair presumption that the four issues of Manuel involved were the only ones issued on these small flans or at least that, if Wroth's Type 12 was so issued, it was in small quantity and so early in the reign as to have been no longer in circulation by the time the hoard was buried. Wroth's Type 10 is so rare that it cannot be considered a normal emission of the capital.

Andronicus I, 1183–1185

174–181. To l. and r. M̄P Θ̄V̄. Mother of God standing on dais. *Rev.*: ANΔPONIKOC upward on l. ΔЄCΠOTHC downward on r. (Inscription never complete and mostly illegible). On l. Andronicus in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and loros with jewelled star, holding in r. ***labarum***, in l. *globus cruciger*. On r. Christ bearded crowning him.

PLATE XXXI, 12, 13

This is the smaller version of Andronicus' regular copper type (*BMC*, pp. 584f., nos. 5–9). Either he struck few coins in his short reign or they were recalled and restruck after his time.

Isaac II, 1185–1195

182–843. To l. and r. M̄P Θ̄V̄. Mother of God seated facing on throne with back (XXXI, 14).
Rev.: To l. and r. ICAAKIOC ΔЄCΠOTHC in columns. Isaac in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *anexikakia*. The jewels on the loros generally have the form ⁘ (XXXI, 15), but in 24 cases the design is ⊙ (XXXI, 16), in 5 it is a star (XXXI, 17). In 30 cases there is a star in the lower l. field (XXXI, 18).

PLATE XXXI, 14–18

844–894. Same type but back of throne decorated, in 34 cases with stars (XXXI, 19) to l. and r., in 13 cases with ⁘ (XXXI, 20), in 4 cases with ⁘.
Rev.: Same. In one case the jewels on the loros form ⊙, on all others ⁘. PLATE XXXI, 19, 20

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Nos. 182–843 correspond to Wroth's Type 4 (*BMC*, pp. 592, nos. 19–31) of which the last two specimens have stars on the back of the throne. It may be questioned whether this difference is of any more importance than the presence or absence of a star in the lower field of the reverse and, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot say, but the constitution of the Arcadian Hoard (*NC*, 1959, p. 163) is well to bear in mind. There were only two coins of Isaac with stars on the throne's back and they of easily distinguished fabric and condition, marking them as strays in that hoard. There was one with • ⁝ • on the throne like the rest of the hoard in appearance but 67 pieces had the throne undecorated. While it is possible that we have to do here with nothing more than the engraver's preference, as I believe to be the case with the variations of the jewels on the loros, we will do well to suspend judgment until we have more evidence in hand.

Alexius III, 1195–1203

895–1051. +KЄRO HΘЄI. Bust of beardless Christ facing. To l. and r. IC XC (XXXII, 1, 2).

Rev. On l. Alexius in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and loros with star (XXXII, 3), holding in r. *labarum*. On r. St. Constantine in crown, jewelled collar, divitision and jewelled loros, holding in l. *labarum*. They hold between them *globus cruciger*. Between their heads ⊙ (for ὁ ἅγιος). The star on the emperor's loros has sometimes a simplified form ⁝∴⁝ (XXXII, 4, 5) or ∴ (XXXII, 6–8).

PLATE XXXII, 1–8

In publishing the large specimens of this type Wroth divides them into two varieties: 1, *BMC*, pp. 602f., nos. 15–19 without the name Comnenus; 2, *BMC*, pp. 603f., nos. 20–36. His inscriptions are very fragmentary and they are equally so on our smaller coins. To judge from the traces of letters very few of which would be visible at all in an illustration—any more than Wroth's are—the legend to the left was intended to be AΛЄ∈IΩ or AΛЄ∈IΩ ΔЄC, to the right TΩ KΩNCTANTI. Of these elements KΩN can be read with certainty (XXXII, 9, 10); in several cases there is an upright Ω at the top followed by K, KT, KTΩ or KΩN downward (XXXII, 11, 12); once a fairly clear but unintelligible ΩHO (XXXII, 13). There is none that can be surely attributed to Wroth's Variety 2. As less than one out of five have any semblance of letters, however doubtful, I have not attempted to divide the issue on that basis.

PLATE XXXII, 9–13

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1052–1088. Same type but no inscription except $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ to l. and r.
Rev.: Same. PLATE XXXII, 14, 15

This is the only instance in which the type may have been modified in the interests of adapting it to a smaller flan. None of the obverses of Alexius' larger bronze has this simplified type, which reverts to Manuel's Type 9 (*BMC*, pl. LXX, 3). However, there is a similar distinction between the two varieties of Alexius' gold Type 1, the former (*BMC*, pp. 599f., nos. 1, 2) with no inscription but $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$, the latter (*BMC*, p. 600, nos. 3–7) with the addition of KERO HEOI. The type there is Christ seated but the analogy would be suggestively close if it were not for the inscriptions of the reverse. If they paralleled the gold, the copper of this group should be without the name Comnenus, but one of our coins certainly seems to read KOM—(XXXII, 16, 17?) and since no such inscription can be read on any coin of nos. 895–1051 the analogy of the gold holds for neither of these copper varieties. PLATE, XXXII, 16, 17

ISTANBUL HOARD B OF 1946

In contrast to the homogeneity of the Istanbul Hoard A of 1946, a smaller but more diversified group was acquired by Mr. Campbell, also in Istanbul in 1946. It does not, however, show the characteristics which one would expect. The distinctive issues which compose the previous hoard are here represented by two coins only: Nos. 224 and 251. Nos. 1–7 are the only specimens of what we are accustomed to think of as the normal copper scyphates. On the other hand the presence of Manuel's coins of Fabric B (nos. 8–65) and of Theodore's coins (nos. 252–448) parallels the Troad Hoard, while the prominence of Manuel's Fabric C connects this hoard with that from Arcadia (*NC*, 1959, pp. 155–164). This combination of Fabric B and Fabric C is somewhat surprising since they give every indication of issuing from different mints. It is possible that this is a modern conflation of two different hoards but it is equally possible that it is an ancient collection made by a traveller in different places. It does not seem likely that the collection was made in Constantinople itself no matter how the coins finally got there.

Alexius I, 1081–1118

1. Christ bearded seated on throne with back. Details obscure.

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Rev.: Inscription illegible. Half-length figure of Alexius in divitision and jewelled chlamys, holding in r. short cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. PLATE XXXIII, 1

BMC, p. 543, nos. 14–21, Type 4.
The flan is thin with rough edges, the obverse much worn. Traces of silvering.

John II, 1118–1143

2. To l. and r. IC XC. Bust of Christ bearded. Details obscure.
Rev.: IW ΔЄCΠOTT Π[. Half-length figure of John in divitision decorated with three rows of jewels, holding in r. short cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. PLATE XXXIII, 2, 3

BMC, p. 562, no. 53, Type 6.
Flan fairly regular, both sides worn; traces of silvering.

3. Same type.
Rev.: Inscription]VPOΓ[. Same type.
PLATE XXXIII, 2, 3

Less worn but with no traces of silvering. The style seems rougher.

Manuel I, 1143–1180

The coins of Manuel in this hoard may be divided into three general classes by fabric.

A. Flans large and smooth with traces of silvering. The inscriptions are small and clear but not wholly visible since the coins show signs of much wear. The workmanship is good and is like that of the issues of Alexius I and John II.

B. Flans large but irregular and with no trace of silvering; the edges are frequently bevelled. The inscriptions are large and clear. The workmanship is good.

C. Flans irregular and varying in size, sometimes very small. There is no trace of silvering. There is seldom any legible inscription. The types are poor and carelessly struck.

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FABRIC A

4, 5. Bust of Christ beardless. Worn and obscure.
Rev.:]HΛ ΔЄC. Half-length figure of Manuel in divitision and chlamys decorated with a star, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. PLATE XXXIII, 4
BMC, 574, nos. 34–37, Type 9.

6. To l. and r. IC XC. Christ seated on throne without back.
Rev.: Above MP to r. ΘV ΔЄCΠ. On l. Manuel in divitision and loros decorated with ⁘ holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. To r. Virgin crowning him.
PLATE XXXIII, 5, 6
BMC, p. 575, nos. 40–47, Type 11 but *BMC* has M (MP no. 43) instead of MP.

7. Similar type but stars to l. and r. above seat of throne.
Rev.: To r. ΘY ΔЄCΠ. Similar type but loros has ⁘ and Manuel holds cross. PLATE XXXIII, 7, 8
BMC, p. 575, nos. 48–50, Type 11, but no mention of cross instead of *labarum*.

FABRIC B

8–41. To l. and r. IC XC. Christ bearded nimbate seated on throne with back. In six cases there is a cross within the nimbus and one pellet in the limbs of the cross (generally one limb visible); in two cases the cross bears ⁘.
Rev.: On l. upward MANOVHΛ on r. downward ΔЄCΠOTHC. Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. sword downward, in l. *globus cruciger*.
PLATE XXXIII, 9–15
Variations of the inscriptions occur: Six times MANOVH ΔЄCΠOTHC. Three times MANOVHΛ ΔЄCΠOTHC. Once MANϒHΛ ΔЄCΠOTH. These may be considered normal. There are also abberations whose misplaced, malformed or omitted letters prove nothing except the general ineptitude of the die-sinkers. The only thing that needs to be recorded is the fact that the great majority of inscriptions are wrong or imperfect.
Not in *BMC*. The flans are ca. 25–30 mm. in diameter, the dies ca. 15–20 mm. There is no sign of silvering.

42–60. Same type. In eight cases there is a cross with a pellet in its limbs within the nimbus.
Rev.: On l. upward ΔЄCΠOTHC on r. downward MANOVHΛ. Same type. PLATE XXXIV, 1–4

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The normal inscriptions are: Three times ΔЄCΠOTHC MANOVHΛ. Five times ΔЄCΠOTH MANOVHΛ. As in the preceding group more often than not the final C of ΔЄCΠOTHC is omitted. In five cases also the form ΔЄCΠOTIC appears. Sabatier II, p. 209, no. 14, pl. LVI, 1. Not in *BMC*. The fabric is identical with that of nos. 8–41.

61–64. Same type. One with pellet in limb of cross.

Rev.: On l. upward MANOVHΛ on r. downward O ΠORΦHROГЄN. Same type. PLATE XXXIV, 5–7

The inscription is never complete. It appears as:

OVHΛ ΠORΦHROГ
OVHΛ ΠORΦH
VHΛ ΠORΦHP
O ΠORΦH

Not in *BMC*. Same fabric.

65. Same type.

Rev.: On l.]ROГЄΛHT on r.]NOVH. Double struck.

PLATE XXXIV, 8

Not in *BMC*. Flan broader (38 mm.) and partly flattened. Nos. 8–65 obviously belong together, because of the identity of the types. There is at present no evidence as to the order of issue of the different varieties. If they were struck at the capital it seems surprising that they have not been published more often.[3] Manuel uses the title Porphyrogennetos on his gold (*BMC*, pp. 566–569, nos. 1–16) but not elsewhere on his copper. The substitution of H for V is an anticipation of the difficulty that the die-sinkers of Nicaea were to have with the spelling of that word (*BMC Vandals*, pp. 210–213, nos. 1–24).

FABRIC C

1ST TYPE

66–68. Christ seated on throne without back. Stars to l. and r. above seat of throne.

[3] Aside from Sabatier II, p. 209, no. 14, the type is recorded from:

Pergamum. Kurt Regling, "Münzfunde aus Pergamon," *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, Oct.–Nov., 1914, Col. 5681; 1 of our nos. 8–41, 1 of our nos. 42–60, 1 that he records as with ΠORΦVP[.

Corinth. Katharine M. Edwards, *Corinth Vol VI, Coins*, p. 145, no. 143; 30 specimens of our first two varieties.

Athens. Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora Vol II, Coins*, p. 74, no. 1901, 1 specimen; 1 of a number of indications of difference between Athens and Corinth, *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, 1958, pp. 165f.

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Rev.: On l. Manuel in divitision and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. On r. Virgin crowning him.

PLATE XXXIV, 9–11

These are the types of no. 7 but the appearence is quite different. The flans are irregular and there is no trace of silvering. The workmanship is poor.

69–71. Similar type.
Rev.: Similar but Manuel holds *labarum* instead of cross.

72–77. Similar type.
Rev.: Similar but what Manuel holds in r. cannot be distinguished.

78–81. Similar but stars not visible.
Rev.: Similar but Manuel holds cross in r.

82–87. Similar. Stars not visible.
Rev.: Similar but Manuel holds *labarum*.

88–91. Similar. Stars not visible.
Rev.: Similar but what Manuel holds in r. cannot be distinguished.

It is clear that nos. 66–91 form a single group. Although the types are those of no. 7 the superior fabric and workmanship of that piece sets it apart from these miserable coins, which are hardly possible to illustrate. It is to be doubted that the variation between cross and *labarum* in Manuel's hand marks a difference of issue though, of course, that is possible. Probably of more significance is the pair of stars above the seat of the throne which are noted in *BMC*, p. 575, nos. 48–50. The striking is so poor that it is frequently impossible to see them but there is no case where they are surely absent as they are on no. 6.

2ND TYPE

92–149. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$. Virgin seated on throne with back.
Rev.: In one case on l. upward MANO in two cases traces of letters; in one case on r. downward ΔЄCΠOT in one case ΔЄC. Otherwise no visible inscriptions. Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. long cross, in l. *anexikakia*. PLATE XXXIV, 12–15

Cf. *BMC*, p. 577, no. 58 where the *anexikakia* is called sword. The fabric there is different and the inscription is in panels to l.

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and r. These flans vary in diameter from 21 to 25 mm.; the figure of the emperor varies in height from 11 to 15 mm. The workmanship is invariably poor.

150–215. Similar type.
Rev.: Similar type. The *anexikakia* cannot be distinguished though there is no sign of the *globus* shown on *BMC*, p. 577, nos. 56f. Probably they are just like nos. 92–149.

The still poorer appearance of nos. 92–215 makes it apparent that they succeeded nos. 66–91. Everything points to the operation of a mint without competent workmen putting out a great deal of money in a hurry.

Not clearly belonging to any of the above groups by fabric

216. To l. $\overline{\text{IC}}$. Christ seated on throne without back. To l. and r. stars above seat of throne.
Rev.: To r. ΔЄCΠOT. Half-length figure of Manuel in divitision decorated with three rows of jewels, holding in r. short cross, in l. *globus cruciger*. PLATE XXXV, 1, 2
Not in *BMC*. The obverse is very much like no. 8, though the condition makes any exact comparison impossible. The reverse type is borrowed from John II, Type 6 (nos. 2 and 3 above) but is quite unlike it. The figure is smaller and the inscription more careless and differently placed. Flan irregular. No trace of silvering.

217. To l. $\overline{\text{IC}}$. Same type.
Rev.: To r. ΔЄCΠ. Similar figure except that Manuel holds *anexikakia* in l. PLATE XXXV, 3, 4
Not in *BMC*.

218, 219. To l. MH. Virgin seated on throne with back.
Rev.: Inscription illegible. Emperor standing in divitision and loros, holding in r. short cross, in l. *anexikakia*. PLATE XXXV, 5
Not in *BMC* but the types are very much like Manuel. Flan rounder, like no. 7 but smaller. No trace of silvering.

220. Bust of bearded Christ. Beard represented by large dots. Very rough workmanship.
Rev.: Half-length figure of emperor in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. short cross, in l. *globus cruciger*.

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There are traces to the right which might be a very badly misformed ΔЄC. PLATE XXXV, 6
Not in *BMC*, but cf. pl. LXX, 5, 6 for the reverse type.

Isaac II, 1185–1195

221–223. To l. and r. M̄Ṟ Θ̄V̄. Virgin seated on throne with back. *Rev.*: To l. ICAAKIOC in a panel, to r. ΔЄCΠOTHC in a panel. Isaac standing in divitision and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *anexikakia*. In upper r. Manus Dei crowning him. PLATE XXXV, 7–12
The inscriptions are incomplete. They read:

IC ΔЄC
AA Π
KI

I ΔЄC
A ΠO
T
N

A Π
I
H
C

BMC, pp. 592f., nos. 19–31.
The flans are ca. 27 mm. There is no trace of silvering.

224. Same type.
Rev.: To l. AA to r. Δ (very obscure). Same type.
Π
O
T
H
The types and inscription are the same but the flan is only 21 mm. and the fabric is quite different from the foregoing. It is just like the coins illustrated in *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, 1958, pl. 9, 5–7 and there are traces of silvering. The appearance of this and no. 251 is so distinctive as to suggest a different denomination intended or a difference in place of striking.

225–227. To l. IC̄ and OЄMMA to r. X̄C̄ and NϒHΛ in panels. Bust of Christ bearded, nimbate, one pellet in cross.
The inscriptions are incomplete. The best preserved reads:

O
M N
A HΛ

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Rev.: No legible inscription. Emperor in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. The pearls of the loros beneath his l. hand are exaggerated. PLATE XXXV, 13–16

A specimen of this type is assigned to Isaac II in *NC*, 1959, pp. 163f. because of the resemblance of the obverse type to Isaac's copper, *BMC*, pp. 594f., Type 6 and because of the emperor's pointed beard. We repeat the attribution here because there is as yet no surer one to offer. There are, however, reasons for being doubtful. 1) The bust of Christ on Isaac's bronze is beardless; this one is bearded. 2) The exaggeration of the jewels is a characteristic of gold of Alexius I (*BMC*, pl. LXIV, 3) The traces of inscription on the rev. suggest a reading downward to r. whereas that on the scyphate bronze of Isaac is normally in a panel. 4) The only traces that can possibly be interpreted as a letter look like M to the lower r. which might belong to Alexius III, *BMC*, pp. 603f., Type 4, Variety 2. The question cannot be settled until a really legible specimen is found.

Alexius III, 1195–1203

228–231. To l. and r. IC XC; to l. upward +KERO to r. downward HΘEI (i.e. KYPIE BOHΘEI). Bust of Christ beardless nimbate ⁘ in limbs of cross. The inscriptions are incomplete. The best preserved reads: RO Θ E I.

Rev.: No legible inscription. On l. Alexius in divitision and loros, holding *labarum* in r.; on r. St. Constantine in divitision and loros holding *labarum* in l.; they hold *globus cruciger* between them. PLATE XXXVI, 1–4

BMC, pp. 602–604, nos. 15–36, Type 4. It is impossible to tell whether these belong to Wroth's Variety 1 or 2.

232–250. Same type. Details obscure.

Rev.: Same type. Details obscure.

251. To l. and r. IC XC. No other inscription. Same type.

Rev.: No inscription visible. Same type.

PLATE XXXVI, 5, 6

Like no. 224 this is a small neat flan which bears traces of silvering. Not only its appearance but also the omission of the major inscription on the obv. sets it apart from nos. 228–250 and shows that it belongs with *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, p. 170, nos. 22, 23.

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Theodore Lascaris I, 1204–1222

252. To r. $\overline{\Theta V}$. Virgin seated on throne without back.
Rev.: No inscription visible. On l. Theodore in divitision and loros, holding in r. *labarum*. On r. St. Theodore in military dress holding in l. spear. They hold long patriarchal cross between them. PLATE XXXVI, 7
BMC Vandals, p. 208, nos. 4–9.

253. Similar type. Very obscure.
Rev.: Traces of letters to l. and r. Similar type. Peculiar style and fabric. Flattened. PLATE XXXVI, 8, 9

254–447. To l. and r. $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$. Christ seated on throne without back. In 54 cases to l. and r. stars above seat of throne. In some further cases stars may have been on the die but in many cases they were certainly absent.
Rev.: To l. ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC in panel, to r. KOMNHNOC O ΛACKAPHC. Sometimes stars in lower field l. or r. The inscription is never completely preserved, but all the elements of it are found. Theodore in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *anexikakia*. Above, Manus Dei crowning him.
PLATE XXXVII, 1–11

This type is like Sabatier II, p. 301, no. 1, pl. LXVI, 7 and *BMC Vandals*, p. 195, no. 4, pl. XXVI, 4 with some differences. Sabatier's emperor holds a scepter and *globus cruciger*, Wroth's a *labarum* and *globus cruciger*. Sabatier's inscription is given as ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC KOMNHNOC O ΔϒKAC; on the BM coin the words on the right are obliterated. The name Ducas accounts for the attribution by Sabatier and Wroth to Theodore Angelus Comnenus Ducas, Emperor of Thessalonica. But similar as is our type it cannot belong to that Theodore for our emperor certainly bears the name Lascaris, the family name of the two Theodores of Nicaea. The elder had married a daughter of Alexius III and without further right had adopted the name Comnenus which was much more distinguished than his own. Signor T. Bertelè, whose eminence in the field of later Byzantine numismatics is well known, calls my attention to further evidence of this borrowing of Theodore I: G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* II (*Fontes Rerum Austriacharum* XIII), pp. 205–207 and Heisenberg *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums*, 1923, II, p. 25. Whether this impressive combi-

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nation of names was adopted on his first being crowned in Nicaea in 1206 or was a later confirmation of the security of his position we cannot say. His other copper type seems to bear only ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC and the silver, of which a considerable body has lately been published ("A Hoard of Silver Coins of the Empire of Nicaea," *Centennial Volume of the American Numismatic Society*, 1958, pp. 73–81) has no more than ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC.

Uncertain Emperor

448. To l. l]C to r. X[C. Christ bearded seated on throne without back. He is nimbate with one or two pellets in the limbs of the cross within the nimbus. To lower l. oval of dots whose function cannot be determined; it may have been decoration of the throne. The surface is pitted and corroded so that much of the detail is lost.
Rev.: No legible inscription except for marks on the lower r. which might include the letters ΔЄ. Emperor in divitision (?), chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum* in l. *globus cruciger*. Apparently double struck for the four pearls to the r. of the crown are repeated farther to the r. and above. PLATE XXXVII, 12, 13
This does not seem to be any published type and it may be an unofficial issue. Not only has the oval of dots on the obverse no parallel but the emperor's undergarment which, if it is the divitision ought to extend to the ground, ends above the ankles giving the appearance of misunderstood military costume.
Signor Bertelè believes that this is a coin of John II and points out that it belongs with Ratto (1930), nos. 2101 and 2102.

449–469. Illegible scyphate pieces of the same period as the rest of the hoard.

THE TROAD HOARD

A smaller hoard found in the Troad provides valuable evidence because its provenance is sure and it is reasonably certain that it is complete.

Manuel I, 1143–1180

FABRIC B

1–14. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$. Christ bearded nimbate seated on throne with back.

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Rev.: On l. upward MANOVHΛ on r. downward ΛЄCΠO THC. Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. sword downward, in l. *globus cruciger*.

PLATE XXXVIII, 1–4

15. Similar.
Rev.: Similar but much smaller and carelessly drawn. Apparently overstruck on an earlier type.

PLATE XXXVIII, 5, 6

This resembles the foregoing more than any other known type, but its appearance is so unlike that, in default of any recognizable inscription, it must be considered doubtful. It may be a local or unofficial issue.

16–23. Similar.
Rev.: On l. upward ΔЄCΠOTHC on r. downward MANOVHΛ. In one case the inscription on r. is MANϒHΛ Δ. The final Δ is apparently a mere error. Same type.

PLATE XXXVIII, 7–12

FLAT FABRIC

24. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$. Bust of Christ (beardless?) nimbate.
Rev.: On l. upward MANOVHΛ (badly blundered and obscure). Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*.

PLATE XXXVIII, 13, 14

This is like the coin attributed by Wroth to Manuel of Thessalonica, *BMC Vandals*, p. 199, no. 4, pl. XXVI, 9 (which is the one previously published by Sabatier, II, p. 303, no. 2, pl. LXVI, 10). The only difference between the types is that here the emperor holds a *labarum* in his right hand; on the published coin it is a long cross. All the other details, however, are so similar that there is no doubt that the emperor is the same. This also may be a local or unofficial issue but I agree with the opinion of Bertelè that it is a coin of Manuel Comnenus and not of Manuel of Thessalonica.

25. Virgin seated. Very obscure.
Rev.: No inscription legible. Manuel in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *anexikakia*.

PLATE XXXVIII, 15

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Probably either *BMC*, p. 577, no. 58 or previous hoard nos. 92–149. This fabric is better than those but the details are not clear enough to be sure.
Except for nos. 15, 24 and 25 these all belong to the same series of Manuel already listed in the previous hoard, nos. 8–65. It is significant that they were found in Asia Minor together with coins of Theodore Lascaris and unaccompanied by any of the other types of Manuel whose abundance is so well known—unless no. 25 be an exception.

Isaac II, 1185–1195

26, 27. To l. $\overline{IC}$ and O[Є]MMA to r. $\overline{XC}$ [NϒHΛ] in panels. Bust of Christ (bearded?) nimbate.
Rev.: No inscription legible. Emperor in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. *labarum*, in l. *globus cruciger*. The pearls of the loros beneath the l. hand are exaggerated. PLATE XXXIX, 1, 2
This is the type of nos. 225–227 of the previous hoard. The present specimens do not affect the uncertainty of its attribution.

Theodore Lascaris I, 1204–1222

28–31. Virgin seated. Very obscure.
Rev.: No inscription visible. On l. Theodore in divitision and loros. On r. St. Theodore in military dress, holding in l. spear. They hold patriarchal cross between them.
PLATE XXXIX, 3–5
BMC Vandals, p. 208, nos. 4–9. Previous hoard no. 252.

32–140. To l. and r. $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$. Christ seated on throne with back.
Rev.: To l. ΘЄOΔωPOC ΔЄCΠOTHC in panel, to r. KOMNHNOC O ΛACKAPHC in panel. Sometimes stars in lower field l. or r. Theodore in divitision, chlamys and loros, holding in r. cross, in l. *anexikakia*. Above, Manus Dei crowning him. PLATE XXXIX, 6–10
Previous hoard nos. 254–447.

There is a gratifying proportion of rarities in this hoard but more important is its general composition. Of its total of 140 pieces, 131 belong to two issues (considering nos. 1–14, 16–23 as a single group);

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22 of Manuel, 1143–1180, 109 of Theodore, 1204–1261. Now everybody knows that coins of Manuel are extremely common and it is not at all surprising to find them still circulating in the 13th century. But it is surprising to find that his coins in this hoard are not of the common types but almost all of a type practically unknown before. So also the great majority of the coins of Theodore belong not to the type already known from *BMC Vandals*, pp. 207–209, nos. 4–11 (5 of them from a single find in Cyprus) and *Greek and Byzantine Studies* Vol. I, pp. 163–168 (Piraeus, Corinth, Athens) but to an unknown one. The simplest explanation of these facts and, I believe, the correct one is that Manuel had a mint in Asia Minor which produced enough money for the district so that his successors did not need to supplement it with their own. But this regional money was not intended to move far from its place of origin, nor did it; hence its rarity in collections. In view of the similarity in style and fabric it is reasonable to suppose that the bronze of Theodore was issued from the same mint, and in the case of Theodore that mint was presumably Nicaea. We then have a workable hypothesis that Manuel had a mint at Nicaea the coins of which, like Theodore's, were sometimes used side by side with the products of other mints, as illustrated in the previous hoard, but may have been expected to satisfy the normal demands of a restricted region.

Why then is the earlier known type of Theodore so slightly represented here (nos. 28–31) and in the larger hoard (nos. 252, 253)? There are two available explanations: a difference in time or a difference in place. If the type with Theodore and St. Theodore was issued later its earliest specimens and those only might have been included with the large number of coins of Theodore alone. The condition of these few pieces does not favor this possibility; they seem rather more than less worn. It would be rash to rely too much on such an argument with coins like these but it is worth keeping in mind. If, on the other hand, Theodore had a second mint nearer the Aegean coast, that would explain why its products should have been carried as far as Corinth while at the same time they had some currency in such a district as the Troad.

We must not ignore the alternative: that the second type of Theodore was the product of Nicaea and that our coins were struck at a

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second mint in the interior which had previously been used by Manuel but not by his successors. It may be urged in favor of this that a second mint at Nicaea would have been unnecessarily close to Constantinople for Manuel, but it will be recalled that there were late Roman imperial mints at Heraclea, Cyzicus and Nicomedia as well as at Constantinople. It might be argued that the capital mint should be the source of the largest issue and that we now have far more specimens of our type than of the other, but a short time ago that would not have been true and in the future a single large hoard might reverse the picture. We can be sure that Theodore's coins were struck in Asia Minor and reasonably sure that one type of Manuel was also, but whether Theodore had one or more mints and which was Nicaea, we cannot settle definitely with the evidence in hand.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

PLATE XXXI. 1, John II; 2–11, Manuel I; 12–13, Andronicus I; 14–20, Issac II.
PLATE XXXII. 1–17, Alexius III.
PLATE XXXIII. 1, Alexius III; 2–3, John II; 4–15, Manuel I.
PLATE XXXIV. 1–15, Manuel I.
PLATE XXXV. 1–6, Manuel I; 7–16, Issac II.
PLATE XXXVI. 1–6, Alexius III; 7, Theodore I; 8–9, Theodore I(?).
PLATE XXXVII. 1–11, Theodore I; 12–13, Uncertain Emperor.
PLATE XXXVIII. 1–15, Manuel I.
PLATE XXXIX. 1–2, Issac II; 3–10, Theodore I.

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A MILIARESION OF ROMANUS III AND A NOMISMA OF MICHAEL IV

(See Plates XL–XLI)

One of the most beautiful coins in the Byzantine series is the miliaresion with the Virgin and infant Christ on the obverse and the emperor standing with patriarchal cross on the reverse. Encircling the figures on both sides is a hexameter verse, παρθένε σοι πολύαινε ὃς ἤλπικε πάντα κατορθοῖ, which begins on the side with the Virgin and thus denotes it as the obverse.

A choice example of this coin was recently added to the Byzantine collection of the American Numismatic Society and although it has been illustrated in the sales catalog[1] it seems desirable to publish it here with some additional comments. A full description of the coin is as follows:

Obv.: +ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ COIΠΟΛVAINE

The Virgin, draped and wearing nimbus, standing facing on footstool, holding infant Christ in l. arm and placing r. hand to her breast; Christ wearing nimbus, raises r. hand in benediction and holds scroll in l.; three linear borders ornamented with eight globules; $\overline{M}$ $\overline{Θ}$ above, l. and r. in field.

Rev.: OCHΛΠIKEΠAN TAKATOPΘOI

The emperor standing facing on footstool, bearded, wearing crown with cross and long jeweled robe with loros which is draped over l. arm, holds long patriarchal cross in r. hand and *globus* surmounted by patriarchal cross in l. hand; three borders ornamented as on obverse.

2.91 gr. ↙ Plate XLI, 1

[1] *Münzen und Medaillen*, XXV (Nov. 17, 1962), no. 728. This specimen is of unusually small flan but it is not unique in this respect. Hirsch Cat. XXIV (1909), no. 3305 and Glendining Cat. (March 9, 1931), no. 672 illustrate specimens with small flans, and the gold coin of this type which is known only from Sabatier's collection is also of this small size. The weight is normal.

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The coin is remarkable in many respects. The figure of the Virgin is common on Byzantine coins but this is the only instance on the coinage of the type known as Hodegetria (the Conductress) in which the Virgin, standing or seated, holds the infant Christ in her left arm and places her right hand to her breast.

The Hodegetria is well known in other art media,[2] however, and along with the types portraying the Theotokos, received a stimulus from the Council of Ephesus in 431 which upheld the title "Mother of God" for the Virgin. Though probably of Egyptian derivation it was introduced to Constantinople from one of the eastern centers, Antioch or Jerusalem.[3] One tradition records that Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II, during her visit to Jerusalem in ca. 443, sent back to Constantinople an image of the Theotokos, reputedly painted by St. Luke and identified as the Hodegetria.[4] At any rate, it was an established form in Byzantine art at an early date and remained popular for centuries. The epithet Hodegetria is inscribed on several icons of the Virgin and thus has become the term commonly applied to this type. However, the same type does bear other epithets as well and there is reason to believe that the Virgin portrayed on this coin is the one known as Peribleptos. This question will be discussed below.

Also remarkable is the metrical inscription on the obverse and reverse of this coin. Only one other instance is known in the Byzantine series—that of an iambic trimeter legend on an issue of Constantine IX (1042–1055).[5] However, metrical inscriptions are common on Byzantine lead seals[6] and such verses or epigrams are well known from Byzantine literature[7] of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Iambic trimeter was the usual form on the seals and in the literature although a few hexameter verses are known too.

[2] For other examples of the Hodegetria, cf. G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (Paris, 1896–1905), vol. I, pp. 33, 181 and 489; vol. II, p. 192; vol. III, frontispiece.
[3] Cf. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Dover ed., New York, 1961), pp. 386 and 673.
[4] *Enkyklopaidikon Lexikon*, vol. 9, p. 954, s.v. ὁδηγήτρια.
[5] W. Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908), vol. I, p. lvi; vol. II, p. 502, nos. 16–17.
[6] W. Froehner, "Bulles métriques," *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique et d'archéologie* VI, 1882, 40–66; VIII, 1884, 312–42.
[7] Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 1897).

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The coin is attributed to Romanus IV in the standard catalogues but this is undoubtedly incorrect. It was first published in 1847 by Sabatier in his *Iconographie d'une collection choisie de cinq mille médailles* where it was attributed to John II Comnenus (1118–1143).[8] Two coins of this type were described, one of gold and one of silver, the former having a smaller flan. In a letter of Count de Salis to Sabatier in 1859,[9] de Salis stated his belief that the issue belonged to Romanus IV (1067–1071) and it is this latter attribution that appears in Sabatier's *Monnaies byzantines* (1862) and all successive catalogues.[10] However, as early as 1900 Hauberg pointed out the evidence of Danish imitations of this type which were issued in Skåne by Sven Estridsen before 1047.[11] The attribution to Romanus IV is then clearly impossible and Hauberg suggested Romanus III (1028–1034). The article was cited by Wroth but the evidence was not accepted and the coin was listed under Romanus IV. Since this evidence is not acknowledged in any of the standard catalogues it is perhaps worthwhile to review Hauberg's arguments and revaluate the evidence.[12]

The reverse type of the miliaresion, with the standing emperor holding a long patriarchal cross in his right hand and a *globus* surmounted by a patriarchal cross in his left hand, is found on Danish coins of Sven Estridsen, King of Denmark 1047–1075.[13] There can be

[8] J. Sabatier, *Iconographie d'une collection choisie de cinq mille médailles* (St. Petersburg, 1847), Byzantines Pl. Sup. XXIV, no. 32 (gold) and no. 33 (silver). However, F. de Saulcy describes the coin in his *Essai de classification des suites monétaires byzantines* (Metz, 1836), p. 246 and assigns it to John I Zimisces (969–976).

[9] *RN* 1859, 448.

[10] J. Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862), vol. II, p. 172, no. 6 (gold) and no. 7 (silver); Wroth, p. 525, Type 1; H. Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1928), p. 253, no. 5.

[11] P. Hauberg, "De l'influence byzantine sur les monnaies du Danemark au xi^e siècle," *Congres international de numismatique réuni à Paris, en 1900; Procès-verbaux et mémoires* (Paris, 1900), pp. 335–45.

[12] The evidence is accepted by Philip Grierson, however, in his article "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus" (*BZ* 54, 1961, p. 94) in reference to the nomisma of Michael discussed below.

[13] P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146* (Copenhagen, 1900); cf. pl. VIII and pp. 213f.; no. 1 is of medallic size and a faithful reproduction of the type and nos. 4 and 9 are close derivatives; types 1 and 4 = nos. 5 and 6 on pl. XXVI in the Congress Proceedings.

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no doubt that the type was copied from the Byzantine miliaresion in question. In the paper read at the International Numismatic Congress in Paris in 1900, Hauberg stated that the evidence of finds indicated that these imitations were issued by Sven before 1047 when he was a potentate in Skåne and contesting the throne with Magnus the Good.[14] The find evidence is listed and commented upon in Hauberg's study *Myntforhold* which appeared in the same year as the Congress Proceedings.[15] Five hoards (nos. 93, 97, 99, 100 and 101 listed on pp. 169–171) close with one or two specimens only of Sven Estridsen and presumably were deposited shortly after Magnus the Good's death in 1047. According to Hauberg, the issues of Sven included in these finds must date from the period of struggle for power between Magnus and Sven from 1044–1047.[16] These are types 4, 5, 6 and 8, of which 4 is a close derivative of the miliaresion. Type 1, the medallion and exact copy of the reverse of the miliaresion, is not known from any find, yet its analogies with type 4 must date it to the same period and it was undoubtedly the prototype of type 4.

The Danish evidence would seem to be conclusive in dating the coin before 1047 or shortly afterwards,[17] but other factors as well suggest an early date. There have been many reattributions in the Byzantine series as set forth by Wroth and for the eleventh century one can cite Grierson's "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century"[18] and "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus."[19] In these articles, certain gold issues of various emperors (Constantine, Romanus and Michael) are reattributed on the basis of the fineness of the gold. It can be noted that the tetarteron assigned

[14] "De l'influence . . .," op.cit., p. 341.
[15] See note 13.
[16] *Myntforhold*, op.cit., p. 215.
[17] Cf. Brita Malmer, "En Vikingatida Silverskatt från Gandarve i Alva på Gotland," in *Gotländskt Arkiv*, 1957, p. 32. However, Hauberg's contention that the Byzantine prototypes were introduced by the Norwegian prince, Harald Hardråde, when he returned to Scandinavia in 1046 after several years' service in the Byzantine armies, has been criticized. Cf. Erik Moltke, "De danske runemønter og deres praegere," in *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1950, p. 2 and Brita Malmer, "A Contribution to the Numismatic History of Norway During the Eleventh Century," in *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in suecia repertis* (Stockholm, 1961), p. 356.
[18] *BZ* 47, 1954, 379–94.
[19] *BZ* 54, 1961, 91–97.

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by Wroth to Romanus IV (p. 525, Type 3) belongs in fact to Romanus III.[20] These are gold coins, however, and they also bear the legend of a Romanus, neither of which is the case with our miliaresion. Nevertheless, Grierson believes that this coin also belongs to Romanus III and this has subsequently become quite apparent to me from a study of the style and from examination of the literary evidence.[21]

The miliaresion has a triple ringed border on both sides ornamented with eight globules on the center ring. This type of border was undoubtedly influenced by the Arab dirhem although the earliest miliaresion does not show these ornaments.[22] They first are noted on the silver coinage of Leo VI and, except for our miliaresion and another silver coin attributed to Romanus IV, are not evident after John I (969–976). If it can be expected that such ornamentation should fall within a more or less restricted chronological period, the miliaresion cannot be much later than the early eleventh century.

The weight of the coin is of some significance. It fits into the weight-group of silver coinage from the late ninth century down to the reign of Constantine IX (1042–1055).[23] With the succeeding silver coinage the weights have fallen considerably and are not restored until the time of Alexius I. In this case also, the miliaresion fits into the period before the mid-eleventh century.

An important factor is style. The form of the loros worn by the standing emperor is a common one on the late Byzantine coinage and is first noted on the gold coins of Romanus III. In the careful execution of the design and in the treatment of certain details, the miliaresion is most similar to these gold coins of Romanus III (PLATE XLI, 2). On both issues, the crown is identical in that the jeweled pendants on either side of the head terminate in two tear-

[20] *BZ* 47, 1954, 383.

[21] I am indebted to Philip Grierson who first suggested this to me in a letter.

[22] For the influence of the Arab dirhem on the Byzantine miliaresion, see George C. Miles, "Byzantine Miliaresion and Arab Dirhem: Some Notes on Their Relationship," in *ANSMN* IX, 1960, 189–218. Many of the early miliaresia were overstruck on dirhems but due to clipping, they do not show the Arab globules which are always outside the third ring.

[23] Wroth, vol.I, p. lxxvii; however, the data on the silver coinage are undoubtedly incomplete and may be subject to revision. For additional data on Constantine IX, cf. P. Grierson, "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 498–c.1090," in *Moneta e Scambi nell'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1961), p. 430.

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states, "It was his wish to honour the Theometor with some name of more than ordinary beauty. Unfortunately, he failed to notice that the epithet he gave her was in fact more suited to a woman than a saint ..."[31] In view of all this it would seem almost certain that the Virgin represented on this coin is the "Peribleptos" whom Romanus honored with a church.

Closely associated with this miliaresion, both in style and in the problem of its attribution is an uncommon nomisma, also in the collection of the American Numismatic Society and generally attributed to Michael VI. The description of the coin is as follows:

Obv.: +IHSXISREX RЄSNANTIHM

Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne without back, wearing nimbus, tunic and mantle; r. hand outstretched in benediction, in l. hand book of the Gospels with ⁘ on cover; three borders of dots.

Rev.: +MI XAHL ΔЄSTOT

The Archangel Michael, winged, standing l. facing, with tunic and mantle, holds *labarum* in r. hand along with the emperor who stands r. facing, with jeweled robe and loros; the *manus Dei* touches crown of emperor; three borders of dots.

4.38 gr. ↓ PLATE XLI, 3

This coin is even more rare than the miliaresion and although other specimens are known to exist in permanent collections, it apparently is not reproduced in sales catalogs.[32] The type with the Archangel Michael is unusual and marks his first appearance on the Byzantine coinage. That it is the Archangel Michael rather than another archangel is assumed from the name of the emperor.

The attribution of this coin has a history similar to that of the miliaresion. First published in Sabatier's *Iconographie* where it was attributed to Michael VII, it appeared later in Sabatier's *Monnaies byzantines* and all successive catalogs under Michael VI (1056–1057).[33] This coin also was imitated on the coins of Sven Estridsen which ap-

[31] Psellus, op.cit., III, 15.
[32] Grierson states (*BZ* 54, 1961, 94 n. 3) that he knows of only four specimens.
[33] *Iconographie*, Byzantines Pl. Sup. XXIV, no. 4; *Monnaies byzantines*, vol. II, p. 161, no. 2; Wroth, vol. II, p. 509, type 2; Goodacre, p. 236, no. 2.

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pear in the early finds dated shortly after 1047.[34] Hauberg suggested Michael IV or V as a more likely attribution but the evidence was ignored for Michael as well as for Romanus.[35] Recently, Philip Grierson assigned it to Michael V (1041–1042) on the basis of the fineness of the gold.[36] It is my belief that the coin belongs to Michael IV (1034–1041).

The Danish imitations of this coin and of the Romanus coin are dated to the period 1044–1047. It is clear that the Danish issues were of about the same time and it is suggestive that the Byzantine prototypes were also nearly contemporary. Further, the two coins reveal a uniformity of style that must place them very close to each other. The form of the loros is identical in both cases even to the diagonal sweep across the emperor. There is a triple border on our nomisma which is also found on the definitely attributed series of Michael IV[37] (PLATE XLI, 4) but not on the issue assigned to Michael V or VI.[38] Grierson's data for the fineness of the gold show conclusively that the nomisma cannot belong to Michael VI but do not help in the choice between Michael V or Michael IV. Of the two specimens examined by Grierson, one shows a figure of 21½ carats, the other 22½. In comparison, those of Michael IV were 23, 22, 20½, 21½ and 19½ carats.[39] The fact, however,

[34] Cf. Hauberg, *Myntforhold*, pl. VIII, types 7, 8 and 11 of which type 7 copies the obverse and reverse of the nomisma and types 8 and 11, the reverse only. Type 8 is included in the early finds mentioned above, pp. 230f.; type 7 = no. 3 on pl. XXVI in the Congress Proceedings.

[35] "De l'influence ...," p. 340 but in the *Myntforhold*, p. 128 he names only Michael IV.

[36] *BZ* 54, 1961, 94–95.

[37] Wroth, p. 496, nos. 1–5. The Dumbarton Oaks specimen also shows three rings while the line drawing in Sabatier's works shows two rings and is undoubtedly the source of Wroth's description.

[38] Wroth, p. 498, no. 1 (Michael V) which Grierson assigns to Michael VI (*BZ* 54, 1961, 94).

[39] *BZ* 54, 1961, tables II and III, pp. 93–95. The attribution to Michael IV means that Michael V is left without a coinage if Grierson's reattribution of Wroth, p. 498, no. 1 (Michael V) to Michael VI is correct (see n. 38 above). However, it would not be surprising that no coinage of the four-month reign of Michael V has survived to us. On the other hand, Grierson has not provided data on the fineness of this issue and, believing that such data would be helpful in determining the issuing authority of this coin, I tested the ANS specimen. The results were inconclusive, in my opinion, for the coin was of approximately 19 carat gold (specific gravity 16.5) which is a degree of fineness possible for either Michael V or VI if one can assume that the debasement initiated by Michael IV was continued by Michael V.

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that Michael IV was Romanus' immediate successor and reigned for seven years while Michael V's reign extended for only four months is a consideration favorable to the attribution of the coin to Michael IV.

Once again the literary sources are most helpful for they reveal to us circumstances that explain the minting of this special issue. About Michael IV we learn from Psellus that he was a very devout man and a very sick man. He was afflicted with epilepsy and dropsy, and concern over his health dominated most of his actions. Psellus states, "He tried various methods, such as prayers and purifications, in the hope of being cured, but he was confident of ultimate recovery for one reason in particular—the building of a church in honour of the Anargyroi, in a suburb of the city, on the east side."[40] It was a magnificent structure, according to Psellus, and when it was finished Michael dedicated it as a monastery. Psellus also states, "The object of all this was, in some measure, to honour the Deity, but the emperor also hoped to propitiate the 'Servants of God'; perchance they might heal his affliction. It was all in vain, though, for the measure of his life was fulfilled, and his health still continued to break up."[41]

The Holy Anargyroi were the saints, Cosmas and Damian, physicians of the third century who accepted no pay for their services and who were martyred under Diocletian.[42] The fact that it is the Archangel Michael portrayed on this coin is consistent with the emperor's actions and beliefs for the Archangel Michael was particularly venerated as a healer.[43] His cult flourished in various places where springs with medicinal waters were said to have been caused by him and at Constantinople he was the great heavenly physician. Illustrative of his worship as a healer is this poem from the Palatine Anthology: "Here is kept divine help for wretched men afflicted in mind or body. For vexing trouble at once is put to flight, Michael, by thy name, thy image, or thy house."[44] It is reasonable to infer that honoring St. Michael on this coin was another attempt on the part of the ailing emperor to propitiate a saint whose healing powers were well known.

JOAN M. FAGERLIE

[40] Psellus, op.cit., IV. 31.
[41] Ibid., IV. 32
[42] *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. IV, p. 403.
[43] Ibid., vol. X, pp. 275f.
[44] *The Greek Anthology* (Loeb Classical Library), tr. W. R. Paton, vol. I, Book I. 32.

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THE STAVRATON: EVIDENCE FOR AN ELUSIVE BYZANTINE TYPE[1]

(See Plates XLI–XLII)

To Umberto Dorini and Tommaso Bertelè economic historians owe a special debt. The publication of Giacomo Badoer's account book[2] affords a view of commerce in the Byzantine capital shortly before its demise that is unique both in wealth of detail and range of interests. This is surely the most useful document to be made available in the field since Evans's edition of Pergolotti.[3]

For the numismatist the *Libro dei Conti* is a mixed blessing; or, rather, a blessing in disguise. The information it purveys is concealed behind Venetian orthography and some unusual terms. The accounts are kept in a "language" that has to be learned:[4]

> a di dito per el dito ser Carlo Chapelo per
> l'amontar de livre 10 de stravati grievi dadi
> a Critopulo de la zecha de so hordene, a perp.
> 22 car. 6 ..... a c. 101 perp. 226. car. 6[5]

Further acquaintance with Badoer's columns elucidates both their manner and their contents. One phase, however, that does not readily offer a meaning is *stravati grievi*. Occurring rarely in the book,[6] on

[1] I am grateful to the staff of the American Numismatic Society, and in particular to Professor Howard Adelson, for much helpful advice in the preparation of this note. From the society's vault I have taken figures 1–4; figures 5 and 6 are after Laurent.

[2] Giacomo Badoer, *Il Libro dei Conti* (Rome, 1956).

[3] F. B. Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans, Mediaeval Academy of America (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

[4] Of one such difficulty the editors give forewarning: depending on the preceding verb, *per* in the text can mean "to" or "from"—an important distinction in business!

[5] Badoer, p. 179 (9 November, 1437).

[6] Bertelè, "L'Iperpero bizantino dal 1261 al 1453," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, LIX (1957), p. 86, suggests that the phrase occurs often (spesso). Inspection of the account book revealed only four occasions on which it is employed. Bertelè's article is devoted to an elucidation of some of the problems raised by Badoer's text. It is more enlightening about the Palaeologan economic situation than it is about the actual currency of the period.

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each occasion it describes coins weighed in bulk and then converted into the familiar *hyperpyra* and carats.

Evidently, in addition to his dealings in ginger, slaves, canvas, sugar, gold-leaf, horses, wine and other commodities, Badoer made a not insubstantial profit out of money itself. But we are concerned not so much with the *utilità* to which he put his specie as with the coins themselves. *Tornesi*, florins, aspers, *carlini* and ducats all appear: about none of these is there the darkness—unrelieved by Du Cange or any other lexicographer—that surrounds the *stravati*. The editor is of little help. Having established that the term refers to a silver coin "on which a cross is particularly visible,"[7] Bertelè abandons the problem. Certainly little more can be deduced from the text beyond the fact that *stravato* is a likely transliteration of σταυράτον and that this designation indicates an actual coin rather than a money of account.[8]

Is the name given to this coin-with-a-cross merely a piece of commercial *argot* used only in the capital towards the middle of the fifteenth century? No *stravato* appears in the list of one hundred and sixty-eight coins in the *Pratica della Mercatura*, written almost exactly a hundred years before Badoer closes his accounts, despite its author's long residence in the eastern Mediterranean in the service of the Bardi and his almost certain visits to his bank's branch in Constantinople.[9] The *lacunae* in Pegolotti's work have been justly observed,[10] but it is improbable that he would have omitted such a term had it been current commercial usage in his time. Again, if the *stavraton* was simply a local nickname for the *hyperpyron* it would be unlikely to occur in a foreigner's business accounts. *A fortiori*, it would not appear with the infrequency that it does in the *Libro dei Conti*, a rarity that suggests the author especially noted the coin by name rather than using it loosely as a synonym for the more usual designation.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Professor G. L. Kustas has suggested that *stavraton* could, by extension, indicate a crooked or bent coin. Its use in the context of Badoer's account, however, precludes such an interpretation.

[9] Evans, op.cit., pp. xx–xxi.

[10] P. Grierson, "The Coin List of Pegolotti," *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, I (Milan, 1957), 492.

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That the name was not, in fact, confined to the mercantile world of the capital is indicated in a nearly contemporary Greek source, an anonymous document known to numismatists for nearly fifty years. On end-papers used to strengthen a thirteenth century codex of Aristides, Sokrates Kugeas discovered the personal *aide-memoire* and account-book of an important churchman of Thessalonika.[11] These notes cover a period from 1419 to 1437 and deal mostly with the cleric's ecclesiastical revenue. Being obviously incomplete, they give no impression of a formal account-book. For our purposes it is of greater importance that they record his petty receipts than that they present a thorough picture of his finances. It is our good fortune that he reveals himself to posterity as much concerned with secular things as was Giacomo Badoer. These receipts, while less systematic than the Venetian's, show where lay at least one Greek ecclesiastic's treasure and his heart also.

His piece-meal accumulation is lovingly recorded; with pleasure the cleric notes that between October, 1425 and November, 1426 he received a monthly increment of ten *stavrata*.[12] He uses the term often by itself, sometimes adjectively to qualify *nomismata*. The *hyperpyron* figures less frequently: where it does occur it is never accompanied by *stavraton*.

An entry of 1426 provides us with an exchange of twelve *stavrata* for one hundred aspers.[13] And this rate is sufficiently close to that given by Badoer—asp. 11 *a perparo*[14]—for us to be certain that the *stavraton* and the *hyperpyron* represent the same unit of value. When associated with the *nomisma*—as they are in both the Venetian and Thessalonikan texts—we are faced with the problem of three names for the same concept. Any solution must wait upon the numismatic evidence. However, since our two sources are not exactly con-

[11] "Notizbuch eines Beamten der Metropolis in Thessalonike," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIII (1914–1919), pp. 143–163. In his notes, Kugeas determines the chronology of the entries and where they were written. This dating and location (Thessalonika and Constantinople) I have followed throughout.

[12] Ibid., p. 150.

[13] This passage is quoted by V. Laurent, "το πολίτικον, monnaie divisionnaire de l'époque des Palaeologues," *Cronica Numismatica Si Arheologica* (Bucharest), CXIV (1940), p. 17, where he ascribes the passage to 1452. As far as I can determine, Laurent has been the only Byzantinist to make use of Kugeas's text.

[14] Badoer, p. 253 and passim.

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temporary it is worth digressing to see what information can be gleaned from their differences.

We should expect variants of value for together the two account-books cover nearly a quarter of a century. To the Greek, in 1426, twelve and one half aspers were worth one *hyperpyron*. To Badoer, a decade later, the exchange rate was 11:1. Had the asper weakened or the *hyperpyron* strengthened? At the same time, the ecclesiastic notes that the *hyperpyron* is worth one fourth of the Φλοριον βενέτικον.[15] For the ducat—which is undoubtedly the coin in question—the merchant would give not more than three *hyperpyra*. Thus on two separate, if related, exchanges the Greek currency seems to have hardened. This may only have been a temporary rallying but it nonetheless should give pause to those who have suggested a progressive and inflexible devaluation of the *hyperpyron* under the later Palaeologi.[16] Much more comparative study of the account-books needs to be done before we will be able to trace the Palaeologan monetary situation in its true complexity. But it is already evident that the postulate of an unswerving descent into fiscal and monetary chaos is a gross oversimplification. The capital, at least in the period of Badoer's accounts (1436–1440) remained a thriving commercial center. Written a hundred years after Nicephoros Gregoras[17] had recorded the daily decline of the *hyperpyron*, the Venetian text offers little or no substantiation for this *fin-du-monde* attitude.

Bertelè has pointed out that the few gold *nomismata* known of Manuel II's reign (1391–1423) are all of considerable weight (averaging 4.70 gr.) and high title, higher indeed than any gold since the Comnenian era.[18] They all bear the traditional iconography and nothing about them suggests the description *stavraton*. Furthermore, their good alloy would have given them a ratio of almost 1:1 in relation to

[15] Kugeas, p. 149. The description of ducats as Φλορια βευέτικα in this Byzantine text suggests some corrective to the general view that the Venetian coin dominated the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean, while the florin ruled only in the west. The good fortune of the *fiorino* in Byzantium is also suggested by the adoption of the Baptist motif on *nomismata* of John V Palaeologos.

[16] Cf. G. I. Bratianu, "L'Hyperpère byzantine et la monnaie d'or des republiques italiennes," *Etudes byzantines d'histoire economique et sociale*, Paris, 1938, pp. 225–237.

[17] *Hist. Byz.* (ed. Bonn), III, 52.

[18] Bertelè, "L'iperpero bizantino," p. 82.

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the *ducato d'oro* while, as has been seen, our early fifteenth century texts suggest a rate of three or four to one. The inevitable conclusion is that the *hyperpyron*, if it is a coin and not a unit of reckoning, is silver. A unique passage in Badoer suggests as much: *l' utilità che ho fato di hi perperi grievi vendudi per arzento.*[19] The debased quality implied in this passage would account for their evaluation by weight although there is no intimation in the anonymous Greek's account that he ever took such a measure.

Weighing was, of course, normal procedure for transactions involving bronze and the great majority of cross-bearing Palaeologan coins are of this material. With the exception of Bellinger[20] and Whitting,[21] Byzantine numismatists have unjustifiably ignored the bronze and thus missed the sometimes close relations between its iconographical types and those on the precious metals.

The cross, for instance, has been regarded as an exceptional motif on later Byzantine issues. Only ten years ago Stewart suggested that the emblem, appearing on a fourteenth century bronze scyphate, was "of course not Byzantine but purely Western in origin" and that the coin was "a Latin-Byzantine hybrid."[22] The piece in question undoubtedly has an obverse motif closely connected with the Neapolitan *gigliati* and their Rhodian and Turkish imitations. But crosses akin to this had occurred on Byzantine bronze long before the Latin conquest. Bellinger presented at least fourteen different types of cross that appeared between the accession of Michael IV (1304) and the death of Alexius I Comnenus (1118).[23] And cruciferous issues of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries held very close to these prototypes. In this way a bronze of Andronicus II's first period of lone rule (1282–1295) has a reverse with *crux ansata* and pellets (PLATE XLI, 1) that derives directly from a type of Andronicus I Comnenus.[24]

[19] P. 334 (18 January 1437).
[20] *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage, NNM* 35 (New York, 1928).
[21] "The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze," *Numismatic Chronicle*. 6th series, XV (1955), pp. 89–99.
[22] "A Latin-Byzantine Hybrid," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, II (St. Louis, 1953), 251–260.
[23] Op.cit.
[24] Cf. J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862), pl. LVII, 14 and W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, II (London, 1908), 617, 11.

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Following the re-taking of Constantinople by the Greeks, coins with cross motifs appear to be linked in series rather than created as novel, independent types without precedent or successor.

For example, the device on a flat bronze of Andronicus II and his grandson (PLATE XLI, 2)[25] is very like that on the scyphate *nomisma* of Michael VIII included in the Ratto sale.[26] From the same period of Andronicus's reign (1325–28) there exists in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society an interesting variant (PLATE XLII, 3) on Wroth's scyphate with large cross and $\frac{B\Theta}{B\Theta}$.[27] On the A.N.S. coin the fabric is flat and the letters set at forty-five degrees, rather than upright, within the quadrants of the cross. Again unknown to Wroth, there exists from Andronicus II's second reign alone a bronze with the reverse legend ΒΟΗΘΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ enclosing a cross pattée (PLATE XLII, 4) identical with that on a silver *nomisma* of John V Palaeologos published by Sabatier and unrecorded since then.[28]

This last coin bears the legend πολιτικον and is used by Laurent to demonstrate that these issues were actual coins rather than tokens.[29] Of seven such *politika*, four carry crosses. One is of billon,[30] the others of silver (PLATE XLII, 5, 6). In the light of their existence, we must reconsider Bertelè's refusal to recognize the *stravati*.[31] The very rarity of cross-bearing types in silver is perhaps reflected in the infrequency with which they appear in Badoer. But the fact of their existence is attested to both by the documents and the coins themselves.

[25] Wroth, op.cit., p. 628,50. Nearly forty years ago, Bertelè published a flat bronze coin of Andronicus II with a cross similar to our figure 2. It dates, however, from this emperor's joint reign with Michael IX (1295–1320) and shows the co-emperors on the obverse with four rays in the center and a six ray star in each of the quadrants (*Zeitschr. für Numism.*, XXVI, 1926, pl. III, 79). Here Bertelè gives it to the reign of the two Andronici (1325–28) but A. Veglery and G. Zacos, "The coins of Andronicus II with the inscription 'Emperor of the Romans'," *Num. Circ.*, LXIX (1961), attribute it to the joint reign with Michael IX.

[26] *Monnaies byzantines et d'autres pays contemporaines* (Lugano, 1930), no. 2219.

[27] Wroth, op.cit., p. 627, 49.

[28] Sabatier, II, pl. LXII, 16.

[29] "το πολίτικον," p. 6.

[30] This coin appeared in the Cahn sale of May, 1932 (catalogue 75, no. 1749) where it is described as silver and attributed to John V Palaeologos.

[31] "L'Iperpero bizantino," p. 86.

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All the silver coins illustrated are of the reign of John V (1341–1391), either alone or with his son, or else are anonymous issues. Thus there is no way of showing—except by the evidence here adduced—that they were current in the fifteenth century, in the Byzantium of Giacomo Badoer and the nameless cleric whose notes are so fortunately preserved. But the imperial government in this period did not attempt to withdraw older coins;[32] there is no *a priori* reason why some of these fifty year old coins should not come into the hands of our two sources. In the capital, in its last days almost ignorant of gold and desperately short of silver,[33] what survived would almost certainly have been employed in commerce.

Every cruciferous bronze that we possess dates from before the accession of John V (15 June 1341). Their silver successors, as we have seen, follow an iconographical tradition as old as the eleventh century.[34] To all of them, silver and bronze alike, the name *stavraton* could be equally applied. It was apparently used only for the silver to distinguish them from the more usual *nomismata*, those that did not bear the emblem. The account books still speak of the *hyperpyron*, but where this does not refer to a very rare gold minting,[35] the term probably represents a concept, an ideal standard like the carat, as much as a specific currency unit. The silver expression of this unit was that which bore a cross.

The conservative character of Byzantine money—the feature which makes its study at once so monotonous and so fascinating—showed itself for the last time when Palaeologan moneyers set upon their silver the crosses which had previously adorned the bronze. For the merchant, the ecclesiastic, indeed for anyone concerned with recording his transactions, the term *stavraton* graphically distinguishes this type of silver not only from other types but equally from the cross-bearing bronze. The difference in value is identified by name; for this reason Badoer specifies *stravati* when he receives them.

[32] R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, (New York, 1955), p. 15.
[33] R. S. Lopez, "The Dollar of the Middle Ages," *Journal of Economic History*, XI (1953), p. 229.
[34] Supra, p. 156.
[35] "L'Iperpero bizantino," p. 81.

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There is a close parallel in the history of Venetian coinage. When the maritime republic first minted its silver *soldino* (ca. 1330), the coin was popularly called the *ginocchiello* for the kneeling doge on its obverse.[36] With equal justice, the name could have been applied to the *ducato d'oro* then familiar for more than forty years. But the descriptive epithet was reserved for the motif as now used on a coin of different material and value. When, some time after 1341, the cross was impressed on Byzantine silver instead of bronze an analogous situation arose. Some means of recording the change had to be found and the obvious choice was the new coin's salient feature. To name something is to distinguish it and the distinction is all the more important when otherwise confusion is likely. With the coin in his hand, Badoer knew immediately if it were silver or bronze, even though he might not know the quality of its content. But in a document intended for later use some record of this identification was necessary. In a city and a century where gold and silver were heavily alloyed, when the *nomisma* and the *hyperpyron* were quite other than they had been in more prosperous days, *stavraton*, to Greeks and Italians, meant a specific coin. Its name remains as a monument to that period of confusion and the evidence of one small effort at clarification.

ANTHONY CUTLER

[36] N. Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia* ... (Venice, 1893), I, 159.

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A HOARD OF LEEUWENDAALDERS FROM AINTAB

(See PLATES XLIII–XLIV)

In 1959 the American Numismatic Society acquired from Vassar College a lot of 115 Dutch Leeuwendaalders and half daalders which bore the unmistakable aspect of hoard specimens in that they were covered with a green copper compound. The earliest date was 1613 and the latest 1692 and the mints of all six provinces that had struck leeuwendaalders were represented as well as the three cities of Overijssel: Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle.

No one at Vassar knew where they had been found, how they had come to Vassar, how long they had been there or even whether they represented an entire hoard or only a part of one, but with the kind assistance of Mrs. Hilda Pratt Benedict, Vassar-Class of 1910, Mrs. Alfred Coons, Mrs. Daniel Dorman, Dr. Fred Field Goodsell, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Miss Elsa Hasbrouck, Vassar-Class of 1909 and Mr. George T. Welch, Comptroller of Vassar College, to all of whom the author is greatly indebted, the actual history of the hoard was finally discovered.

As must be expected with events that took place more than fifty years ago the memories of all the parties that could give us information do not coincide in every detail, but by and large the facts could be established with sufficient certainty.

On the morning of February 17, 1906, the main building of the Girl's Seminary at Aintab (now Gaziantep), Turkey was destroyed by fire and as it had already become inadequate for the purposes of the growing school it was decided that a new building should be constructed on a nearby site. During the excavations for that building in the summer of 1906 the coins were found.

No eyewitness of the event appears to be living, at least not in the United States, but we are fortunate that the late Mrs. John Merrill, the acting principal of the school, recorded the discovery and ensuing events at the time. Mrs. Merrill wrote:

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"A Wonderful Find

> When the foundations for the new school building were being dug, the workmen came upon a large iron pot, shaped like a goldfish bowl, and filled with silver coins. The head workman sat on top of the jug to prevent the men from grabbing the coins, and sent word to Mr. Sanders. There were 1300 of the coins, most of them about the size of a silver dollar, the others of a half dollar. They were Dutch coins and many bore the date 1639! They had Latin mottoes around the edge, a lion on one side, and a shield and a head on the other. The larger number bore the words: *Confidens Domino Non Movetur.* When we came to America in 1908 we brought them with us and were able to sell most of them for belt buckles, pins, etc. to the people who contributed a dollar (or 50¢ for the small ones) to the new building. Who buried them and why remained a mystery."

The Mr. Sanders mentioned in Mrs. Merrill's story was Dr. Charles S. Sanders, President of Central Turkey College, a boy's school that was also located in Aintab and where the late Dr. Merrill taught. Eventually Dr. Sanders had to clear the hoard with the Turkish authorities as there was a law that all "antiquities" found in the Turkish Empire had to be delivered up to the government. In the case of the Lion Dollars, however, that had been found in Aintab it was finally decided by the authorities that coins sufficiently resembling them had been in circulation recently enough to permit the verdict that they were not antiquities.

As for the contents of the hoard the most important statement in Mrs. Merrill's account is that there were 1300 coins in the pot. Since she took charge of them and eventually sold most of them we must accept this statement as at least roughly accurate. In addition she states positively that all the coins were Dutch, that all had the lion on one side and "a head" (i.e., the knight) and a shield on the other, that all had Latin mottoes and that they were of two sizes, dollar and half dollar. This would confirm that all the coins in the pot were either leeuwendaalders or half daalders. As she says, most of them have the legend CONFIDENS DOMINO NON MOVETUR although

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there are some with other Latin mottoes as DA PACEM IN DIEBVS NOST which appears on some of the Zwolle coins in the Aintab Hoard.

This lot, in fact, represents the balance remaining of the hoard after the greatest part had been sold by Mrs. Merrill, the proceeds of those sales being used to support the Girl's School in Aintab.

In addition to the 115 pieces found at Vassar we have only been able to trace eight more of the 1300 coins; namely two daalders which have been made into pins and which are the property of the two daughters of Mrs. Merrill: Mrs. Coons and Mrs. Dorman, two which we acquired from Miss Ruth Blankenhorn, who was a student at Vassar at the time, one of them a daalder and the other a half daalder, both of which Miss Blankenhorn kindly donated to the ANS, and finally four pieces which are the property of Miss Harriet Norton, who had been a teacher at the school. Two of these are daalders, one a half daalder and one a testoon of Lorraine. Such testoons are occasionally found in Leeuwendaalder hoards in the Middle East, and the piece in question both by its aspect and Miss Norton's testimony came from the Aintab hoard. But there cannot have been many, as Mrs. Merrill does not mention quarter-size pieces.

Out of about 1300 pieces we have been able to catalogue only 123, and it is not even likely that this sample is in any way representative of the whole.

It is, of course, well known that the leeuwendaalders, at least from about 1620 on, were struck for circulation in the Levante and were struck in great quantities, the latter being to some extent supported by the fact that no two specimens in the hoard are from the same pair of dies. It is also known that they circulated well into the nineteenth century, as the Turkish authorities confirmed, and the thoroughly mixed aspect of the hoard would seem to indicate that it, too, circulated a long time before it was buried.

Even if we had the whole hoard, the end date would be meaningless for the determination of the burial date since leeuwendaalders were struck only in small quantities after 1700 and not at all after 1713 while they circulated for more than a century after that. The "large iron pot" which might have given some indication of the burial date has disappeared, but from the location in which the hoard was found, it might be conjectured that the hoard might have been buried in the

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latter part of the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century during the internal disturbances with the Derebeys, or perhaps during the war between Sultan Mahmud II of Turkey and Mohammed Ali of Egypt when the latter's armies defeated the Turks at Aleppo in 1832 and advanced into Anatolia. Aintab is about 100 miles due north of Aleppo.

The principal reason that this remainder of the Aintab Hoard has been considered in such detail is that it contains a few pieces that have heretofore been unknown and also that this is the first time that any Near Eastern hoard of leeuwendaalders has been published in any detail at all; the only previous publications, namely, those of the Beyrouth Hoard and the Saida Hoard being of extreme brevity. The previously unknown pieces are the following:

a. Westfriesland Daalder 1674 (No. 15)
Previously unknown with a crowned lion in the shield on the obverse.

b. Gelderland Half Daalder 1643 (No. 44)
Flan rather small and while we read the date as 1643 it might conceivably be 1645 but either of these dates was previously unknown to van Gelder who listed under Gelderland only half-daalders of 1640, 1641 and 1646. The whole daalder for 1643 is listed but that for 1645 is not.

c. Kampen Daalder 163– (No. 68)
Date not legible in its entirety and from its position the 3 could conceivably have been a mint mark. This seemed a possibility especially since otherwise no leeuwendaalders of Kampen are known between the years 1597 and 1646. The ANS not having any similar coins of Kampen that could have been used for comparison, a rubbing was submitted to the Royal Cabinet at the Hague. Dr. van Gelder very kindly informed us that no mint mark other than the lys of the Wijntgens family could be expected since that family had been in charge of the municipal mint from 1590 until 1653 and that therefore the shape in question could be nothing else than a 3. Also it could not be ruled out that some leeuwendaalders could have been minted in Kampen in 1639 as there is a copper duit of 1639 and a schelling with the title of Ferdinand III. Furthermore the reversed N (И) which appears on the piece under

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discussion also appears constantly on schellingen of Kampen with the title of Emperor Mathias. There is however no evidence that the mint in Kampen operated in the thirties before 1639. In addition to its date the piece is also remarkable because of the two small wavy lines appearing in front of the lion in the shield on the obverse which represent the waves characteristic of the lion in the arms of Overijssel.

d. Kampen Daalder 1689 (No. 110)
This piece fills in the series listed by van Gelder under Kampen that runs from 1681 to 1693. The date 1689 has previously been known only in a gold specimen.

e. Zwolle Daalder 1633 (No. 112)
This piece has the lion in the shield on the obverse charged with the shield of Zwolle, a type previously unknown.

f. Zwolle Daalder 1639 (No. 113)
While there is a daalder in the hoard (No. 114) which corresponds to v. G. Zwolle III, i.e., with the large lion on the reverse not charged with the shield of the city, this other daalder of 1639 (No. 113) is different from any type previously listed by either Verkade or van Gelder. On the obverse the shield displays St. Michael with not one but two shields of the city and on the reverse the large lion is charged with the city arms. Thus, were it not for the different obverse the piece would fall under v.G. type Zwolle II, for which only the date 1637 had previously been listed. It may, however, be noted that the legend on the obverse has A.L. IMP as given in v. G. Zwolle III, while No. 114 which otherwise corresponds to that type has the legend ending with ZWOLLE IMP.

There never has been a complete catalogue of the dates and mints of leeuwendaalders and half-daalders and, in fact, until a few years ago many dates of the various mints for the coinage of which documentary evidence exists were unknown in actual specimens. Recently, however, a flood of leeuwendaalders and half-daalders has turned up on the European coin market. They are believed to have come from extensive but unpublished hoards which are being dispersed by Near Eastern coin dealers.

Dr. Enno van Gelder has been compiling a complete list of all known dates and mints (including those known only from the Aintab

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Heard, but excluding seigorial and foreign imitations and has provided it for publication here in conjunction with this dissertation. For this and much other assistance the author is most grateful to Dr. van Gelder.

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CATALOGUE

INTRODUCTION

All coins have on the obverse a knight with a shield and on the reverse a large lion rampant. Except for the leeuwendaalders of Westfriesland of 1674 and Utrecht of 1646, the small lion in the shield appears to be uncrowned on all specimens listed although the preservation of some pieces leaves this not quite certain.

Equally the question whether the inner circle is dotted or solid is sometimes hard to decide. It may seem solid, but in some cases this might be due only to wear which caused the small dots to have been blurred into the aspect of a solid line. "Almost solid" describes this case.

The description of the legends does not take into account differences in interpunctuation, but does record fully differences in the abbreviation of words and accidental mistakes in spelling such as DON in place of DNO. The stops used after each word in the description do not mean that they are or are not on the coins or that there may not be double stops (:) on the coin. The description also does not go into the size of the small shield, the shape of its ornaments, the size and position of the large lion or other details of the design which are quite impossible to describe accurately. Suffice it to state that no two coins in the catalogue are of the same pair of dies.

The following abbreviations are used:

Mm.—Mint mark.

MMm.—Mint Master's mark.

*—Indicates the previously unknown specimens.

V.—Verkade. Coins are given a V. reference even if the abbreviations of the legends are not exactly as in Verkade, but not where there is a material difference in legend or design.

v.G.—The "Provisional List" compiled by Dr. van Gelder and appearing in conjunction with this discussion. Since this list does not take into account variations in abbreviation or punctuation, references to it have been handled in the same manner as references to Verkade.

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THE AINTAB HOARD

Holland

1. 1662 Daalder. V. 49.1, v.G. II.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FŒ · BELG · HOL · Mm. Rose
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
   Inner circle dotted

Westfriesland

2. 1622 Daalder. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WESTF
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR no Mm.
   Inner circle dotted

3–4. 1633, 1637 Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WESTF
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · MMm. Lys
   Inner circle dotted

5–8. 1637, 1640, 1641 (2) Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WEST
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Lys
   Inner circle dotted

9–11. 1642, 1643, 1647 Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WES
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR date, MMm. Lys

12.–13. 1649, 1650 (property of Mrs. Alfred Coons) Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
   Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WEST ·
   Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
   Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Lys
   Inner circle dotted

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14. 1670 Daalder. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MON · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WESTF
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. Starfish

15–16. 1674,* 74 (?) Daalders. V. 66.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MON · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WEST
Knight looking right, lion in shield clearly crowned in one specimen, indistinct in the other, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. Starfish

17–18. 1632, 1634 Half Daalders. V. 66.5, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · WESTF
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Lys
Inner circle dotted

Zeeland

19–20. 1617 (property of Miss Norton), 16–– Half Daalders. V. 88.2, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · ZEL · Mm. Castle
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: Mm. Castle CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

Utrecht

21. 1646 Daalder. V. 107.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: Mm. Shield. MO · ARG · PRO · CO – NFŒ · BELG · TRA
Knight looking right, lion in shield crowned and with saltire on breast, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

22–25. 1685 (2), 1688 (2) Daalders. V. 107.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BEL · TRA · Mm. Shield
Knight looking right, lion in shield uncrowned but with saltire on breast, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. within date

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Gelderland

26. 1638 Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: Mm. Croix recroisée · MO · ARG · PRO · CO – NFOE · BELG · GEL
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

27. 1638 (property of Miss Norton), Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CO – NFOE · BEL · GEL
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DON · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

28. 1639 Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CO – NFOE · BEL · GEL ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

29. 1639 Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FEO · BELG · GEL
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR
Inner circle dotted

30–32. 1639 (property of Mrs. Dorman), 1640 (2) Daalders. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · GEL ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

33–36. 1641 (2), 1642, 1643 Daalders. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CO – FOE · BELG · GEL
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

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37. 1647 Daalder. V. 11.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · GEL ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

38–40. 1647 (2), 1648 Daalders. V. 11.2, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · C – ONFOE · BEL · GEL ·
Knight looking left, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle almost solid

41–42. 1648 (2) Daalders. V. 11.2, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO· ARG · PRO · C – ONFOE · BEL · GEL ·
Knight looking left, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. within date

43–44. 1641 (donated by Miss Ruth Blankenhorn), 1643* Half Daalder. V. 11.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · GEL ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle dotted

Overijssel

45–47. 1613 (?)(later than 12), 1617 (property of Miss Ruth Blankenhorn), 1643 Daalders. V. 139.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · TRAN
Knight looking right, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle almost solid

48. 1633 Daalder. V. 139.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · ⅂RAN
Knight looking right, inner circle almost solid
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Inner circle almost solid

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49. 1640 (property of Miss Norton), V. 139.3. v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CO – FOE · BELG · TRA
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVEƬ
Inner circle dotted

50–51. 1641, 1644 Daalders. V. 139.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · TRA
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETR · date
Inner circle dotted (1644 almost solid)

52–56. 1677 (3), 1679 (2) Daalders. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CONFOE – BELG · PRO · TRANS
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. Rosette within date

57. 1681 Daalder. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · NO · ARG · CONF – Œ · BELG · PRO · TRA
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Rosette within date

58. 1688 Daalder. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · NO · ARG · CON – BELG · PRO · TRANS
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. Rosette within date

59. 1688 Daalder. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · NO · ARG · CONF – BELG · PRO · TRANS
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. Rosette within date

60–61. 1688, 1692 Daalders. V. 139.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MON · ARG · CONF – BEL · PRO · TRANS
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [Mm. Rosette within date

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Friesland

62. Undated (ca. 1615–1625) Daalder. V. 124.2, v.G. IV.
Obv.: MO · AR · PR · CO – NFOE · BEL · FRI
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR ·
Inner circle dotted

Deventer

63. 1664 Daalder. V. 150.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVIT · – IMPER · DAVENT ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Moor's head within date

64–67. 1687 (2), 1688 (2) Daalders. V. 150.3, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIV · IMP – BEL · DAVENTR
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. dog within date

Kampen

68. 163–* Daalder. V. 163.1, v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIV · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN
Knight looking right, inner circle almost solid (Behind the lion in the shield are the "waves" which characterize the arms of Overijssel)
Rev.: CONFIDEИS · DИO · ИOИ · MOVETVR · date, Mm.
Inner circle solid

69–70. 1648 (2) Daalder. V. 163.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · AR · CIVI · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN ·
Knight looking left, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Lys within date

71–79. 1648 (7), 1649 (2) Daalders. V. 163.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · AR · CIVI · IM – P · BELG · CAMPEN
Knight looking left, inner circle dotted

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Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Lys within date
(one 1649 almost solid)

80–84. 1649 (4), 1650 Daalders. V. 163.3, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · AR · CIVI · IM – P · BEL · CAMPEN
Knight looking left, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date
Inner circle almost solid [MMm. Lys within date

85–94. 1681 (2), 1682 (5), 1683 (3) Daalders. V. 163.1, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIV · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN ·
Knight looking right, inner circle solid
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle solid [MMm. Horseman within date
(one 1683 dotted)

95–110. 1684 (7), 1685 (2), 1686, 1686 (later than 84), 1688 (4), 1689* Daalders. V. 163.1, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIV · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted (one 1686 almost solid)
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date,
Inner circle dotted [MMm. Horseman within date
(one 1686 almost solid)

111. 1646 Half Daalder. V. 163.2, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVI · IMP – BELG · CAMPEN ·
Knight looking right, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Lys
Inner circle dotted [within date

Zwolle

112. 1633* Daalder. v.G. I.
Obv.: MO · ARG · IMP · CIVI – ZWOL · A · L · IMP ·
(i.e. *ad legem imperii*)
Knight looking right, in shield lion with arms of Zwolle on breast, inner circle dotted
Rev.: DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOST ·
Lion with city arms on breast, dividing date, inner circle dotted

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113. 1639* Daalder. v.G. II.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP ·
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with two city arms of Zwolle, inner circle almost solid
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOST ·
Lion with city arms on breast dividing date, inner circle dotted

114. 1639 Daalder. v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOLL · IMP ·
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOSTR ·
Lion without city arms dividing date, inner circle dotted

115. 1640 Daalder. v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOST ·
Lion without city arms dividing date, inner circle dotted

116. 1642 Daalder. V. 172.2, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP ·
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, rowel in left field, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOMINE · IN · DIEBVS · NOST ·
Lion without city arms dividing date, inner circle dotted

117–119. 1646 (2), 1648 Daalders. V. 172.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP ·
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · DOM · IN · DIEBVS · NOST · date
Lion without city arms, inner circle dotted

120. 1649 Daalder. V. 172.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVITA – ZWOL · A · L · IMP
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: rowel · DA · PACEM · D · IN · DIEBVS · NOST · date
Lion without city arms, inner circle dotted

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121. 1652 Daalder. V. 172.4, v.G. III.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CIVIT – ZWOL · A · L · IMP
Knight looking right, in shield St. Michael with arms of Zwolle, inner circle dotted
Rev.: DA · PACEM · DOM · IN · DIEBVS · NOS · date, MMm. Starfish
Lion without city arms, inner circle dotted

122. 1685 Daalder. v.G. IV.
Obv.: MO · ARG · CONFŒ – BELG · CIV · ZWOL ·
Knight looking right, in shield lion, inner circle dotted
Rev.: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR · date, MMm. Starfish
Lion without city arms, inner circle solid

Lorraine

123. (property of Miss Norton), Testoon of Nancy. Henri le Bon (1608–1624).
Obv.: HENRI · D:G: · DVX · LOTH · MARCH · D:C · B · G
Bust right
Rev.: MONETA · NOVA · NANCEII · CVSA ·
Crowned shield of Lorraine with eight quarters and center shield
de Saulcy, p. 162.

SUMMARY OF HOARD

	Daalders	*Half Daalders*	*Total*
Holland	1	–	1
Westfriesland	15	2	17
Zeeland	–	2	2
Utrecht	5	–	5
Gelderland	17	2	19
Overijssel	17	–	17
Friesland	1	–	1
Deventer	5	–	5
Kampen	43	1	44
Zwolle	11	–	11
	115	7	122
Lorraine	*Testoon*		1
			123

HERBERT J. ERLANGER

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A PROVISIONAL LIST OF DUTCH LION-DOLLARS

The type of the Dutch lion-dollar was created once for all by the die-engraver of the provincial mint of Holland in 1576:

Obv.: A warrior clad in contemporary armor stands three quarters to the left; his head covered by an open crested helmet is sharply turned to the right; with his right hand he holds a large shield with ornamental border, under which his feet appear; with his left hand he holds a slip of the light cloak that flows freely from his back; the shield displays the coat of arms of Holland, a lion rampant; legend MO[neta] NO[va] ARG[entea] ORDIN[um] HOL[landiae]

Rev.: A large heraldic lion rampant; legend CONFIDENS D[omi]NO NON MOVETVR

Only the very oldest lion-dollars struck in 1575 and early in 1576 show some slight hesitancies before the definitive type was established; the warrior of these early specimens wears armor of "antique" design and lacks the characteristic turn of the head. All later issues of Holland as well as of other provinces and towns show hardly any deviation from this prototype which was neither varied nor modernized in the course of more than a century.

The imitations by other provincial mints started in 1585; these took over the essential characteristics of the type, but usually replaced the elements peculiar to Holland by their own equivalents: the coat of arms in the shield on the obverse, the motto and the mint mark on the reverse. Later, the desire to produce as exact replicas as possible of the prototype brought back many of the original features to the lion dollars struck outside Holland: the plain lion in the shield, the CONFIDENS motto, and even the rose mint mark of Dordrecht. By a clever device legends of the type MO[neta] NO[va] ORD[inum] TRAI[ecti] AD VA[lorem] HOL[landie] produced an obverse legend beginning and ending with the same words as the original.

This conformity to the Holland prototype was more or less legalized in 1606 when the States-General accepted the lion-dollar as a

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general coin for all the provinces. Its new status found expression in the new obverse legend—similar to that of other denominations—MO[neta] ARG[entea] PRO[vinciarum] CONFOE[deratarum] BELG[i-carum], followed by the name of the province. For the reverse the plain lion of Holland with the traditional motto was tolerated, whereas all other coins bore the crowned and armored lion of the United Provinces and the accompanying device "Concordia Res Parvae Crescunt." Besides that the date was shifted from the obverse to the reverse where it took the place of the rose mint mark.

The provinces adhered with hardly any exceptions to the new pattern, but the towns maintained individual variations much longer. Only after 1659, when they accepted a general supervision of the central authorities over their coinage, did they resign themselves to the same conformity; the municipal arms disappeared from the coins as well as local mottoes for reverse legends, while the obverse legends too were adapted to the general pattern suggesting coinage in the name of the United Provinces.

Apart from the differences in the heraldry and the legends mentioned before, the most notable exceptions to the uniformity of obverse design are:

a. in a few cases the lion in the shield on the obverse is crowned, probably the effect of a confusion with the crowned lion of the States-General;
b. one die-engraver, working both for the provincial mint of Gelderland and the municipal mint of Kampen, reversed the position of the warrior;
c. in the second half of the 17th century the crest on the warrior's helmet was almost universally suppressed;
d. after 1606 all provincial issues show the lion rampant, as prescribed in the ordinance of that year; the province of Utrecht only continues to use its own arms, but these being a lion rampant bearing a small saltire on his shoulder could hardly be distinguished from the general pattern.

The large lion of the reverse suffered still fewer attacks:

a. Zeeland replaced the lion rampant during a few years by its own lion issuant;

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b. the town of Zwolle for a few years permitted the lion to be charged with the municipal arms and later added some new elements to the field such as a grassy ground or a date.

Before 1606 the place of the mint mark was at the top of the reverse; it was a fairly regular feature of the coins in so far as it was not replaced by the Holland rose. The latter abuse was made impossible by the new design of 1606 and from then onwards the usual place of the mint mark was at the end of the obverse legend. However, many provinces discontinued this mark altogether in the course of the century. On the other hand some provinces, and all of the towns, introduced eventually the use of a mintmaster's mark for which room was found at different places in the design. Utrecht alone ended by putting both a mint mark and a mintmaster's mark on the coins.

The following survey is a first attempt to list the lion-dollars struck by the provinces and towns of the Republic of the United Netherlands, excluding both the unauthorized imitations of a few Dutch *seigneuries* and the numerous lion-dollars struck abroad, especially in Germany and Italy.

For the sake of simplification in the description of the types and variations no stops have been indicated (saltires, crosslets or pellets before 1606, almost exclusively pellets after that date). For the same reason slight variations in the abbreviations of the legends or in the details of the design (e.g., the nature of the inner circles, the position of the shield and the decoration of its frame) have been neglected.

The list contains all the dates of lion-dollars (left hand column) and half lion-dollars (right hand column) known to the author either from specimens seen in public or private collections both in Holland and abroad or, for a small number, from descriptions in reliable catalogues and reports of hoards. However the list must of necessity remain incomplete as our knowledge of the series is continually expanding as a result of new information about Middle East hoards. Additionally, anyone having a date or mint of a lion-dollar or half lion-dollar that is not contained in this list is requested to communicate with the Koninklijk Penningkabinet at the Hague.

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Holland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying the arms of Holland (lion rampant), date at the bottom of the shield; MO · NO · ARG – ORDIN · HOL(L)

Rev.: Lion rampant; rose CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETVR

undated		warrior in Roman armor with head turned to the left	emaciated bust (struck 1575)
1575		similar	similar
1576		similar	broad bust
1576			
1577	1577		
	1578		
1585	1585		
1586			
1589	1589		
1597			
	1598		
1601	1601		
1602			
1604	1604		
1605	1605		

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO · ARG · PRO · CON – FOE · BELG · HOL rose

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1606	1606
1607	
1608	1608
1609	
	1610
1611	
1612	
1616	1616
1617	1617
	1618
1622	1622

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1623	1623
1624	
1625	
1626	
1627	
1628	
1632	
1633	
1634	1634
1635	
1636	1636
1637	
1640	1640
1641	1641
	1645
	1647
1648	1648
1649	
1650	1650
1651	
1652	1652
1655	
1662	
1663	
1664	
1666	
1668	
1674	
1680	
1683	
1684	
1685	
1687	

West-Friesland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying the arms of West-Friesland (two lions passant guardant), date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ARG WEST – FRI VALOR HOL

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Rev.: Lion rampant; rose CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1588		
1589		

II *Obv.*: as obv. of I, except place of date
Rev.: Lion rampant; rose DEVS FORTITVDO ET SPES NOSTRA

1600		date at the bottom of the shield
1601		similar
1603		similar
undated		(struck ca. 1603)
	1603	date in the field divided by shield
1604	1604	similar
1605	1605	similar

III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG PRO CON – FOE BELG WES(TFRIS)
Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR (usually mintmaster's mark before or after date)

1606		no mintmaster's mark
1609		no mintmaster's mark
1611		no mintmaster's mark
1612		no mintmaster's mark
1613		no mintmaster's mark
1613		mark: fleur-de-lis
1614		no mark
1615		mark: fleur-de-lis
1616	1616	fleur-de-lis
1617	1617	fleur-de-lis
1618		fleur-de-lis
1622		mark: rose
1622		no mark
	1623	no mark
1623	1623	mark: rose
1624	1624	rose
1626	1626	rose
1628		rose
1629	1629	rose

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1629	1629	no mark	
1631	1631	mark: fleur-de-lis	
1632	1632	fleur-de-lis	
1633	1633	fleur-de-lis	
1634	1634	fleur-de-lis	
1635	1635	fleur-de-lis	
1636	1636	fleur-de-lis	
1637		fleur-de-lis	
1638	1638	fleur-de-lis	
1639		fleur-de-lis	
1640	1640	fleur-de-lis	
1641	1641	fleur-de-lis	
1642	1642	fleur-de-lis	
1643	1643	fleur-de-lis	
1644	1644	fleur-de-lis	
	1645	fleur-de-lis	
1646	1646	fleur-de-lis	
1647	1647	fleur-de-lis	
1648	1648	fleur-de-lis	
	1649	fleur-de-lis	
1649		mark: flower	
1650	1650	flower	
1651	1651	flower	
1652		flower	
1654	1654	flower	
1655		flower	
1661	1661	flower	
1662	1662	flower	
1664	1664	flower	
1665		flower	
	1666	flower	
1668		flower	
1670		flower	
1671		flower	crowned lion in shield on obv.
1674		flower	similar
1675		flower	similar
1677		flower	similar

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1678		flower	similar
1697		flower	similar
1699		flower	similar
1700		flower	similar
1713		mark: stork	similar

Zeeland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Holland (lion rampant), date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ORD ZEL – AD VA ORD HOL

Rev.: Lion rampant; castle CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1589	1589

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Zeeland (lion issuant above waves), date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ARG – ORDIN ZEL

Rev.: Lion issuant above waves; castle DOMINE SERVA NOS PERIMVS

1597	1597
1598	1598
1599	

III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG PRO CON – FOE BELG ZEL castle

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1606		
1609		
1612		date between rosettes
1613		similar
1614	1614	similar
1615	1615	date between saltires
1616	1616	similar
1617	1617	similar
1618	1618	similar
	1619	similar
1623	1623	date between rosettes
1624		similar
1628	1628	similar

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1629		
1633		
1634		
	1635	
1637?		
1638	1638	date between rosettes (except on half-dollar)
1640		date between rosettes
1644		
1645	1645	
1646		
1648		
1649		
1650		
1651		
1652	1652	

Utrecht

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying quartered arms of Utrecht (1,4 lion, 2,3 cross), date at the bottom of the shield; MONETA NOV – ORDIN TRAI

Rev.: Lion rampant; escutcheon CONCORDIA RES PARVAE CRESCVNT

1585	known as piedfort only

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Utrecht (lion bearing saltire on his shoulder), date at the bottom of the shield; legend (a) MO NO OR(D) TRA – AD VA ORD HOL or (b) MO NO ORDI – TRA(I) VA HOL

Rev.: Lion rampant; rose CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1589	legend a; escutcheon on rev. instead of rose
1589	legend a
1597	legend b
1598	legend a or b
1599 1599	legend a or b
1600	legend b
1601	legend a
1602	legend b

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III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Utrecht (lion bearing saltire on his shoulder ; escutcheon MO AR PRO CON – FOE BEL(G) TRA(I) (from 1647 onwards the escutcheon is placed at the end of the legend)

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETUR (from 1674 onwards a mintmaster's mark is added, dividing the date)

1606	1606	
1607		
1608		
1609	1609	
1610	1610	
1613		
1614	1614	
1615		
1616	1616	
1617	1617	
1618	1618	
1623		
1626	1626	
1628		
1629	1629	escutcheon before MO or after TRA
1632		escutcheon after TRA
1634		escutcheon after TRA
1635		crowned lion in the shield on the obv.
1636	1636	crowned or uncrowned lion
1637		crowned lion
1638		crowned lion
1639		crowned lion
1640		crowned lion
1641		crowned lion
1642	1642	crowned lion
1643	1643	crowned lion
1644		crowned lion
1645	1645	crowned lion
1646		crowned lion
1647	1647	escutcheon before MO or after TRA

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1648	1648	escutcheon after TRA		
1649	1649			
1650	1650			
1651				
1652				
1653				
1654	1654			
1655				
1656				
1657				
1658				
1660	1660			
1661				
1662				
1663	1663			
1664				
	1667			
1674	1674	mintmaster's mark:	pascal lamb	
1676	1676		pascal lamb	
1679		mintmaster's mark:	rose	
1680			rose	
1681			rose	
1682			rose	helmet with or without crest
1683			rose	helmet with or without crest
1685			rose	helmet without crest
1686			rose	similar
1687			rose	similar
1688			rose	similar
1689			rose	similar
1697			rose	similar

Gelderland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Holland (lion rampant); date at the bottom of the shield MO NO ORDI – GEL VA HOL

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Rev.: Lion rampant; rose CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVET VR

1589		recrossed cross on rev. instead of rose
1589		
1593		
1597	1597	
1599	1599	
1600		
1602	1602	

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant: MO ARG PRO CON – FOE BEL(G) GEL (until 1638 inclusive followed by mintmark recrossed cross)

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR (from 1647 onwards a mintmaster's mark is added dividing the date)

1606	1606	crowned lion in shield on obv.	
1607		similar	
1608		similar	
1609		similar	
1610	1610	similar	uncrowned lion on half-dollar
1611		similar	
1613		similar	
1615		similar	
1616	1616	crowned or uncrowned lion	
1617	1617	crowned or uncrowned lion	
1618		crowned lion	
1619			
1622			
1628	1628		
1629			
1631			
1632		crowned or uncrowned lion	
1633	1633		
1634			
1635			
1636		without mint mark	

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1637	1637	with mint mark	
1637		without mint mark	
1638		with mint mark	
1638	1638	without mint mark	
1639			
1640	1640		
1641	1641		
1642			
1643	1643		
1644			
1646	1646		
1647		no mintmaster's mark	
1647		no mintmaster's mark	warrior reversed (looking to the left)
1647		mark: fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
	1647	fleur-de-lis	
1648		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1648	1648	fleur-de-lis	
1649		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1651		fleur-de-lis	
1652		fleur-de-lis	
1652		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1653		fleur-de-lis	
1654		fleur-de-lis	
1655		mark: sitting dog	
1657		sitting dog	
1662		sitting dog	
1663		sitting dog	
1666		sitting dog	
1667		sitting dog	
1668		sitting dog	
1674		sitting dog	
1675		sitting dog	
1676		sitting dog	
1694		mark: mounted warrior	helmet without crest
1697		mounted warrior	helmet without crest
1699		mounted warrior	helmet without crest

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Overijssel

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Overijssel (lion rampant covering waved fess); date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ORD TRS – ISL VALOR HOL
Rev.: Lion rampant; castle in roseate frame CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1585
1589
1591
1593
1594
1597
1602

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG PRO CO(N) – FOE BEL(G) TRA or TRAN(S)
Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1606	1606	
1607		
1608		
1610		
1611		
1612	1612	
1613		
1614	1614	
1615	1615	on half-dollar sometimes reversed lion in shield on obv.
1616	1616	similar
1617		
1619?		
	1622	
1623		
1628		
1629	1629	
1633	1633	on obv. sometimes crowned lion in shield on rev. sometimes date repeated in field
1636		

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1637 1637
1638?
1639 1639
1640 1640
1641 1641
1643
1644
1647

III *Obv.*: as obv. of II, but helmet without crest
Rev.: Lion rampant; date and mintmaster's mark before legend MO ARG CONFOE – BELG PRO TRANS (a) or MO NO ARG CONF(OE) (or CONE) – BELG PRO TRA(NS) (b)

1675	mark: flower	legend a	helmet with crest
1676	with or without mark	legend a	helmet with crest
1677	mark: flower	legend a	
1678?	flower	legend b	
1679	flower	legend a or b	
1680	flower	legend a or b	
1681	flower	legend b	
1682	flower	legend b	
1683	with or without mark	legend b	
1685	mark: flower	legend b	
1688	flower	legend b	
1689	flower	legend b beginning MON:ARG	
1692	flower	similar	
1697	flower	similar	
1700	flower	similar	
1701	flower	similar	

Friesland

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Friesland (two lions passant); date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ARG ORD – FRI VAL HOL
Rev.: Lion rampant; lion CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1589 1589

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II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Holland (lion rampant), date at the bottom of the shield; MO NO ORD – FRI(SI) VA HO(LL)
Rev.: Lion rampant; mintmark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1591		mark: lion
1594		mark: escutcheon of Friesland
1594		mark: rectangle
1597		rectangle
1600		mark: escutcheon of Friesland
1601		escutcheon of Friesland
1602	1602	escutcheon of Friesland
1603		escutcheon of Friesland

III *Obv.*: As obv. of I, but legend MONE NOVA – ORDIN FRISIAE
Rev.: Lion rampant; NISI DOMINVS NOBISCVM

1603	only known as mule with rev. of type II
1604	
1605	

IV *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO AR(G) PRO – CONFOE BEL(G) FR(IS) sometimes followed by mint mark lion
Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR; sometimes mint mark lion before or after date

1607		without mint mark
1608		without mint mark
1608		lion on rev.
1609		without mark
1610		without mark or lion on rev.
1611		lion on rev.
1612		without mark or lion on obv.
1613		lion on obv.
1614	1614	without mark
1615		lion either on obv. or on rev.
1616		without mark
	1616	lion on obv.

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1617	1617	lion on obv. or on rev. or on both sides
	1619	lion on obv.
undated	undated	lion on obv. or on rev. or on both sides
undated	undated	without mark (struck ca. 1615–25)
	1626	date on obv. divided by head of warrior and lion on rev.
1628	1628	lion on obv. or date on obv. and lion on rev.
1629		lion on obv.
	1632	date on obv. divided by head of warrior
1650		lion on rev. dividing date
1653		without mark
	1663	lion on obv.

V *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO NO(VA) ARG – ORDIN FRI(S) lion (or date)
Rev.: Lion rampant; lion (or date) CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

undated	lion on both sides (struck ca. 1615–17)
1616	lion on obv. and date on rev. in legend
1617	lion on rev. and date on obv. at the bottom of the shield
1622	similar

Nijmegen

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG CIVI IMP – BELG NOVIOMAG
Rev.: Lion rampant; date divided by mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1692	mark:	moor's head	helmet without crest

Zutphen

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO ARG CIVI IMP – BEL ZVTPHANI
Rev.: Lion rampant; date divided by mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1691	mark:	antlers	helmet without crest
1692		antlers	helmet without crest

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Deventer

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Deventer (eagle); IMP CIV CONF BE – LG PR SOCI date

Rev.: Lion rampant; mintmaster's mark ME VIGILANTE FLORET DAVENT

1640 1640 mark: fleur-de-lis

II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; legend MO ARG CIVIT – IMPER DAVENT (a)
or MO ARG CIV IMP – BEL(G) DAVENTR(IAE) (b)
or MO ARG PRO CON – FOE BELG CIV DAV (c)

Rev.: Lion rampant; date divided by mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1662	legend a	mark: moor's head	
1663	legend a	moor's head	
1664	legend a	mark: sitting dog	
1666	legend a	sitting dog	
1667	legend a	sitting dog	
1685	legend b	sitting dog	helmet without crest
1687	legend b	sitting dog	similar
1688	legend b	sitting dog	similar
1698	legend c	sitting dog	similar

III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Deventer (eagle); MO ARG CIV IMP – BELG DAVENTRIAE

Rev.: as rev. of II

1684 mark: sitting dog helmet without crest

Kampen

I *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant dangling an escutcheon of Kampen (castle) on long strings; MO ARG R P IMP – CAMP VA HOL

Rev.: Lion rampant; castle in roseate frame CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

undated undated (struck ca. 1593–95)

1597 date on rev. divided by mint mark

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II *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying arms of Overijssel (lion rampant covering waved fess); MO ARG CIVI IMP – BELG CAMPEN

Rev.: Lion rampant; date CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR 1639?

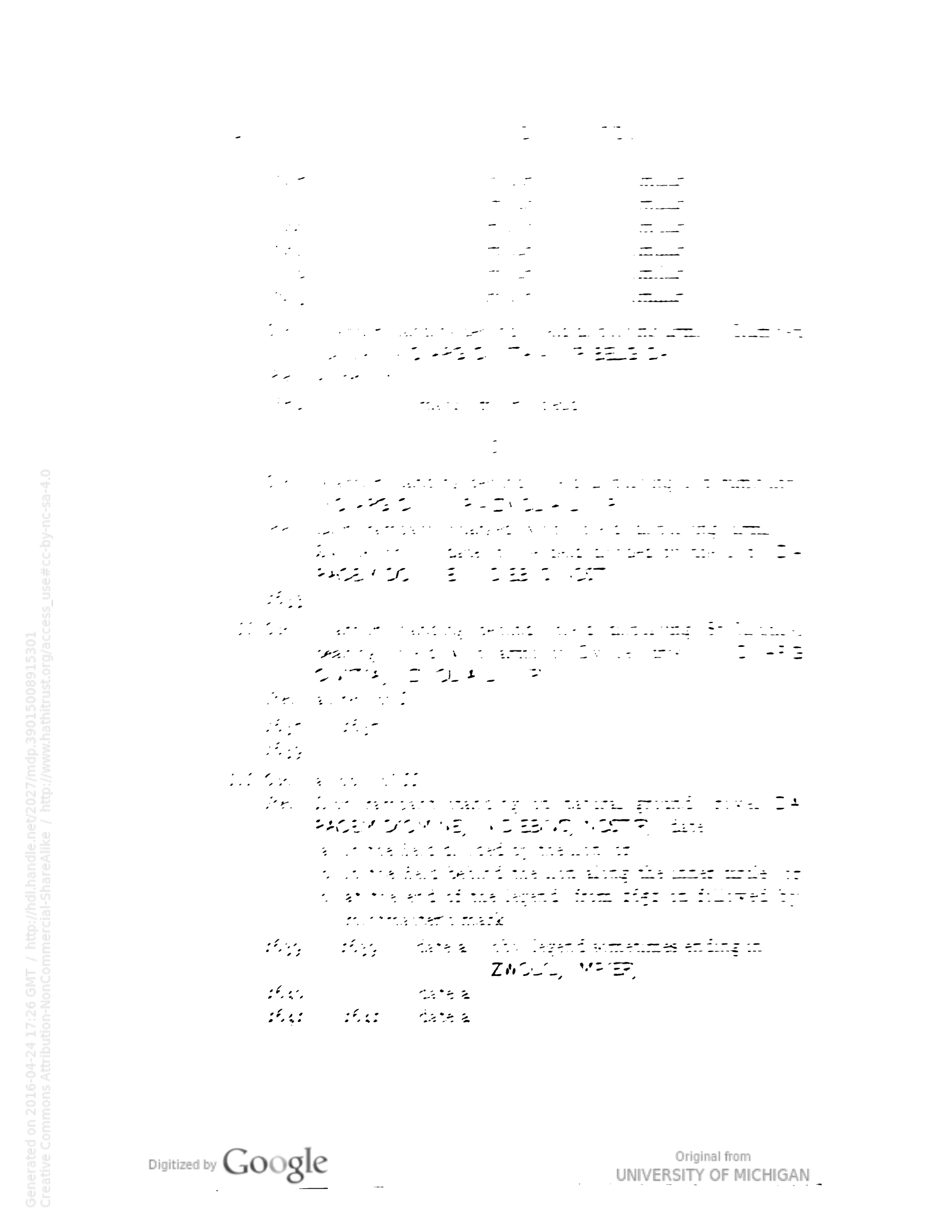
III *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant; MO AR(G) CIV(I) IMP – BEL(G) CAMPE(N)

Rev.: Lion rampant; date divided by (or preceding) mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1646		without mark	warrior reversed (looking to the left)
	1646	mark: fleur-de-lis	
1646		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
	1647	fleur-de-lis	
1647		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1648		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1649		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1650		fleur-de-lis	warrior reversed
1650		fleur-de-lis	
1651		fleur-de-lis	
1652		fleur-de-lis	
1653		fleur-de-lis	
1654		fleur-de-lis	
1655		fleur-de-lis	
1662		fleur-de-lis	
1664		mark: moor's head	
1667		moor's head	
1675		mark: mounted warrior	helmet without crest
1676		similar	similar
1677		similar	similar
1681		similar	similar
1682		similar	similar
1683		similar	similar
1684		similar	similar
1685		similar	similar
1686		similar	similar

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1641	1641	date c	sometimes one rowel in the field of the obv.
1642	1642	date a	sometimes one rowel in the field of the obv.
1642		date b	one rowel in the field
1644		date a	one or two rowels in the field
1644	1644	date b	one rowel in the field
1644		date c	
1646	1646	date c	sometimes one rowel in the field
1647		date c	
1648	1648	date c	
1649	1649	date c	
1650	1650	date c	
1651	1651	date c	
1651		date c	mark: flower
1652	1652	date c	flower
1653		date c	flower
1655		date c	flower

IV *Obv.*: Warrior standing behind shield displaying lion rampant MO ARG CONFOE – BELG CIV(I) ZWOL

Rev.: Lion rampant; date and mintmaster's mark CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR

1661		mark: flower
1663		flower
1664		flower
1665		flower
1666		flower
1677		flower
1685		flower
1688		flower

H. Enno van Gelder

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A PORTRAIT OF THE BUYID PRINCE RUKN AL-DAWLAH

(See PLATES XLV–XLVII)

In the summer of 1960 M. R. Gurnet of Momignies, a small town in Belgium south of Charleroi, sent me a plaster-cast of a curious coin that he had acquired and requested my help in identifying it. The coin so aroused my curiosity that I seized the opportunity of a brief visit in Brussels to run down to Momignies with M. Gurnet so that I could examine it at first hand. The trip was well worth it, not only because of M. Gurnet's hospitality but also because the piece turned out to be unique and, I think, of uncommon interest.

The coin (PLATE XLV, enlarged about 2½ diameters) is of silver, of unusually large dimensions and weight for a dirhem of its period (32 mm. in diameter and weighing 10.13 grams). The obverse presents in general the usual characteristics of a conventional Buyid coin; in the area, a six-line Kufic inscription reading:

لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
محمد رسول الله
المطيع لله
ركن الدولة
ابو على بويه

—that is, the *shahadah*, or declaration of faith, in full, followed by the name of the Caliph al-Muṭī' li'llāh, and the name of the Buyid prince Rukn al-Dawlah, abu-'Ali Buyeh. The *ṭā* of *al-Muṭī'* is braided. The single marginal legend has some unusual features. It reads:

بسم الله عمل (؟) هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة احدى وخمسين وتلثمائة
... (about 8 letters) صلى الله عليه.

The word following the *basmalah* appears to read *'umila*, "was made," rather than the usual formulary *ḍuriba*, "was struck." The coin, being

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of silver, should be called a dirhem, but the word after *hadha* seems to be *al-dīnār*. The words following the date (which usually concludes the marginal formula) are crowded and blurred and difficult to decipher, but I suspect they are *min hijrah nabī* (or *nabawīyah*), "of the *hijrah* of the Prophet," which would suit the concluding words, "may God bless him." I imagine that the die-engraver added these phrases after the date to fill the space provided by the unusually large size of the flan.

Thus the piece announces itself as a dinar, although in silver,[1] of Rukn al-Dawlah, struck in the year 351 H./962 A.D. at al-Muḥammadīyah, the ceremonial or beaurocratic name of Rayy, the great city of northern Jibāl, located a few miles south of present-day Teheran.

With the exceptions noted there is nothing particularly remarkable about this side of the coin, but it is when we turn it over that we meet with a real surprise. Instead of the usual epigraphical reverse we find a facing bust with two lines of Pahlevi inscription, one at either side of the head. Both the bust and the Pahlevi legend are strongly reminiscent of the Sasanian tradition. A ceremonial robe of honor is suggested by the oval compartments across the chest. The full face is bearded and moustached. On the head is a winged crown, which while it has no exact Sasanian prototype, is distinctly of Sasanian inspiration. The crescents in the margin are also a Sasanian survival. While most Sasanian numismatic heads are in profile, there are exceptions, such as the frontal portrait on a rare drachm of Khosrau II dated in the 36th year of his reign (PLATE XLVI, 1); and the goddess with the flaming nimbus, Khurāsān Khurrah, also appears frontally, as on the reverse of the same coin (PLATE XLVI, 2).[2]

The Pahlevi legend (Fig. 1) is, in the perverse way of most Pahlevi legends, difficult to decipher. It would be difficult enough, even if the

[1] The piece has been holed at some time, and later plugged. The plug has a brassy color, which suggests that at the time it was holed, or perhaps even immediately after it was struck, the whole piece may have been gilded. This might explain the anomalous "dinar" denomination.

[2] ANS (ex-E. T. Newell Collection), 33 mm., 3.98 gr. →. This specimen was mentioned by John Walker in "Some recent oriental coin acquisitions of the British Museum," *NC* 1935, p. 244, note 4. It is from the same dies as the British Museum specimen, loc.cit., pl. XVIII, 2. For the bibliography relating to Khurāsān Khurrah, see G. C. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region* (*NNM* No. 143, New York, 1959), p. 30.

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letters were not somewhat blurred through wear. I believe a possible reading is *GDH 'pzwt/MLKyn'n* (sic) *MLK'*, that is, *xvarreh afzūt/ shāhān shāh*, or "May the glory increase (of the) King of Kings," a reading which my friend Richard N. Frye agrees is probable. Further support for this probability is provided by another unique, almost contemporary piece, a gold medallion, published by Mehdi Bahrami in the Herzfeld Memorial Volume in 1952.[3]

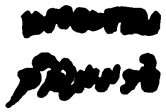


FIG. 1

This remarkable medallion (PLATE XLVI, 3) was struck at the mint of Fārs, that is, Shīrāz, in the year 359 H., just eight years after the coin of Rukn al-Dawlah under discussion. Both sides bear a similar portrait, but with different inscriptions, both in Kufic and in Pahlevi. The Pahlevi inscription on one side was read by Bahrami and Henning as *zīy dīr shā panā Kosraw*, that is, "May Shāh Fannā Khosraw live long," Fannā Khosraw being the name of the Buyid ʿAḍud al-Dawlah. The two Pahlevi lines on the other side of the medallion very closely resemble those on M. Gurnet's coin and were read *farrah afzud shāhān shāh*, in other words essentially the same legend as I propose to find on the coin of Rukn al-Dawlah. The robe bears quite a close resemblance to that on the Rukn al-Dawlah piece, and the head and crown are quite similar, although the execution in

[3] *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N. Y., 1952), p. 18 and pl. I, figs. 2a and b. This medallion has subsequently been illustrated by Ernst Kühnel in "Die Kunst Persiens unter den Buyiden" (*ZDMG* 1956, pp. 78–92), Abb. 11, and by Gaston Wiet in "L'Islam et l'art musulman," in *L'Art et l'Homme* (ed. René Huyghe, fasc. 16, pp. 133 ff.), fig. 375. A drawing of the bust appears in Mehdi Bahrami's *Gurgan Faiences* (Cairo, 1949), p. 57, fig. 10. Some doubt has been expressed about the authenticity of this medallion, but its resemblance to the coin under discussion, about whose genuineness there can be no question, would be an argument in its favor. It might perhaps be a modern copy of an original, but I doubt very much that the busts and the legends are fabrications. I have not examined the piece at first hand, nor do I know where it is. In May 1963 during a brief visit to Teheran I endeavoured to determine its location. Evidently it is not in Teheran; it may be in Meshhed.

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general is finer, the winged and jewelled crown more symmetrically and precisely defined.[4]

While we can scarcely call these two busts portraits in the ancient or the modern sense, I think there can be no doubt that they are intended as portraits of these two rulers, who were father and son. Rukn al-Dawlah abu-'Ali Ḥasan was ruler of Jibāl from 335[5] until his death in 366 H./946–976 A.D., and became overlord of the entire Buyid house from the time of his brother 'Imād al-Dawlah's death in 338.[6] He is believed to have been born in 284/897, so that at the time this portrait coin was struck he would have been about 65 years of age. We must search the chronicles for such biographical details as may enliven this face with more flesh and blood than the die-engraver has been able to achieve. While there is a very considerable body of information about the military and political events of Rukn al-Dawlah's reign, we learn relatively little about the man's character and personality. Ibn Khallikān's biography is lifeless.[7] Here and there scraps preserved in Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-umam* give us a few hints. Miskawayh says[8] that Rukn al-Dawlah, "though superior to the contemporary Dailemite princes, was still on the level of the predatory soldier, who is in a hurry for plunder, and saw no occasion to consider the effects of his conduct or the future of his subjects. By way of gratifying his troops he would permit them to commit acts from which no one else could restrain them and which were after-

[4] One wonders whether there may be some connection between this medallion and an allusion by Rūdhrāwari to a *dirham tāji* issued by 'Aḍuḍ al-Dawlah. "One of 'Adud al-Dawlah's spies who returned from Cairo informed him among other things that he had gone to an old confectioner in Lamp Street, and handed him a dirhem of that prince's coinage (*Tāji*) to pay for something he was buying. The man returned the coin, and a dispute ensued wherein the confectioner abused the spy and the prince who had ordered the coin to be struck." (H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford, 1920–1921, III, p. 60, transl. VI, p. 59). There follows a long and involved spy story, but no further light is shed on what kind of coin this was or why it was not acceptable. Was there perhaps a dirhem issue with a crowned (*tāji*) bust similar to this gold presentation piece, and were there objections to its portrayal of a human figure?

[5] Miskawayh (in *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*), II, p. 108.

[6] Ibid., II, p. 120.

[7] Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, I, p. 407.

[8] II, p. 279, transl. V, p. 298; cf. Gaston Wiet, *Soieries Persanes* (Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte, Vol. LII, Cairo, 1947), p. 117.

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wards irreparable. He was compelled to do this because he was not himself of a royal house, and had not among the Dailemites the authority of an autocrat." This is an interesting remark, to which I will revert in a few moments. He goes on to say that Rukn al-Dawlah "was only their chieftain by virtue of the great liberality which formed a feature of his character, and his toleration of conduct which a prince does not ordinarily endure on the part of those whom he governs."

We know that he, like most of his contemporaries who were in a position to indulge their expensive tastes, amassed great wealth and practised extortion on a huge scale. We are told, for example, of one occasion before Rukn al-Dawlah succeeded to the rule when he was sent by his brother 'Imād al-Dawlah to Kāzirūn and other districts of Fārs and there not only extorted vast sums but also "unearthed great treasures that belonged to the Kisras, and had been inherited by certain families there; he raised more money than his brother had raised."[9] But if Rukn al-Dawlah was a robber baron of the first order, he also was not averse to dispensing great sums on occasion for the public weal. He spent 150,000 dinars on the repair of the great stone bridge known as the Qanṭarah Khurrah Zād over the Dujayl near Īdhāj;[10] and the irrigation and water-supply canal at Shīrāz known as Ruknābād was built at his order.[11] However avaricious and predatory he also could be personally generous. He had, as Ibn al-Athīr says, an "impulsive and emotional character."[12] Some idea of his munificence, at least when it was politic to be magnanimous, and of the splendor of his court, may be gained from the account of the gifts which Rukn al-Dawlah bestowed on Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzabān the Sallārid when the latter fled from Azerbaijān to Rayy in such dire straits that he arrived "with a horse and riding-whip only, none of his followers having escaped." The incident occurred in 355 H., just four years after the coin we are discussing was issued.[13] Miskawayh was an

[9] Miskawayh, I, p. 281, transl. IV, p. 319.
[10] Yāqūt I, p. 416, IV, p. 189; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 245; Wiet, *Soieries*, p. 191.
[11] Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 250.
[12] VIII, 493. Cf. H. F. Amedroz, "The Vizier Abu-l-Faḍl Ibn al 'Amîd, from the 'Tajârib al-Umam' of Abu 'Ali Miskawaih," in *Der Islam* III (1912), pp. 323–351, specifically p. 345.
[13] Miskawayh, II, pp. 218–219; transl. V, p. 232.

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eye-witness. He stood with other sightseers close to Government House and watched the procession of gifts: "trays, bales and boxes of wearing apparel of all sorts ... borne on the heads of a hundred men ... gifts of perfume borne on silver dishes with the cases and other instruments that appertained thereto ... on the heads of thirty men ... sacks of coin ... on men's chests, with the purses of gold ... The bags of dirhems were upon fifty men, and the purses of dinars on twenty; the latter were of red silk, and the former of white, that they might be distinguished ... Stores of textiles on mules, which I did not count ... riding horses with saddles of gold and silver and horsecloths ... camels also beautifully equipped, laden with heavy articles of furniture, tents, pavilions, canvas sheets and marquees in great number and of fine quality. I never saw a gift of this size presented at a single time."

It was on just such occasions as this that special issues of dinars and dirhems were struck and distributed as presentation pieces or "pièces de circonstance." Perhaps the dinars and dirhems mentioned by Miskawayh were special issues. We know of several other Buyid examples. There is the gold medallion of ʿAḍud al-Dawlah discussed above. In 363 H./973–4 A.D. ʿIzz al-Dawlah struck a gold(?) piece in Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdād), with a lion devouring a gazelle or deer on one side, and a leopard (?) attacking an ibex or moufflon on the other (PLATE XLVI, 4).[14] And two years later, in 365, the same Buyid prince issued another gold presentation piece in Baghdād, portraying on the obverse a prince seated cross-legged, holding a cup and accompanied by two attendants (a familiar theme in Sasanian and Islamic art), and on the reverse a squatting lute-player (PLATE XLVII,

[14] So far as I know this piece has never been published. My photographs are of plaster casts presented to the American Numismatic Society by the British Museum in 1955. At that time Dr. John Walker did not know the provenance or location of the medallion. In my files are pencil rubbings, almost certainly of the same piece (in any case from the same dies), acquired from Mr. Edward Gans in 1941. Mr. Gans informed me that he had bought the piece from the estate of Dr. Hans Nussbaum of Zurich and that he had in turn sold it to Joseph Brummer in 1943. I have not been able to trace its subsequent history. Mr. Gans' (or Dr. Nussbaum's?) rubbings bear the notation "38 mm., 20.5 grms." As the mint/date formula gives no denomination (etc.... ضرب بمدينة السلام), it is not certain that the metal is gold, but to judge by the weight I surmise that it is.

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1).[15] Comparable iconographically is an anonymous gold medal in the Freer Gallery of Art, the obverse of which is illustrated in PLATE XLVII, 2.[16] Unfortunately no specimen of another Buyid "pièce de luxe" has survived, but in Ibn al-Athīr[17] we are told of an enormous 1000-*mithqāl* (that would be 4250 grams) medallion of gold which the famous vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād presented on the 1st of Muḥarram 378 H./988 A.D. to his master Fakhr al-Dawlah of Rayy.[18]

The Prime Minister Ibn ʿAbbād, or the Ṣāḥib, was the successor at Rayy of Ibn al-ʿAmīd II, Dhu'l-Kifāyatain, who in turn succeeded his father, Abu'l-Faḍl al-Kātib, Ibn al-ʿAmīd I, in this powerful position. The latter was Rukn al-Dawlah's vizier for many years and was in office in 351 when our portrait coin of Rukn al-Dawlah was struck. Ibn al-ʿAmīd was a man of many talents; a writer, poet, grammarian and philosopher, who among other intellectual gifts appears to have been endowed with an almost photographic memory. Not only was he a distinguished man of letters but he also enjoyed a

[15] The photographs reproduced here were taken by me directly from the medallion in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in May, 1963. This gold piece (36 mm., 18.30 grms.) was formerly in the Etnografya Müzesi in Ankara (Osman Ferit Sağlam, "Eşsiz bir madalya," in *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, 1935, figs. on pp. 3 and 4; cf. E. Kühnel, loc.cit., Abb. 10; Ibrahim Artuk, "Abbasiler devrine aid madalyalar," in *Tarih Dergisi*, VIII (1956), p. 152, and idem, "Abbasiler devrinde sikke," in *Belleten*, XXIV (1960), pl. II, no. 2). Almost identical is another specimen which has been illustrated and described several times: Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928), p. 126, pl. LIX a; M. Bahrami, loc.cit. in footnote 3, above, pp. 18–19, pl. I, 3a and b; John Walker, "A unique medal of the Seljuk Ṭughrilbeg," in *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society* (New York, 1958), p. 694, fig. 2. Walker's photographs are of plaster casts in the British Museum. I believe that this specimen is the same as one of which I have pencil rubbings from Edward Gans, a piece with the same history as that of the other medallion of 365 H., related in the preceding footnote. The rubbings bear the notation "36½ mm., 17.9 grms."

For the lute-player cf. E. Kühnel, "Der Lautenspieler in der islamischen Kunst des 8. bis 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den ehem. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Neue Folge*, I (1951), pp. 29–35.

[16] Published by Bahrami in *AOiMEH* (see footnote 3), pp. 5–20, pl. I, 1a and 1b.

[17] IX, 20; cf. M. Bahrami, *AOiMEH*, p. 6, and idem, *Gurgan Faiences*, p. 36.

[18] Another luxury object of Fakhr al-Dawlah's is mentioned in the literature: a seal of *nadd* (a compound of amber, musc and aloes) of 1000 *mithqāls* in a Fāṭimid treasure (cf. P. Kahle, "Die Schätze der Fatimiden," in *ZDMG* 1935, p. 357).

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reputation as a mathematician, physicist and mechanic. Among his inventions were remarkable weapons and siege machinery, and reflectors or mirrors which illuminated, or perhaps enkindled, objects a long way off. One detail in Miskawayh's encomium of Ibn al-ʿAmīd[19] has caught my eye: he had "knowledge of the refinements of the art of modelling and ingenuity in the application of it. I have seen him (says Miskawayh) in the room where he used to receive his intimate friends and associates take up an apple or something of the sort, play with it for a time, and then send it spinning having on it the form of a face scratched with his nail, more delicately than could have been executed by any one else with the appropriate instruments and in a number of days.[20] Is it too fanciful to suppose that Ibn al-ʿAmīd himself drew the round apple-like portrait which the die-engraver reproduced on the coin under discussion?

Whoever the portraitist was, there can be little doubt about his intention to produce a likeness of the Buyid prince in the Sasanian tradition. This was a period of vigorous nationalist revival in Persia when in literature and the arts there was a constant harking back to the great days of pre-Arab glory. The Buyids and their contemporary princelings took native Iranian names such as Bakhtiyār, Fannā-Khusraw, Shīrdīl, Fīrūz, etc. The title *shāhānshāh* is revived, and revived also is the use of Pahlevi on monuments such as Mil-i Radkān and Resget (both a little later), and on the Rukn al-Dawlah and ʿAḍud al-Dawlah presentation pieces. The Sasanian style portrait and the *shāhānshāh* title are reflections of Rukn al-Dawlah's and his Daylemite family's claim to royal descent, a claim which even in their own time was recognized to be spurious.[21] Rukn al-Dawlah's brother Muʿizz al-Dawlah himself is reported to have said that he had grown up carrying faggots on his head.[22]

[19] Miskawayh, II, pp. 275ff., transl. V, pp. 293ff.; cf. Amedroz, op.cit., pp. 339–345.

[20] In Amedroz's article in *Der Islam* the translation is "... toy with it for a time, and then twist it into the likeness of a face which he had moulded with his nails." The original Arabic is:

ولقد رأيته يتناول من مجلسه الذي يخلوفيه بثقاته واهل أنسته التفاحة وما يجري مجراها فيعبث بها ساعة ثم يدحرجها وعليه صورة وجه قد خطها بظفره ....

[21] Cf. Cl. Cahen, s.v. *Buwayhids* in *EI*[2]; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1928), I, p. 364.

[22] Fakhri, p. 376, transl. p. 480; cf. Wiet, *Soieries*, p. 117.

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But regardless of whether we consider this coin as an attempt at a portrait, or whether we view it as a propaganda piece to bolster Rukn al-Dawlah's pretentions to royal lineage, it is certainly of interest to the art historian as a precisely dated and authentic piece of Buyid art. As such it is an object of rarity and value, because in other media we have very little Buyid material of unquestioned authenticity which can be exactly dated or even dated with any close approximation. There are a few Buyid inscriptions, including the well-known graffiti of Rukn al-Dawlah's son ʿAḍud al-Dawlah at Persepolis, but these of course are devoid of any figural representations.[23] Gold pitchers bearing the names of Bakhtiyār b. Muʿizz al-Dawlah, who died in 367 H./977 A.D., and of Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah abu-Kālīdjār Marzubān, who died in 440 H./1048 A.D., are fine examples of Buyid metal-work with characteristic bird ornament.[24] Ernst Kühnel in the article already cited has assembled all the known architectural remains and works of art in various media (metal-work, ceramics, woodwork, textiles, manuscripts, etc.) that can be assigned to the Buyid period. Some of these works have a certain relevance to our subject, but they cannot be discussed here. For example, certain of the controversial Buyid textiles offer comparative material: full-face representations, without however the characteristic pseudo-Sasanian headdress, and figures in profile wearing crowns of Sasanian derivation.[25] At the moment one can only hint at prototypes which furnished the inspiration for later representations, now lost, which in turn were, at least in some respects, the models for Rukn al-Dawlah's and ʿAḍud al-Dawlah's portraits. The figure of Bahram II at Naqsh-i Bahram[26] may be our ultimate Sasanian prototype; and the representation of Kavad I (?) on the famous rock-crystal cup in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris[27]

[23] *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, nos. 1475–6, 1830–2, 1901, 2087, 2118 (see also Vol. VI, p. 227); an unpublished tombstone from Iṣṭakhr may be of the Buyid period. G. Wiet published a chronological list of Buyid inscriptions in *L'Exposition persane de 1931* (Cairo, 1933), pp. 137–8.

[24] See Wiet, *Soieries*, pp. 91–98 and pl. XX; Kühnel, op.cit., p. 84 and pl. III, Abb. 5 and 6.

[25] Wiet, *Soieries*, pls. I and XXIV.

[26] Ernst E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London & New York, 1941), pl. CXX.

[27] Beautifully illustrated in detail in André Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran* (Paris, 1962), pl. 116. Godard assigns the work to the 6th century (p. 244).

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offers suggestive points of comparison. Of closer relevance is a recently discovered small silver plate (PLATE XLVII, 3) now in the Ermitage Museum, published by Miss K. V. Trever in the Orbeli Festschrift,[28] which she describes as Hephthalite and ascribes to the 6th or the early 7th century. Whatever its precise date, we can, I think, recognize certain affinities between this facing figure with its winged headdress and our medallic portraits; as we can with probably earlier Sasanian and later post-Sasanian silver plates.

Finally I must touch briefly on the question of the possible specific occasion for the striking of Rukn al-Dawlah's coin. As I have intimated, it cannot have been a regular issue. Preserved dinars and dirhems of Rukn al-Dawlah's of conventional type struck at Rayy run in an almost unbroken series from 334 down to 365 H./945–976 A.D., and specifically there are regular dinars of the year 351.[29] Furthermore, Rukn al-Dawlah's conventional strikings are not, of course, limited to Rayy; my files show that coins were issued in his name from at least 35 different mints (of which no less than 16, incidentally, struck gold coins). In the chronicles I find no record of any extraordinary happening at Rayy in the year 351. During the course of the year Rukn al-Dawlah went off on one of his campaigns to Ṭabaristān and Jurjān.[30] However, there is a curious statement in Miskawayh which might just possibly have some relevance. Miskawayh says that in this year the Caliph bestowed the title ʿAḍud al-Dawlah on Rukn al-Dawlah's son Abu-Shujāʿ and that a rescript was issued to this effect.[31] Now the puzzling thing is that the *laqab* ʿAḍud al-Dawlah appears on Abu-Shujāʿ 's coins at least as early as 341, and regularly thereafter.[32] Furthermore, we have his graffiti of 344 H. on the Tačara

[28] "Novoye Sasanidskoe blyudtse Ermitazha," in *Issledovaniya po istorii kultury narodov Vostoka* (Leningrad, 1960), pp. 257–270. I am indebted to Dr. Richard Ettinghausen and to Professor Richard N. Frye for bringing this article to my attention; and to Dr. Ettinghausen and Mrs. L. Fajans for providing me with a translation.

[29] G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York, 1938), nos. 173 ff. Some dates not appearing there have subsequently been published (dinars of 34^2, 345, 347, 34^8, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355 and 356, in *Sumer* X^2, and a dirhem of 356 in Ostrup, no. 1251).

[30] Cf. *Numismatic History of Rayy*, p. 163.

[31] Miskawayh, II, p. 192, transl. V, p. 208.

[32] E.g., a dirhem of Shīrāz, 341 H. (Stanley Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, II, London, 1876, no. 658). The earliest numis-

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at Persepolis, wherein he calls himself ʿAḍud al-Dawlah (PLATE XLVII, 4). Obviously there is something wrong with Miskawayh's statement. Did it take the Caliph al-Muṭīʿ eleven years to confirm Abu-Shujāʿ's *laqab*? Or did he confer some other honor on him in 351? And did Rukn al-Dawlah celebrate the honor done his son by striking this presentation piece? These and other questions remain to be answered.[33]

GEORGE C. MILES

matic use of the *laqab* may date from the previous year, 340 (J. Østrup, *Catalogue des Monnaies Arabes et Turques*, Copenhagen, 1938, no. 1262 = Jac.-Chr. Lindberg in *Revue des Séances de l'Année 1842, Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, 1840–1844*, p. 229, no. 41, a dirhem with mint effaced).

[33] This paper was presented orally, in a somewhat different form, at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society held in Washington, March 28, 1963.

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DEUX TRÉSORS DE MONNAIES D'OR DES CROISÉS[1]

(See Plate XLVIII)

Lors de l'impression de notre précédent article nous avions pu signaler au dernier moment un trésor que le Musée de l'American Numismatic Society venait d'acquérir.[2] Un séjour à New-York de chacun d'entre nous a permis l'étude de celui-ci ainsi que d'un second.

Le premier, acheté en 1957, est composé de quarante-et-une pièces et a été découvert à Lattaquié (Syrie). Il a cette particularité intéressante d'être composé de trois séries de pièces: onze yéménites sulaïhides, cinq dinars fāṭimites d'al-Āmir bi aḥkām illāh et vingt-cinq pièces d'or à l'imitation des dinars du précédent frappés par les Croisés.

Le second, entré dans les collections en 1959 et provenant aussi du littoral oriental de la Méditerranée, sans plus de précision, est composé de quinze pièces à l'imitation des dinars d'al-Āmir.

Les pièces des Croisés de l'un et de l'autre trésor sont des imitations, les unes lisibles, les autres grossières et appartiennent toutes, avec quelques variantes intéressantes, aux deux seules classes 25 et 27 de notre article, sauf une, qui doit être attribuée à la classe 30. Monnaies des deux classes circulent donc ensemble. Mais elles sortent du même atelier: certaines, variantes de 25 ou de 27b, sont très proches les unes des autres; en outre, dans le second trésor, une pièce appartient par son droit à la classe 25 tandis que par son revers elle est de la classe 27b. La liaison est ainsi faite entre les pièces des deux classes.

Ces monnaies sont d'un or qui est d'une belle couleur jaune, habituelle à ces frappes. Leurs poids varient entre 3,57 et 3,96 g dans le premier trésor (une seule pièce à 3,19 g) avec un poids moyen de

[1] Nous voulons exprimer avant tout notre extrême gratitude au Dr. George C. Miles, conservateur en chef du Musée de l'American Numismatic Society, qui nous permet, avec son amabilité coutumière, de publier ces deux trésors.

[2] Paul Balog et Jacques Yvon, *Monnaies à légendes arabes de l'Orient Latin* dans *RN*, 6e série, t. I (1958), p. 150.

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3,73 g; dans le second les poids oscillent entre 3,43 et 3,88 g avec un poids moyen de 3,78 g. Or il est à noter que les cinq pièces fāṭimites du premier trésor ont un poids moyen de 3,79 g et varient entre 3,62 et 3,91 g. Dinars des Croisés et dinars fāṭimites ne sont donc pas très éloignés les uns des autres par le poids.[3]

Le premier trésor est important en lui-même. Les monnaies d'or des Croisés sont mêlées à d'autres monnaies musulmanes, les unes yéménites, les autres fāṭimites. Les dinars yéménites, de la dynastie des Sulaïhides, sont venus là par le commerce très certainement. Elles portent toutes la date de 451 H.[4] Mais le fait le plus marquant est que dans ce trésor monnaies fāṭimites d'al-Āmir et monnaies des Croisés à ce type se côtoient. Ainsi prototypes et imitations circulent ensemble et ces dernières proviennent certainement du même atelier. Les dates, quand on peut les déchiffrer, dates simplement amorcées ou incomplètes, portent toujours le chiffre d'unité 6. La date imitée est donc soit l'année 506 soit l'année 516 H. En outre lorsque l'on peut lire un nom d'atelier celui-ci est toujours Miṣr, comme nous l'avions indiqué précédemment.[5] Les imitations sont en cela le fidèle reflet de la circulation monétaire. C'est l'or des ateliers égyptiens qui, à cette époque, circule en Syrie plus que l'or des ateliers syriens. Ceux-ci, que ce soit Ṣūr ou ʿAsqalān (Tyr ou Ascalon) paraissent avoir peu travaillé pour le khalife et sont, ensuite, tombés entre les mains des Croisés. Ni l'un ni l'autre ne sont d'ailleurs représentés parmi les pièces fāṭimites du trésor, car les cinq pièces appartiennent aux ateliers égyptiens d'Alexandrie, de Miṣr et d'al-Qāhirah.

Les dates de ces monnaies fāṭimites sont 508, 510, 514 et 518 H. Cette dernière donne un *terminus a quo* pour l'enfouissement du trésor, soit 1124 A.D. C'est une tâche ardue que vouloir préciser celui-ci. Les pièces d'imitation ont circulé longtemps: les deux trésors

[3] Rapport inférieur à celui qui est donné généralement, voy. notre article p. 136. Un tel trésor est précieux car il nous livre des pièces extraites de la circulation courante. Il paraîtrait donc qu'al-Āmir, ayant, du fait des Croisades, des difficultés monétaires, ait dû abaisser le poids de ses monnaies d'or et, selon Ehrenkreutz, "The Crisis of dinar in the Egypt of Saladin" dans *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, t. 76, 1956, p. 178 et suiv., également l'aloi.

[4] Par le commerce avec l'Egypte. C'est ce pays qui est en relations constantes avec le Yemen, voy. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge* (Leipzig, 1886), t. I, p. 378 et suiv.

[5] Notre article p. 139.

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signalés par Mr. Grierson en sont une preuve.[6] Cependant l'enfouissement n'est sans doute pas postérieur de beaucoup à la dernière en date des pièces fāṭimites. Il n'est peut-être pas téméraire non plus de le situer entre celle-ci et la prise de Lattaquié par Saladin en juillet 1188. La ville fut alors détruite et semble n'avoir repris toute son importance qu'une vingtaine d'années plus tard. Elle est alors étroitement unie à Alep et les Vénitiens obtiennent des positions avantageuses dans les deux villes. C'est entre elles deux que se fera tout le trafic de la Syrie du nord par la suite, Antioche et port Saint-Siméon étant tenus à l'écart.[7]

Le trésor présent permet donc de situer un peu mieux chronologiquement les imitations d'al-Āmir. La date exacte et le lieu précis de leur frappe n'en restent pas moins à résoudre, tout autant que pour les imitations d'al-Mustanṣir.[8] Nous avons déjà dit combien il était malaisé de trancher le problème. Que l'on nous permette cependant de verser à ce débat quelques textes qui viennent l'éclairer. Parmi les actes concernant le commerce vénitien publiés par MM. Morozzo della Rocca et Lombardo[9] il en est une dizaine, passés entre

[6] Philip Grierson, "A rare crusader bezant with the Christus Vincit legend" dans *Museum Notes*, t. VI (1954), p. 174. Le premier trésor comprenait, en plus d'un *Agnus Dei*, des imitations des dinars d'al-Mustanṣir et d'al-Āmir ainsi que des pièces à dates et légendes chrétiennes. Le second était composé d'un *Agnus Dei*, d'une pièce à date et légendes chrétiennes et d'un dinar à l'imitation de al-Mustanṣir.

[7] W. Heyd, op.cit., t. I, pp. 373–378; Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades* (Paris, 1940), pp. 689–690. Sur l'importance de Lattaquié au cours des Croisades on verra René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, t. I, pp. 75, 133, 136, 177–178, 191, 205, 240; Heyd, op.cit., t. I, pp. 168–169; Cahen, op.cit., p. 222, n. 46, 233. Sur la prise de la ville et la désolation qui suivit, Cahen, op.cit., pp. 429, 432; Grousset, op.cit., t. II, pp. 824–827; René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), (B. A. H. no. 4), pp. 414–5. A un moment indéterminé entre 1223 et 1260 Lattaquié redevint franque puis fut reprise par les mamelouks en 1287.

[8] Il est intéressant de noter qu'il n'y a pas dans ce trésor ni de dinars d'al-Mustanṣir ni d'imitations de ceux-ci. Cela viendrait confirmer la thèse de Blancard selon qui ces imitations ont cessé d'être frappées au cours du XII^e s., voy. Blancard, *Le besant d'or sarrazinas pendant les Croisades* (Marseille, 1880), pp. 25–29 et 35. Mais il pensait que ces imitations avaient été reprises à Antioche et à Tripoli au XIII^e s. Il faudrait avoir en mains d'autres trésors pour vérifier cela.

[9] R. Morozzo della Rocca et A. Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII* (Rome, 1940), (*Regesta chartarum Italiae*). Des *Nuovi Docu-*

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1161 et 1211, qui font mention de sommes exprimées en *bisancios aureos sarracenatos novos de moneta regis Hierusalem*, sommes payées ou à payer en Syrie, particulièrement à Acre et à Tyr (une fois à Antioche dans un acte de 1165). C'est là une preuve que ces besants sarracénats sortent bien de la Monnaie du roi de Jérusalem et ont cours en Syrie. Le droit de battre monnaie est un droit parfaitement régalien, proclamé d'ailleurs par Baudouin II.[10]

menti ont été publiés à Venise en 1953. La lecture d'autres textes de ce genre apportera sans doute de nouveaux témoignages de cette frappe de besants à la Monnaie du roi. Jean Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), p. 33, n. I avait déjà relevé dans ces textes-ci la différence faite entre les *bisantios perperos* et les *bisantios sarracenatos* par exemple.

[10] *Livre au roi*, chap. XVI dans RHC Lois, t. I, pp. 616–617. Sur ce point voy. Jean Richard, op.cit., p. 85 et J. Prawer, "Les premiers temps de la féodalité dans le royaume de Jérusalem. Une reconsidération" dans *Revue d'histoire du droit*, t. XXII, pp. 422–423.

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CATALOGUE[11]

TRÉSOR DE LATTAQUIÉ (ANS Museum 57.114)

Fāṭimites authentiques

Toutes les pièces sont du khalife al-Āmir bi-aḥkām illāh (495–524 H./1101–1130 A.D.)

1. Alexandrie, 514 H. 23 mm. 3,84 g. Miles 422
2. Miṣr, 508 H. 22 mm. 3,62 g. Miles 460
3. Id., 510 H. 23 mm. 3,91 g. Miles 462
4. Id., id., id. 3,81 g. Miles 462
5. al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah, 518 H. 21 mm. 3,79 g. Miles 475

Yéménites. Dynastie des Sulaihides

Toutes les pièces sont au nom de 'Ali ibn Muḥammad et ont été frappées à Zebīd, l'an 451 H. Elles ont chacune le même diamètre: 22 mm. Références: Casanova, nos. 4, 5 et 6.

6. 2,46 g.	10. 2,46 g.	14. 2,48 g.
7. 2,44 g.	11. 2,48 g.	15. 2,45 g.
8. 2,46 g.	12. 2,47 g.	16. 2,46 g.
9. 2,45 g.	13. 2,46 g.	

Imitations des Croisés

17. Date avortée, 506 ou 516? ∴ لله س

22 mm. 3,91 g.–BY 25 var.

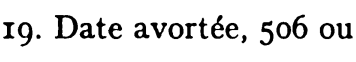
*18. Au droit 3 annelets entre les légendes extérieure et intérieure.

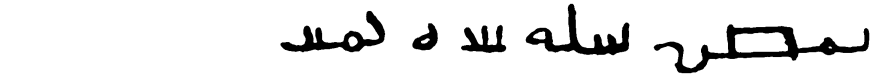
Date: [50]6 لا اله الا

22 mm. 3,82 g.–BY 25 var.

[11] Miles ... = George C. Miles, *Fāṭimids coins in the collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Numismatic Society* (New York, 1951), *NNM*, no. 121.
Casanova ... = P. Casanova, *Dinars inédits du Yémen* dans *RN*, 3e série, t. XII (1894), pp. 200–220, pl. V.
BY ... = Paul Balog et Jacques Yvon, *Monnaies à légendes arabes de l'Orient Latin*, dans *RN*, 6e série, t. I (1958), pp. 133–168.
Un astérisque devant le numéro du catalogue signifie que la pièce est illustrée.

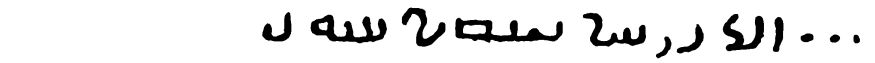
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19. Date avortée, 506 ou 516? 
22 mm. 3,80 g.–BY 25 var.

*20. Date incomplète mais certaine, 506 H.

21,5 mm. 3,75 g.–BY 25 var.

*21. Date: [50]6? 
23 mm. 3,73 g.–BY 25

22. Date: [50]6? Pointe sur les: ص = 
23 mm. 3,69 g.–BY 25 var.

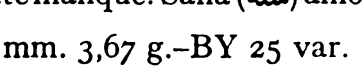
*23. Légende marginale se terminant ainsi:

Date: première lettre amorcée sans signification
22,5 mm. 3,70 g.–BY 25 var.

24. Légende marginale se terminant ainsi:  Pas de date
22 mm. 3,93 g.–BY 25 var.

25. Légende marginale se terminant ainsi: Pas de date
22 mm. 3,84 g.–BY 25 var.

*26. Date manque. 22 mm. 3,69 g.–BY 25 var.

27. Id. Pointe sur les ص =
21,5 mm. 3,69 g.–BY 25 var.

28. Date manque. Sana (سنة) amorcée:  Bism(illah):
22 mm. 3,67 g.–BY 25 var.

29. 21,5 mm. 3,81 g.–BY 27a

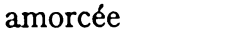
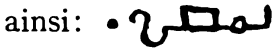
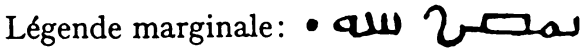
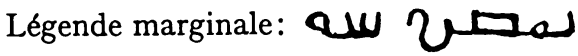
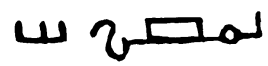
30. 21,5 mm. 3,67 g–BY 27a

*31. Deux globules sur les ص = 
21 mm. 3,74 g.–BY 27a var.

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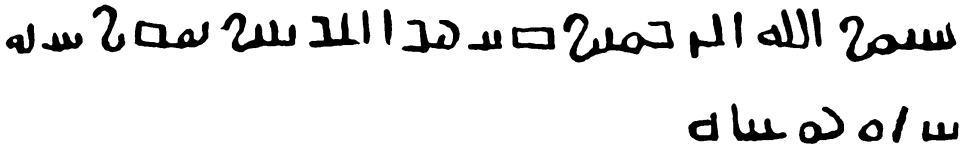
32. 22 mm. 3,85 g.–BY 27b
33. 22 mm. 3,80 g.–BY 27b
34. 23 mm. 3,75 g.–BY 27b
*35. 22 mm. 3,71 g.–BY 27b
36. 22 mm. 3,63 g.–BY 27b
*37. 22 mm. 3,96 g.–BY 27b var.
38. 22 mm. 3,91 g.–BY 27b var.
39. 22 mm. 3,69 g.–BY 27d
*40. 23 mm. 3,57 g.–BY 27d
41. 22 mm. 3,19 g.–BY 30

TRÉSOR DE PROVENANCE INCERTAINE (ANS Museum 59.203)

1. Date manque:  Sana amorcée
   22 mm. 3,74 g.–BY 25 var.
2. Date manque totalement. Légende marginale se terminant ainsi: 
   21 mm. 3,88 g.–BY 25 var.
3. Légende marginale se terminant ainsi: 
   21 mm. 3,65 g.–BY 25 var.
4. Légende marginale: 
   22 mm. 3,60 g.–BY 25 var.
5. Légende marginale: 
   22 mm. 3,43 g.–BY 25 var.
6. Légende marginale, assez rudimentaire: 
   21 mm. 3,76 g.–BY 25 var.
7. Légende marginale, assez rudimentaire: 
   21,5 mm. 3,80 g.–BY 25 var.

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8. Date: 506 H.:



Revers plus confus: 27 b ? 22 mm. 3,62 g.–BY 25 var. et 27 b ?

9. Légende marginale: 
22 mm. 3,72 g.–BY 25 var.

10. 22 mm. 3,78 g.–BY 27 a

11. 21 mm. 3,57 g.–BY 27 b, mais ressemble à 25

12. 21 mm. 3,54 g.–BY 27 b

13. 21,5 mm. 3,91 g.–BY 27 b

14. 22 mm. 3,49 g.–BY 27 b

15. 22 mm. 3,85 g.–BY 25 var. pour le droit. Revers: BY 27 b

PAUL BALOG et JACQUES YVON

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GOLD FORGERIES OF TIGRANES THE GREAT OF ARMENIA*

(See PLATE XLIX)

The coinage of the Artaxias dynasty of Armenia (190 B.C. to A.D. 6) has been subjected to a few cursory studies.[1] Because of the paucity of numismatic material and the uncertainty regarding historical events, however, it has been impossible to attribute the existing material with any degree of accuracy; consequently, the coinage of this period has generally been neglected.

Most of the extant coins of the Artaxias dynasty belong to Tigranes II (often called the Great), who established an empire by conquering Sophene, Syria, Cappadocia, and parts of neighboring countries. Most of these were struck in the mint of Antioch, which was under Armenian domination during the period 83–69 B.C.

In some instances,[2] the Tigranes coins struck at Antioch have been considered part of the Seleucid series, but this belief seems untenable in view of the fact that the obverse represents a type entirely different from the earlier Seleucid coins, and is typical of the coins struck by other Armenian rulers in Armenia proper.

As the Tigranes tetradrachm struck at Antioch was the most popular type of coin of the Artaxias dynasty, it is not surprising that all

* The writer wishes to thank His Holiness, Catholicos Vazken I, of the Armenian Church for the permission to take a plaster cast of the gold piece in the Etchmiadsin Museum, and Mr. Kh. Mousheghian of the Numismatic Department of the State Historical Museum in Erivan, Armenia, for a photograph of the cast. Thanks are also due to Mr. K. Jenkins of the British Museum for sending reproductions of the casts in their collection.

[1] V. Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie de l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1859); E. Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagene* (Paris, 1890); G. Macdonald, "The Coinage of Tigranes I," *NC*, 4th Ser., Vol. II (1902), pp. 193 to 202; E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus*, NNM 84 (1939), and *Some Unpublished Coins of Eastern Dynasts*, NNM 30 (1926); H. Seyrig, "Trésor Monétaire de Nisibe," *RN* (1955), pp. 85–128; G. Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles en 1959," *RN* (1959–60), pp. 7–35.

[2] *BMC Seleucid Kings in Syria*, pp. 103–105.

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This coin appears to be struck. The king's features bear no resemblance to those of the Tigranes coins. On the reverse Tyche is portrayed very crudely.
7.25 gr. ↑
6. The author saw this specimen some years ago, and was able to get an impression of it through the kind permission of its owner, the late Dr. Khantamour of Hollywood, California. It appeared to be a tetradrachm, either gilded or covered with gold foil. The present whereabouts of this coin is unknown.
Obv.: Head of Tigranes right, wearing tiara.
Rev.: Usual type with legend.
Probably over 15 gr. ↑

Two other specimens have been mentioned in the literature. Aderbed discusses the existence of a Tigranes gold coin in the Vatican Museum, which he was unable to see because of the absence of the curator.

Recent inquiries made to Dr. L. M. Tocci of the Vatican Numismatic Museum disclosed the fact that no such gold coin was to be found in their collection. Apparently, Aderbed had been misinformed.

Another gold coin has been mentioned by Mr. Kurdian.[4] The present whereabouts of this coin is not known.

The author has recently been informed that a small gold Tigranes was acquired by the Mechitarist Monastery in Venice. No particulars of this coin are available.

The fact that all the Tigranes gold pieces have turned out to be forgeries is not surprising. No gold coins are known to have been struck by the rulers of the Artaxias dynasty.

PAUL BEDOUKIAN

[4] H. Kurdian, *Gotchnag, An Armenian Weekly*, XLVI, 5 (New York, Feb. 2, 1946), p. 113.

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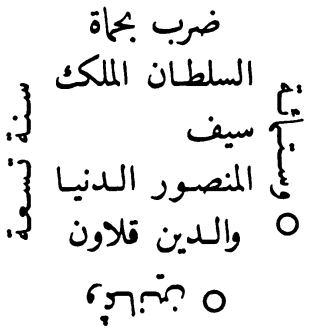
A MAMLŪK HOARD OF ḤAMĀH

(See Plate XLIX)

In January 1962 Mr. J. M. Eisenberg of New York was good enough to permit me to examine a lot of 305 Mamlūk silver coins which he had acquired.[1] All these coins, of which 297 were dirhems and eight apparently half-dirhems, were specimens of a single issue of the Baḥri Mamlūk sultan al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalā'ūn, struck at the Syrian mint of Ḥamāh in the last year of his reign 689 H./1290 A.D. As this particular issue is hitherto unpublished[2] and the lot appears to constitute a hoard, a short note on the subject would seem to be in order.

All the coins, both the dirhems and the fractions, appear to be from the same pair of dies. The dirhems range in diameter from 20 to 23 mm., the halves from 17 to 18 mm. The die positions are not fixed. All the coins are very weakly struck, not worn, as the specimens illustrated, [68]9, 68[9] and [689], Plate XLIX, 1–4, show. The following transcriptions of the legends are reconstructed from a comparison of several specimens:

Obv.:



Ornament above والدين.

[1] Five of these were subsequently presented by Mr. Eisenberg to the Museum of the American Numismatic Society (ANS 62.10).

[2] Cf. P. Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt* (*ANS Numismatic Studies*, No. 12, New York, 1964), no. 135, and Second Supplement, p. 394.

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THE WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE MEDALET

(See PLATE L)

The American Numismatic Society has in its Collection a small gold medalet which seems not to have been previously published, having a distinct East Asian historical and numismatic connotation. The inscriptions on this small (16.5 mm.) medalet are as follows:

Obv.: Crown THIS GOLD/DISCOVERED IN/SYCEE SILVER/THE PRIZE OF BRITISH/ARMS IN CHINA/WAS EXTRACTED/AT H.M. MINT/ MARCH/1842

Rev.: THE RT HON/W.GLADSTONE/MASTER/BY A PROCESS FIRST/ APPLIED TO THE PUBLIC/SERVICE AND TO THE/BENEFIT OF BRITISH/COMMERCE UNDER/THE RT HON./J.C. HERRIES/1829

It was struck at the Royal Mint of England of gold extracted from silver which had been delivered to the British government in settlement of the "ransom" of the city of Canton amounting to 6 million Mexican dollars, as prescribed by the Convention of Chuenpi of January 30, 1841, negotiated by Captain Charles Elliot, England's "Chief Superintendent of Trade in China" and the Chinese Imperial Commissioner Ch'i-shan.

The payment, in sycee silver, was to compensate the British merchants for opium seized by the Chinese under orders of the Imperial Commissioner, Lin Tse-hsü, in 1839. The Convention ceded Hongkong to the British, reopened Canton to trade, allowed direct official intercourse between British and Chinese on equal terms, and agreed to the payment of the so-called "ransom" of 6 million dollars.

The agreement was shortly disavowed by both the British and the Chinese governments. The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, considered that Elliot had exceeded his instructions as the amount agreed upon was insufficient to pay the merchants for the opium seized and the cost of the British operations incident to the affair, or to recompense the merchants for their losses incident to the bankrupcy of several of the Chinese Hong merchants. The subsequent

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Treaty of Nanking superceded the Convention and cost the Chinese government an additional 15 million dollars.

Elliot estimated that the sycee silver obtained for the "ransom" of Canton had amounted to 150 tons,[1] and this medalet was struck to commemorate the increment in value which accrued to the British government from the unanticipated presence of the substantial amount of gold in the Chinese silver.

J. C. Herries (1778–1855) was Master of the Royal Mint from 1828 to 1830, and the date "1829" on this piece is that when the mint instituted a new process for the recovery of gold from silver. British Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898) served as Master of the Mint from 1841 to 1845.

H. F. BOWKER

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Morse, Ballou. *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. I (London, 1910), pp. 270ff.

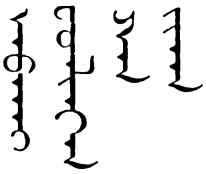
[1] As Chinese taxes were paid to the government in silver by weight, it was customary to melt down all the silver dollars into sycee before receiving it at the Treasury. The 150 tons of silver of Elliot's estimate is equivalent to the 6 million dollars demanded.

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MANCHU INSCRIPTIONS ON CHINESE CASH COINS

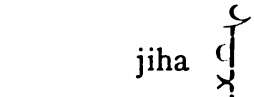
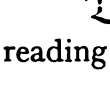
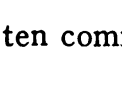
(See PLATES L–LV)

European language publications contain very little in the way of reliable information concerning the Chinese coins having Manchu inscriptions. The purpose of this article, then, is to present an annotated distribution list of the mints operating during the various Manchu reigns including spans of operation and the distinguishing mint signs in Manchu. It is hoped that this list will provide the collector with a reliable guide and also serve as a contribution to the financial history of the Ch'ing period.[1]

The first Manchu ruler who issued coins was the famous Nurhachi, who proclaimed himself Khan in the year 1616 and chose T'ien-ming 天命 as the title of his reign. He ordered two different coins to be minted; one inscribed in Chinese for the newly conquered areas of what is now Liaoning and Kilin, and the other in Manchu for the original territory. The Chinese coin has on the obverse: T'ien-ming t'ung-pao 天命通寶 (Current coin of the T'ien-ming period) and reads in the usual Chinese order: top, bottom, right, left. The Manchu coin is inscribed: Abkai Fulingga han jiha  (Money of Khan T'ien-ming) and is read: left, right, top, bottom (PLATE L, 1). This coin also exists without the top and bottom inscription (PLATE L, 2), both types having a plain reverse.

[1] The list by no means represents all coins cast in Chinese territory from 1657 through 1910. Coins omitted include the Taiping coins, which were inscribed entirely in Chinese and coins of Yakub Beg (d. 1877) which were in Arabic. Neither is it the intended purpose to go into the details of size, weight and mint statistics; nor the question of unofficial, i.e., rebel and private, mintings. Simple differences among the coins; dots, crescents, marks on the Chinese characters, etc., have been similarly disregarded. The numbers within the list refer to the illustrations on the plates.

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His successor, Khan Abahai took two reign titles after he had pronounced himself Emperor: T'ien-ts'ung 天聰 (1627–1635) and Ch'ung-te 崇德 (1636–1643). He issued one large coin during the first years of his reign, written totally in Manchu. It reads: Sure han ni jiha  (Money of Khan [T'ien-] Ts'ung). On the reverse: reading left, right: juwan  (ten) indicating that this coin is worth ten common coins, emuyan  (one liang = one ounce of silver; PLATE L, 3, 4). The coins are inscribed in ancient Manchu without the more modern diacritical marks. The style of these coins is obviously copied from the late Ming T'ien-ch'i 天啓 coins (1621–1627).

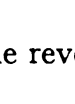
In 1644, Emperor Fu-lin 福臨 conquered Peking and immediately established two mints there. The first mint belonged to the Hu-pu 戶部 (Board of Revenue), the second to the Kung-pu 工部 (Board of Works). The coins of these mints had on the obverse the standard inscription Shun-chih t'ung-pao 順治通寶 (Shun-chih being the title of his reign; PLATE L, 5); the reverse was plain as in the preceeding Ming dynasty.

In 1645, concurrent with the production of the first coins by the mints in the provinces, an imperial order dictated that the coins would show the place of minting by means of a single Chinese character on the reverse. This was a revival of the practice used during the K'ai-yüan period 開元 (713–741) of the T'ang dynasty. The characters were, in general, the same as were later used, transcribed into Manchu, to indicate mints. The only exceptions were: hu 戶 used by the Board of Revenue and kung 工 used by the Board of Works. The characters were placed top, left or right without any apparent systematic positioning.

In 1653, imperial order dictated that the coins show on the reverse: left, the two Chinese characters i-li 一厘 = one thousandth of one tael, i.e., an ounce of silver); right, the Chinese character for the mint. This coin type, one of the few cases where a relation to another form of money is indicated on Chinese cash coins, was minted for only five years.

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The types discussed thus far have not been included in the distribution list since they do not display any Manchu mint characters and also because the mint changes that occured during this brief period would necessitate a description beyond the scale of this article.

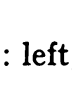
The descriptive list begins with 1657, since in that year a law was passed requiring each mint to put on the reverse of its coins: right, the mint character in Chinese; left, the Manchu transcription of the character. the only exceptions to this were the two government mints at Peking, the Board of Revenue and the Board of Works. The coins of these mints were inscribed on the reverse: left, boo  for the Chinese character pao 寶 (coin); right, the Manchu transcription of the names of the two mints (PLATE L, 6, 7). Official Chinese sources of the period indicate that two additional mints existed at the time: Miyün 密雲 in Chihli (Hopei) using the character mi 密 and Yünnan 雲南 (Kunming) in Yünnan province using the character yün 雲. It would appear that neither mint exercised its privilege for one reason or another as coins of this description are unknown.

In 1662, Hsüan-yeh 玄曄 ascended the throne and chose the name K'ang-hsi 康熙, his coins being inscribed K'ang-hsi t'ung-pao 康熙通寶 (PLATE LI, 22). There is also another type issued during the reign of Hsüan-yeh with a different style character hsi 熙 (PLATE LI, 23). These accurate, carefully made coins are quite rare, their origin being generally ascribed to a special issue prepared by the Board of Revenue from the metal accumulated from melting down eighteen Buddhist statues.

During the period 1662–1721, Hsüan-yeh opened new mints, but during his last years, he closed seven. According to the Chinese sources the mints of Szechuan and Kweichow bearing the identifying characters chuan 川 and kuei 貴 should have been operating during his reign, but no coins with these inscriptions have been found. The assumption that these two mints did not open until later is strengthened by the fact that the character 貴 is not used in the next period for the Kweichow province.

The two government mints retained the same reverses as in the previous period except that there is a difference in the Manchu style

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of writing for the characters chang 昌, shan 陝, and ning 寧 (cf. nos. 17 and 24, 20 and 25, 21 and 26). In addition to the coins listed there was one very common forgery in circulation at that time (PLATE LII, 36). Its reverse reads: left, boo  and right, the corrupt character 箭 which might be chi 薊 (cf. PLATE LI, 9) or might even be ching 荆 (Chingchow 荆州, presently Hupei), a mint that had ceased operations as early as 1653.

In 1723, the throne passed to Yin-chen 胤禛 who chose the reign title Yung-cheng 雍正 (PLATE LII, 37). In addition to continuing the operation of all the mints inherited from his father, Yun-chen instituted a policy whereby all the mints in the provinces copied the system employed by the two Peking mints. All coins produced had boo on the left and the name of the mint in Manchu on the right. In general the style of writing remained the same with slight changes in the characters of the two Board mints.[2]

The next ruler, Emperor Hung-li 弘曆 took the reign title Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 (PLATE LIII, 58). Hung-li greatly expanded China's territory, conquering Sinkiang and the Ili-area, where he opened several mints; and he even ordered coins to be struck for use in Annam, however these were inscribed only in Chinese. The coins produced during this period for Chinese Turkestan are a numismatic curiosity in that they have an obverse written in Chinese and on the reverse, the left character is Manchu and the right is Arabic for the Islamic population of that area. For the mint at Aksu the Arabic reads اقصو (PLATE LIV, 64). In 1761, Yerkim (PLATE LIV, 65) became Yarkand (PLATE LIV, 66) but the Arabic remained the same يارکند. The Arabic for Wushih appears اوشی, for Kuche کوجا, for Kashgar کاشغار, and for Khoten ﻫوتين. Frequently the coins of Chinese Turkestan have several Chinese characters on the reverse which are primarily indications of date and value. During this time also, many small coins were privately minted (PLATE LIV, 71, 72).[3]

[2] Cf. nos. 6 and 38, 7 and 39.

[3] No. 71 (PLATE LIV) is the smallest coin in the author's collection. The period is identifiable, the mint is not. No. 72 (PLATE LIV) is a small coin from Kweichow.

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The following rulers Yung-yen 顒琰 and Min-ning 旻寧 with the reign titles Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 (PLATE LIV, 73) and Tao-kuang 道光 (PLATE LIV, 77) effected very few changes. No. 80 (PLATE LV) depicts a forgery produced during this time in imitation of a mint at Wuchang.

The next period of great change came during the reign of I-chu 奕詝 (Hsien-feng 咸豐; PLATE LV, 81). In order to finance the war against the Taiping rebels, he re-opened every previously shut-down mint that was not located in territory held by the enemy. Paper money and iron and lead coins were issued, together with an abundance of very heavy, large coins.[4] Instead of the usual obverse inscription 通寶 (current coin), these large pieces usually read chung-pao 重寶 (heavy coin) or yüan-pao 元寶 (large coin). The reverse reads: top, t'ang 當 and bottom, a number (equal to . . . coins). They were issued with face values of 10, 20, 50, 100 and even 1000 normal coins, whereas the intrinsic value never exceeded 60 normal coins. There are also heavy coins of this period with Chinese inscriptions on the broad brim.

Yung-yen was succeeded by the young Tsai-ch'un 載淳 who originally chose as his reign title Ch'i-hsiang 祺祥 (PLATE LV, 84), but was forced by his mother, the Dowager Empress Tz'u-hsi 慈禧 to chose the title T'ung-chih 同治 (PLATE LV, 85). Some of the coins already produced were retained as souvenirs but the majority were melted down. In 1864 the suppression of the Taiping rebellion was concluded successfully and the country enjoyed a small "economic miracle."

In 1874, Emperor Tsai-t'ien 載湉 ascended the throne, taking as his reign title Kuang-hsü 光緒 (PLATE LV, 87). Very few mints operated normally during his reign, and an unusual number of forgeries are reported; none of which, however, shows any new Manchu writing. No. 88 (PLATE LV) is uncertain. The Manchu clearly reads "ku" which is not listed as a mint in either the official or private sources. P'eng Hsin-wei 彭信威 reads it as 沽 with a question mark.[5]

[4] These coins ranged up to 7 cm. in diameter and 185 gms. in weight.

[5] *Chung-kuo huo-pi shih* 中國貨幣史, p. 529. The interpretation, though unproven, appears correct.

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This, if accepted, would place the mint at Taku 大沽, the harbor city of Tientsin.

During the last years of the Manchu rule, minting machines were introduced in the coastal towns. Also the mint at Canton innovated a small specimen with a round hole (PLATE LV, 94) which was not accepted by the older Chinese because of its size and more importantly, according to some accounts, because of the long-held idea that the roundness of the coin symbolized the round sky and the square hole the square earth and more specifically, China.

With the death of Tsai-t'ien, the little child P'u-i 溥儀 became the new "Son of Heaven" under the title Hsüan-t'ung 宣統. The mints producing cash coins dwindled to two. The new coins being produced were in the European style without the hole in the center (e.g., PLATE LV, 90).[6]

WERNER BURGER

[6] The new coins, not described here due to the fact that no new mint names in Manchu appear on them, are very well described by Eduard Kann in his *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, Los Angeles, 1954.

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	Yung	Kuang-hsü 光緒 1874–1907	1882– 1908–19	Hsüan-t'un 宣統
	21– 732			
	34	53	—	—
	—	79	79	—
	hly	54	—	—
	ly	55	—	—

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sachusetts Bay silver threepence issues beginning in 1652 and the twopence issue dated 1662, small change had to have some realistic and acceptable value.

Before being able to give consideration to small change for its colonies, England had to solve its domestic small change problems. After royal copper coin had secured an acceptance in England the use of tin instead of copper for English minor coins was proposed in 1679 and materialized when English halfpence and farthings were authorized to be struck in tin on May 28, 1684. The purpose was threefold: (1) To satisfy the tin farmers (holders of the mineral rights) whose political power was used to force the Crown to help the tin industry; (2) To produce revenue for the Crown from franchise payments, coinage profits, and coinage duties; and (3) To prevent the extensive counterfeiting of current copper coin. The price of tin had fallen from 12 pence per pound weight in 1676 to 8 pence by 1684 and coinage as a means of price support by the Crown was a solution. The cost of minting and distributing tin coin was approximately 4 pence per pound weight which, added to the cost of the tin, totaled 12 pence per pound weight. The private patents issued for standard minor coinage of tin under Charles II, James II and William and Mary provided for tin coins with a copper plug, the circulating value of which was 20 pence (finally 21 pence) per pound weight, so that the coin passed for about two and one-half times its intrinsic value as metal. This discrepancy in due course caused the cessation of the use of tin for English minor coinage by 1692 and a reversion to copper.[2]

The tin coinage under Charles II, 1660–1684(5), consisted only of farthings dated 1684 and 1685 which averaged close to their legal weight of 87.5 grains. The coinage was authorized by warrant on the basis of 40% of the profit payable to the Crown and was terminable at the Crown's discretion. James II, 1684(5)–1688, continued this procedure by granting a patent to Thomas Neale, James Hoare and Charles Duncombe on the same basis and tin halfpence were produced dated from 1685 to 1687 and farthings dated from 1684 to 1687.[3]

[2] John Craig, *The Mint* (Cambridge, England, 1953), p. 178.
[3] Thomas Snelling, *A View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England* (London 1766), p. 38; C. Wilson Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum 1558–1958* (London, 1960), p. 147.

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There are no farthings or halfpence dated 1688 so that tin coinage appears to have been discontinued in 1687. New problems as to tin mining and coinage had arisen. The price of tin in 1686 had fallen so low as to cause "the great decay of our stannaries" and because of urgent pleas of the tin mining interests the Crown by an order of August 16, 1687 "out of compassion of their ill circumstances" agreed that it would undertake to arrange to buy all tin produced in Cornwall and Devon at a price of £ 3/10 per hundred weight (7 pence per lb.) which was above the then current price. Devon tin farmers accepted the suggested price on December 14 and the Cornwall tin farmers agreed on December 19, 1687.[4] Long and tedious negotiations then ensued as to other details. A draft of the proposed Articles of Agreement was prepared in May, 1688 between the Commissioners of the Treasury and John Earle of Bathe, who was Lord Warden of the Stannaries and a cousin of James II. The proposed contract provides an eleven year commitment to buy all tin mined after June 24, 1688 at the agreed price of 7 pence per pound from approved tin farmers. The contract included the sole privilege of coining "pence, halfe pence and farthings of Intrinsic value of Tynn throughout all his Majesty's Dominions (free of all Customes & other Dutys whatsoever for such pence, 1/2 pence & farthings as shall be bonafide coyned to pass (f)or may be exported only for ye purpose". The Commissioners were to receive an annual rent of £ 16,000.[5]

The franchise to mint a distinct coinage for use in the colonies was therefore quite specific and was about to be granted for the first time.[6] Marginal notations on the draft raised two critical questions: (1) was there a limit on the amount to be coined annually, and (2) what was meant by intrinsic value?

Petitions of May 31 and June 2, 1688 proposed a limit of £ 10,000 per year for three years, after which either the matter would be

[4] British Public Records Office, S. O. 8/20; T. 52/13, p. 62.
[5] Ibid., T. 1/2, No. 49.
[6] The right granted Lord Maltravers on February 16, 1639 to circulate copper farthing tokens in the British plantations, excluding Maryland, referred to farthing tokens made for England, Ireland or Wales. See *The Calendar of State Papers (Colonial Series 1574–1660)*, pp. 285, 290; C. Wilson Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum, 1558–1958* (London, 1960), p. 47n.

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reconsidered for a renewal by the Crown or the tin interests co... withdraw from their commitment to sell at the agreed price and be fr... to sell on the open market.[7] A personal appointment with James I... was arranged for June 19, 1688 so that the King might accept partic... lar tin farmers as the proposed contract provided.[8] Apparently sco... contract was signed about that time although the text of the fin... form cannot be found in the British Public Records Office. The reas... that some similar contract must have been completed is that there i... a reference to it in a petition by the Earle of Bathe dated June 2... 1688 beginning with the statement, "The Farmers of his Majesti... Preemption and Coynage duty of Tyn with the sole Privilege o... making Tyn-farthings, Pence and Halfpence of Intrinsick value fo... all his Majesties Dominions ..." The June 26, 1688 petition was a request that the Commissioners of the Treasury permit "the Engines, Presses, tools and Utensils belonging to his Majesty in Skinners Hall" which equipment was used "in making or vending the late Tyn farthings" (the royal farthings of James II) to be made available to Richard Holt who had been approved as one of the tin farmers to make tin coins for the dominions.[9] Since rent on Skinner's Hall had been paid by the Crown up to the lease expiration on August 8, 1688, the tin farmers asked for the free privilege of using that site for coining for the balance of the term. They also agreed to return the equipment to the Crown after using it.[10]

The petition asked for the use of the equipment forthwith to make patterns to be submitted to the King for his approval. No patterns or coinage of any minor coinage under James II are known and thus it appears that the only patterns prepared under the contract were the 1/24th real pieces for the plantations. These patterns were submitted

[7] British Public Records Office, T. 1/2, Nos. 48 and 50.
[8] Ibid., T. 27/11, p. 393.
[9] Ibid., T. 1/2, No. 51; Curtis P. Nettels, "British Policy and Colonial Money Supply," *The Economic History Review*, Vol. III, No. 2 (Oct., 1931), p. 10; Curtis P. Nettels, "The Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Social Sciences and History*, No. 20, (Madison, 1934), p. 177.
[10] The lease on Skinner's Hall was extended by the Crown until December, 1869 when the premises were vacated. John Craig, *The Mint* (Cambridge, England, 1953), p. 179.

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for approval as to design as well as to intrinsic value in the following letter:[11]

Officers of the Mint
Gentlemen
By order of the Lord's Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury I send you the enclosed letter from Mr. Holt on behalf of the Tynn ffarmers with a Modell of the New ffarthings intended to be Coyned. Their Lordships direct you to Certify them if you have any objection to what is therein desired. I am etc H. Guy 13th August 1688.

London 27th July 1688

My Lord
The ffarthings which Wee intreat your Lordship to present for his Majesty's approbacon is made after the rate of 10 d p l (10 pence per lb.) and 2 d p l (2 pence per lb.) for the Coynage of them. The Inscription on the Revers, Vis: vall 24. part Riall Hispan. is because the said Coynes are intended to pass in his Majesty's Plantacons & such parts of his Dominions where they only take Spanish money & value all coynes by that Measure, Soe that without that Inscription those people will not take them.
And a Ryall being 6d Sterling in value it's alsoe convenient for his Majesty's Europian Dominions. And we entreat your Lordship to obtaine his Majesty's approbacon soe as Wee may proceed on the Coynage of them pursuant to the Groat charge we have been at to procure the Modell. Your Lordship's most humble servant, Richard Holt, for self and company.

To introduce a tin coin into circulation in the American Dominions required substantial intrinsic value and for that reason the July 27, 1688 letter indicates that the tin coins for the dominions would have a circulating value of 10 pence per pound weight which was twice the amount of tin as was contained in the English royal tin coinage having an equal circulating value. The "groat charge" of 4 pence per pound weight for coining was therefore twice the cost of making the same circulating value in tin coin of the earlier issues under James II. The fear of the rejection of tin coinage in the dominions was a matter of concern to the coiners as they stated in the July 27, 1688 letter that the coins would be rejected if a Spanish denomination was not designated on the coin. The value of 1/24th of a real in Spanish exchange

[11] British Public Records Office, Treasury Out Letter Book, Tome 27/11, p. 424.

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was about equal to one farthing in sterling exchange. Thus for pieces of the 1/24th real would circulate for 10 pence sterling a would have only 7 pence in intrinsic value of tin because they wou weigh one pound. With normal coinage and distribution costs t planned intrinsic value was reasonable. Unfortunately, none of t 1/24th real pieces weighed 40 to the pound weight or 175 grains ea as stated. They only weighed 135 grains each on the average maki them have an actual tin value of less than 5½ pence per pound weigh and were intended to circulate for 1–2/3 reales (10 pence sterling) pe pound weight.

The word "plantacons" could only mean American dominions because no other plantations used Spanish money. Plantations in America meant Newfoundland, the colonies on the North American continent, and the West Indies. If the "plantacons" were only the colonies of the West Indies then it would have been pointed out that coins bearing a Spanish denomination could be conveniently used on the North American continent in the same manner as their possible use in the English dominions in Europe was mentioned.

The diameter as well as the weight of these plantation 1/24th real (one farthing) pieces were equivalent to the Royal tin halfpence which were in circulation in England. The plantation issue would therefore have been very disruptive of tin circulation in England by virtue of having twice the tin weight of the farthing in England and being of the same diameter as the halfpence. Even if sent to America some were bound to come back to England. It is therefore somewhat doubtful whether the circulation of the Plantation farthings was formally approved as no record to that effect has been found. It is also possible that even if approval had been obtained the few remaining months of the reign of James II had elapsed before distribution in America had been planned or carried out. Even though many pieces were struck in anticipation of formal approval and actual distribution it is unsound to conclude that any reached America until evidence of their circulation in the American plantations is found.

The tin interests did not seem satisfied with their contract and on July 30, 1688 James II authorized the Earle of Bathe to work out further agreements with the tin farmers to buy all of the tin which they could produce at 7 pence per pound weight, to pay 6 days after

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delivery, to waive the Crown's coinage duty of 4 shillings per hundred weight, to permit four free coinages yearly at coinage towns and to lend money on a short term basis for the mining operations.[12] These coinages never took place so we can reasonably assume that the political troubles of James II, culminating in his flight from England on December 23, 1688, ended all further negotiations relating to tin coinage during his reign. Thereafter the control of coinage and the Mint passed from the Crown to the ministers and Parliament.[13] Those 1/24th real pieces which had been minted were left without anyone to support their circulation after the change in government. Noel Ivor Hume, prior to becoming the present archaeologist at Colonial Williamsburg, found three Plantation 1/24th real pieces in London in the mud on the bank of the Thames river, but no other archaeological evidence of finding coins of this issue has been reported.

THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD TIN COINS

In 1690 a shipment of royal tin farthings and halfpence and some copper halfpence was sent to the Leeward Islands for payment of salaries of an English regiment. The governor, on July 13, 1691 pointed out that the coins could not be used for trade at English values and would, contrary to English policy, have to be deflated by one-third in order to circulate.[14] This indicates that the 1/24th real would have circulated well in those islands.

Thomas Neale who was master of the Mint and a promoter of speculative enterprises suggested on January 19, 1691 that New England might "be supplyed with Pence, Halfe Pence, & farthing of Tinn, from England, to their Majesties Advantage,"[15] but nothing came of it.

In 1698 the reaction of the American colonists to a threat of lead and pewter coinage being circulated in quantity was demonstrated by a protest of fifty-three merchants in Philadelphia in the following manner:[16]

[12] British Public Records Office, S. O. 8/20.
[13] John Craig, *The Mint* (Cambridge, England, 1953), p. 180.
[14] Codrington to Lords of Trade, C. O. 152/38, No. 33.
[15] Robert Chalmers, *A History of the Currency in the British Colonies* (London, 1893), p. 10.
[16] Harrold Gillingham, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania*, *NNM* 86, p. 6.

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To the Generall Assembly now Sitting the petition of Sundry the Inhabitants of this province most humbly Sheweth.

WHEREAS your petition's being Inhabitants of this province are being given to understand that there is great Quantities of Leade and pewter farthings & half pence whereby your petition's are likely to be mutch Damaged by Reason such great Quantity's are Liable to be Crowded upon us.

Now these are to Protest & humbly Interest that you would be pleased to make an act of Assembly That all such farthings & half pence that are made of Lead & pewter may be wholly suppresed & Cryed Down and only those of Copper which are the Kings Coyn may pass the farthings for two a penny & the half pence for a penny ... Philadelphia the twenty first of the third month 1698.

In Massachusetts Bay Colony on February 21, 1700 an act was passed prohibiting the coining or passing of base or counterfeit money due to the fact that "some persons for private gain have of late presumed to stamp and emit peices of brass and tin at the rate of one penny each, not regarding what loss they thereby bring on others, ..." The tin pieces referred to have not been identified, although Crosby suggests the remote possibility that the reference might have been to the "New Yorke" token. The Act, however, does not reflect a specific attitude toward the circulation of tin coinage, but indicates a general opposition to the issuance of private token money coined in any metal.

CHEMICAL COMPOSITION

In order to verify why the plantation 1/24th real is often found so deteriorated a modern chemical analysis has been made. Its composition showed 97.46% of tin and .015% of antimony with the balance being non-metallic.[17] The non-metallic elements are natural impurities such as clay and ash from mining and smelting. Since no other metal was mixed with the tin and the amount of antimony is insignificant the pieces are not properly referred to as pewter which the writer and others have done in the past. The deterioration which sometimes takes place on the surface of the coins is therefore a natural change in the allotropic form of tin, caused by a breakdown in its crystalline struc-

[17] Chemical data were supplied through the courtesy of the Lewin-Mathes Division of the Cerro Corporation, St. Louis, Missouri.

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ture. This change is stimulated by exposure to winter temperatures and the surfaces of many specimens of the 1/24th real are defaced in isolated areas by this deterioration. The effect of such deterioration is illustrated in obverses 6 and 7 (PLATE LVI).

The specific gravity of the coins ranges from 6.4 to 7.3. In some cases the changes in the crystalline structure of the tin has increased the volume of the coin and thus lowered its specific gravity.

A NEW MAJOR DIE VARIETY

A newly identified major variety (Reverse G) of the 1/24th real has the unusual distinction of having the Irish harp and the Scottish lion transposed. The four coats of arms on the reverse of all other varieties maintain the following order in a clockwise direction: England, Scotland, France and Ireland. This normal order is in accordance with the title of James II in the obverse legend. To find Ireland in second position on the new variety, displacing Scotland, might humorously be construed as an Irish revolt from being placed in last position, but it is merely a diemaker's error. The punch for each coat of arms was separately used in cutting the die and thus the transposition of the coats of arms is a similar mistake to the "sidewise 4" on reverse C. The HB for HIB on Obverse 1 was not an unintentional error as the diemaker, when punching in the legend, did not have enough space remaining.[18]

The new reverse G was first located in the British Museum cabinet and has since been located only in a very few collections.

A comprehensive revision of data on all known die varieties has been prepared now that collectors have had the opportunity of checking their pieces against the 1955 listing. Seven obverses and seven reverses are now noted in nine combinations. The obverses are generally similar, the only major variation being the spelling of the legend with HB instead of HIB. The reverses show 5, 6, 7, 8 and 11 strings in the harp; and either large or small fleurs-de-lis are found in the French coat of arms. The die cutting errors in Reverse C and G have been noted. The edge of all pieces contains a band of about 90

[18] See comments by Walter Breen in "Blundered Dies of Colonial and U. S. Mints," *Empire Topics* (July, 1958), p. 16.

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raised dots milled onto the planchet with a Castaing machine before striking. Since illustrations of the die varieties have not heretofore been published a plate has been included showing such varieties and their combinations. The following descriptive table of die varieties showing their combinations has been revised to accompany the plate:

TABLE OF DIE VARIETIES

Obverse descriptions

Obv. No.		*With Rev.*
1	Head directly under G. HB instead of HIB. Hoof ends under center of right base of X.	A
2	Head directly under G. Top leaf touches G. No period after X. Hoof ends under right end of base of E.	B G
3	Head centered under space between G and B favoring G. O in JACOBUS high. Hoof ends under right side of right base of X.	C
4	Head centered under space between G and B favoring B. F in FRAN higher than preceding I. Hoof ends under space slightly right of base of X.	D E
5	Head centered under space between G and B favoring B. D G widely separated. Hoof ends under right side of right base of X. Die break connecting AN and HI.	D
6	Head centered under space between G and B favoring G. Right side of base of second I of II higher than base of adjacent D. Hoof ends under left base of X.	F
7	Head under space between G and B favoring G. Leaf touches B. First I in II much too high. Hoof ends under center of X.	F

Reverse Descriptions

Rev. Letter		*With Obv.*
A	6 strings in harp. Large fleurs-de-lis and lions. Head of lowest lion left of heads of other two.	1
B	7 strings in harp. Large fleurs-de-lis and lions. Line of lions' heads rises to left. Right fleur higher than left fleur.	2

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Rev. Letter		*With Obv.*
C	8 strings in harp with diagonal string between third and fifth. Sidewise 4 in 24. Large fleurs-de-lis and lions. Right fleur is higher than left fleur.	3
D	11 strings in harp. Small fleurs-de-lis and lions. Right fleur slightly lower than left fleur. Lions' heads in vertical line.	4 5
E	7 strings in harp with top three close. Small fleurs-de-lis. Highest lion distant from and left of other two.	4
F	6 strings in harp. Large fleurs-de-lis and lions. Lowest lion's head right of heads of other two.	6 7
G	5 strings in harp. Large fleurs-de-lis and lions. Irish and Scottish coats of arms transposed so that Irish follows English coat of arms in clockwise direction.	2

RESTRIKES

The dies for the 1/24th real were apparently cut by John Roe tier, who with other members of his family, although originally from Flanders, devoted most of their lives to engraving for the Royal English Mint.[19] Customarily, coinage dies were the property and responsibility of the die sinker. In the course of political difficulties all of the Roettier dies and punches were seized by the Crown on March 27, 1697, but soon thereafter returned.[20] Over a century later the Roettier descendants decided to sell the dies and Matthew Young, an English coin dealer, acquired them in 1828. Young thereupon sold many of the coin dies to the British Museum in that year[21] and the dies for medals in the following year. He retained the 1/24th real dies and the edging dies and undertook to make restrikes from these dies shortly thereafter.[22]

[19] Philip Nelson, "The Early Coinage of America (1558–1774)," *The Connoisseur*, Vol. 31 (Sept., 1911), p. 18.
[20] John Craig, *The Mint* (Cambridge, England, 1953), pp. 195, 196.
[21] H. Farquhar, "Concerning Some Roettier Dies," *Numismatic Chronicle* (1917), p. 126; Corroborative correspondence from the British Museum.
[22] Henry Christmas, "The Anglo-American Coinage," *AJN*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Oct., 1872), p. 39, and in *Numismatic Chronicle* (London, 1862), Vol. 2, New Series, p. 20; Phillip Nelson, "The Early Coinage of America (1558–1774)," *The Connoisseur*, Vol. 31 (Sept., 1911), p. 18.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Plantation 1/24th real, designated as a farthing by its coiners, was first described numismatically in 1726 as "the Plantation Half-Penny" by Stephen Martin Leake. This error in the denominational value is logical because the coin was the size of a royal English tin halfpence. The error was continued by Burgess in 1913 and Sigler in 1944. The coin was first illustrated as "K. James's Small Money for the Plantations" in 1746 in the Pembroke Plates and described as "pewter with a copper cross inserted." The small copper cross embellishment on each side of the coin was one of the many frauds perpetrated upon the Earl of Pembroke in his eagerness to acquire unusual items for his collection.[25] No copper plug of any kind is found on any 1/24th real piece, such plugs being confined to the royal English tin coinage. The reference to pewter composition was a mistake which Burgess, Sigler, and this author followed.

Snelling in 1769 properly described the pieces as "coins of the plantations" and Humphreys in 1854, Dickeson in 1859, and Atkins in 1889, justifiably enlarged this to "American plantations." Prime in 1861 and Crosby in 1875 eliminated the coin as an early American piece, but that opinion was based upon lack of evidence rather than negative evidence. Burgess in 1913 said that the coin was minted specially for Virginia and Henry Chapman went along with that thought.[26] The fact that a Spanish denomination was used did not deter numismatists from assigning the piece to Florida, even though Florida was not even English at the time. While Crosby, Chalmers, and others refute the Florida allocation Raymond and Yeomans in all of their editions list it under Florida, but Raymond after 1945 points out that a better view is to assign it to American Plantations in general. J. J. Mickley was alleged to have "thought it was coined for William Penn."[27] Walter Breen, in graciously mentioning the author's 1955 article on the coins, indicated that they were known as "Black Doggs."[28]

[25] In 1848 when the Pembroke Collection was auctioned Lot 231 contained the Plantation 1/24th real and there was no trace of any copper cross on the coin. See also Eric P. Newman, *The Secret of the Good Samaritan Shilling*, *NNM* 142, p. 15.

[26] *The Numismatist*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (March, 1916), p. 105.

[27] Stan V. Henkels, Sale of the Collection of Edward Maris on June 21, 1886, Lot 306.

[28] Walter Breen, "The Collector's Necessary Equipment," *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Mar., 1963), p. 656.

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aluminum with the bright side to the coin so that the image appeared on the dull side. This made its study and photography easier.

In the case of coins with high relief and especially thick coins with high relief such as Ancient Greek, this technique proved inapplicable as the limited tensility of the aluminum foil causes it to tear.

The method described above is in no sense a discovery, but is perhaps an improvement over older techniques. Excellent impressions of coins have been made in the past on thick tin foil. The use of both tin foil and aluminum foil using screw presses has also been reported. But the employment of a corporation seal does make possible a more rapid and practical method of preparing a large number of impressions. These impressions must, of course, be shipped in boxes to prevent flattening.

Although aluminum impressions are fragile, they may, nevertheless, be catalogued and mounted, provided they are not subjected to pressure. Pertinent notations can be made on the unused portion of the foil.

Photographing aluminum foil impressions proved to be rather difficult and the results not as good as photographs of casts. Photographing slightly dented impressions was particularly difficult because of light reflections from the shiny surface.

In order to achieve the best results, the student takes aluminum impressions of a collection, studies them at his leisure and chooses the specimens to be photographed for publication. A plaster cast is then prepared from each aluminum impression in the same manner as from a wax impression of a coin, and photographed.

For purposes of comparison, three different coins possessing varying degrees of relief and wear were chosen to demonstrate this technique: a large Munster Taler, Sede Vacante 1683 (PLATE LVII, 1, 2; PLATE LVIII, 1, 2), a worn English Testoon of Henry VIII (1509–1547) (PLATE LVII, 3, 4; PLATE LVIII, 3, 4), and a Teston of Francis I (1515 to 1547) (PLATE LIX, 1–4).

Shown are photographs obtained from the coin, its aluminum impression, the cast prepared from the aluminum impression, and the cast prepared from a wax impression. It will be seen that while the photographs obtained from the latter are slightly better then those obtained from the cast prepared from aluminum foil, both are satis-

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factory for publication purposes. The photographs obtained directly from the foil or from the coins themselves show less contrast and are not as satisfactory.

It is hoped that the above-mentioned technique will help the student to secure a large number of impressions of specimens from many sources with the least delay and effort, and make it possible for him to pursue his studies with greater ease. The writer's fifteen thousand aluminum impressions of the coins of Cilician Armenia certainly proved a boon in the preparation of his book.

PAUL BEDOUKIAN

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PLATES

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I



DAMARETE'S LION

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7



8



9



10







DAMARETE'S LION

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III



KOZANI HOARD OF 1955

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13 14 15

16 17 18

19

KOZANI HOARD OF 1955

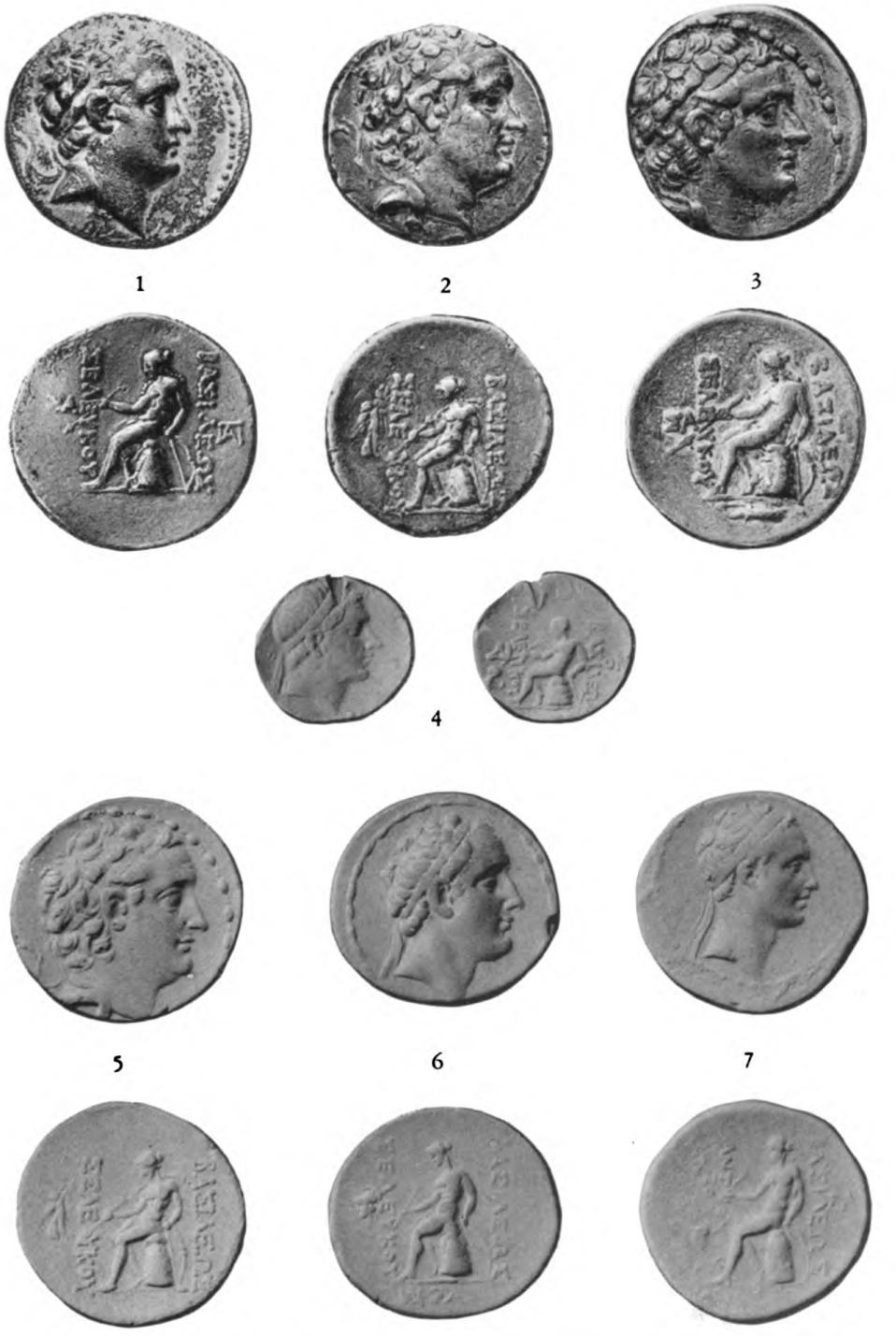
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V



KOZANI HOARD OF 1955

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SELEUCID COINS FROM CILICIA

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XIII



SELEUCID COINS FROM CILICIA

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ANTIOCHUS IV OF SYRIA

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XV



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ANTIOCHUS IV OF SYRIA

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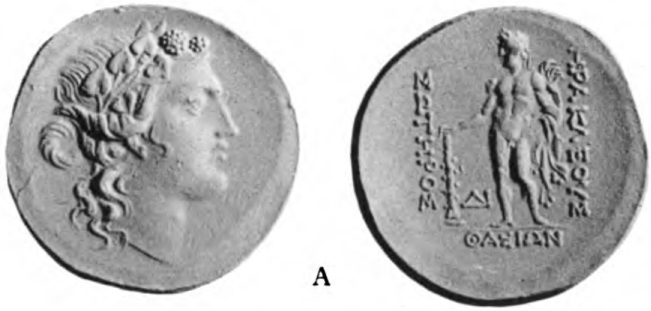
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HOARD FROM THESSALY

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A

HOARD FROM THESSALY



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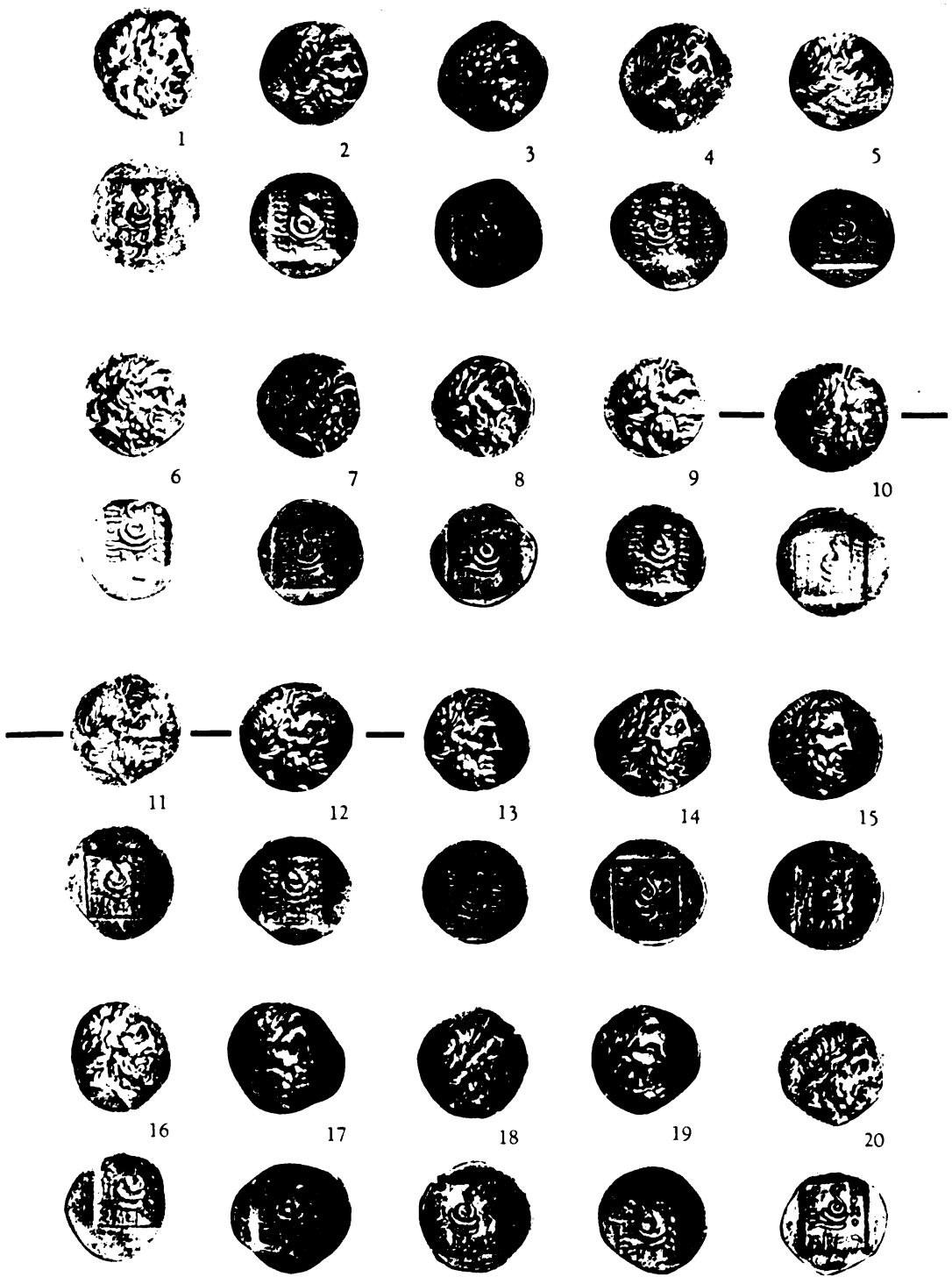
KOS TETROBOLS

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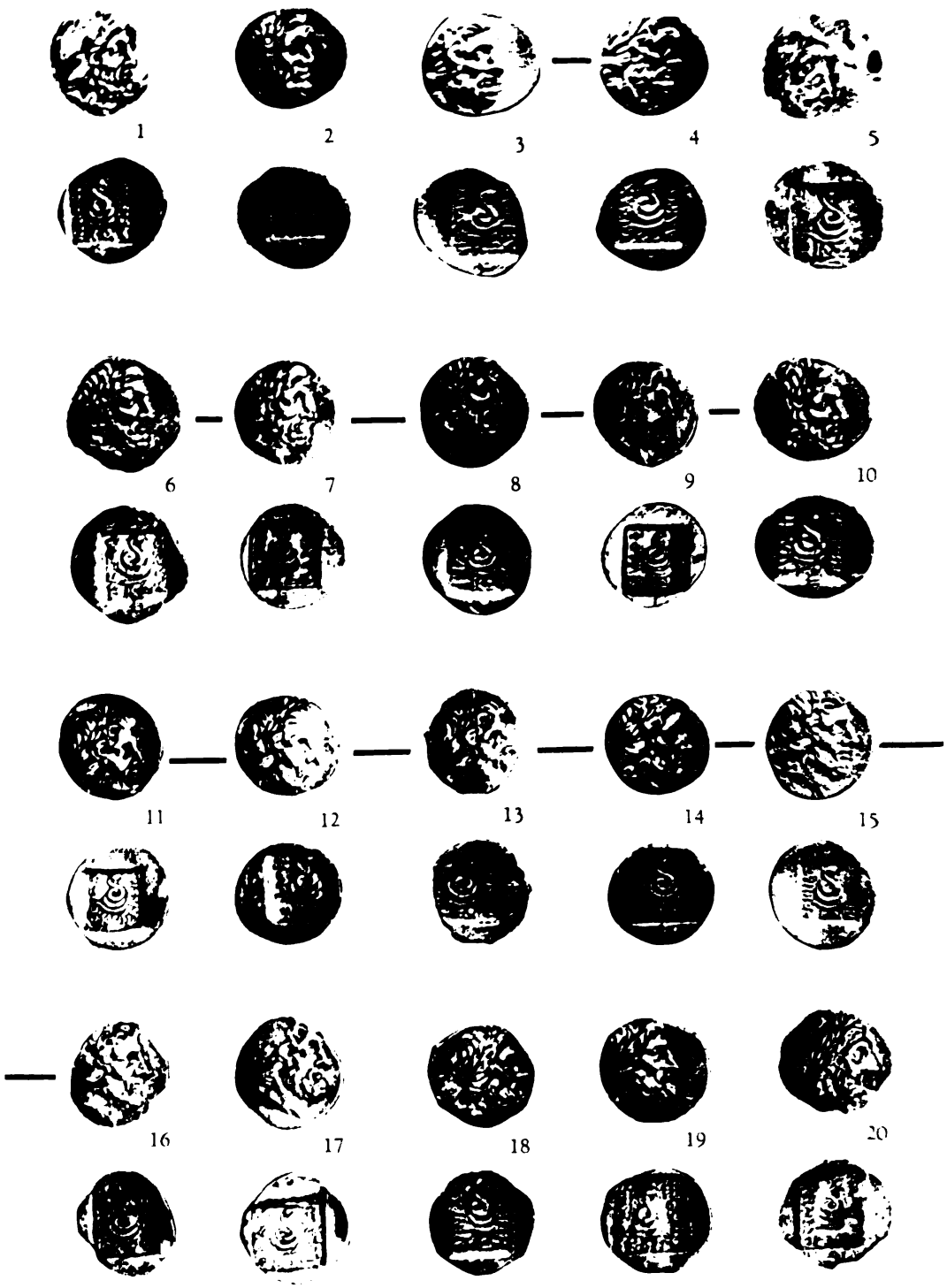
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KOS TETROBOLS

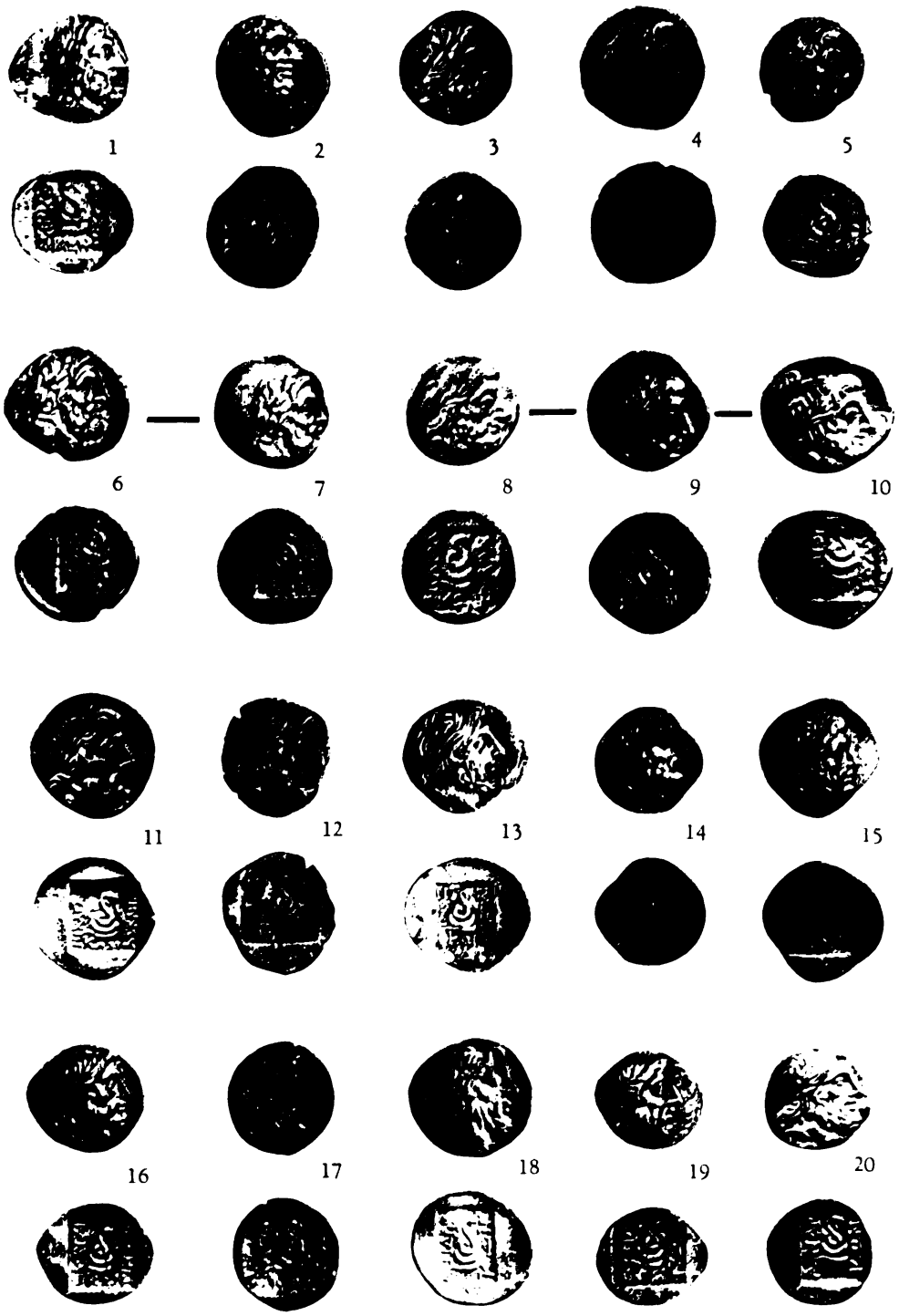
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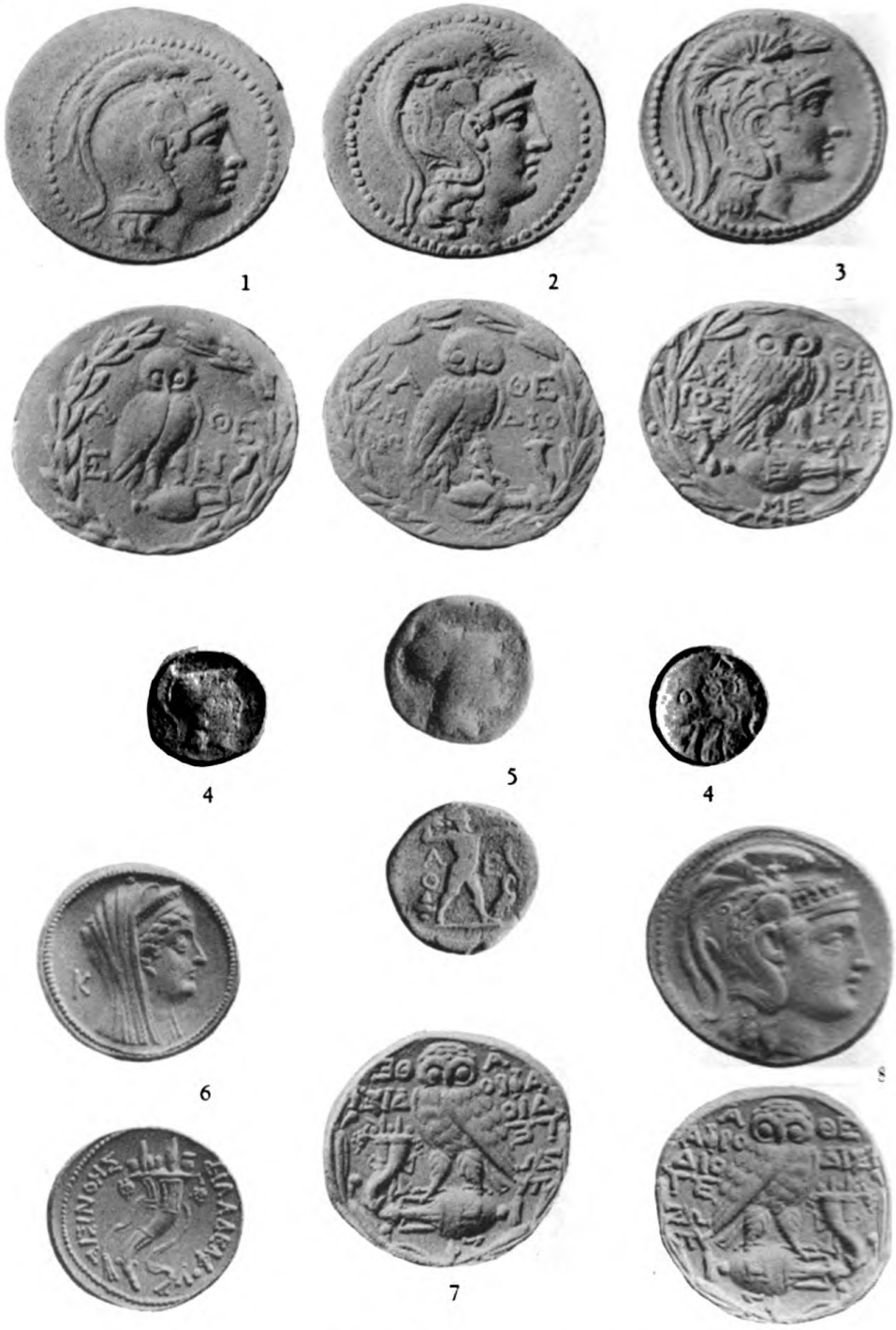
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KOS TETROBOLS

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PTOLEMY AND ATHENS

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16

HERCULES — MELQART

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Enlarged 2.5×.



1



Enlarged 2.5×.



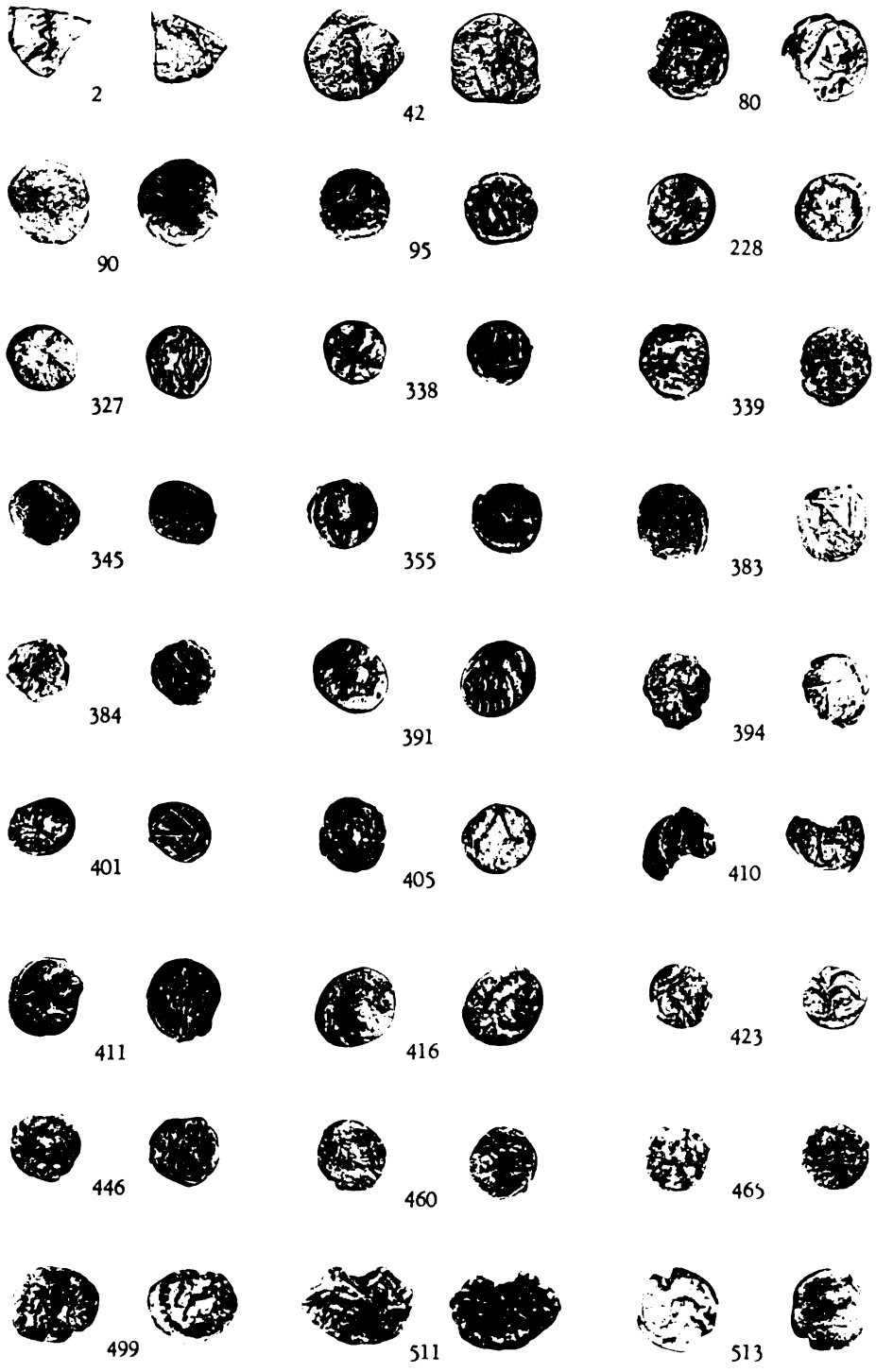
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TETRICUS II

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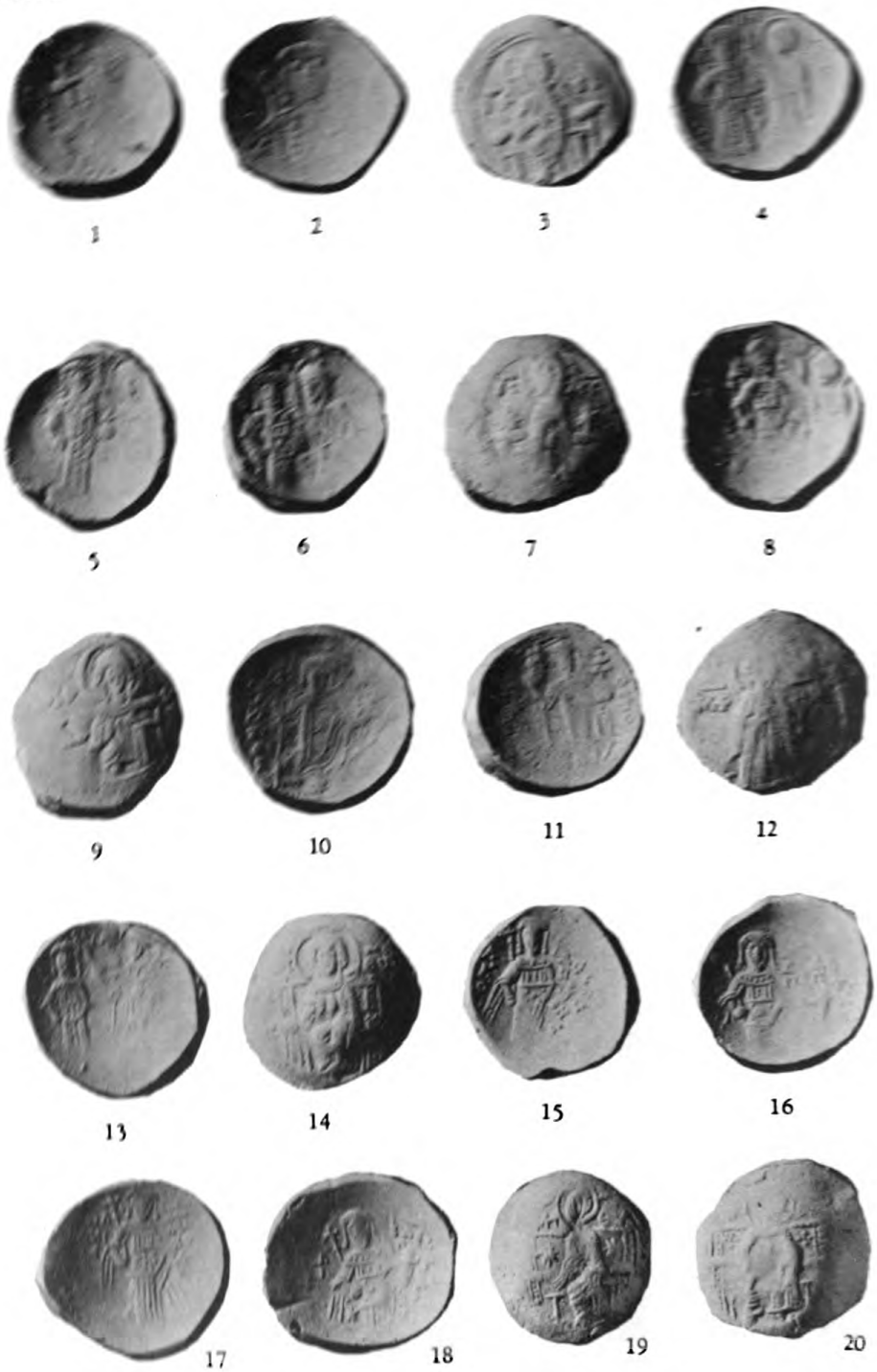
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SIXTH CENTURY HOARD OF MINIMI

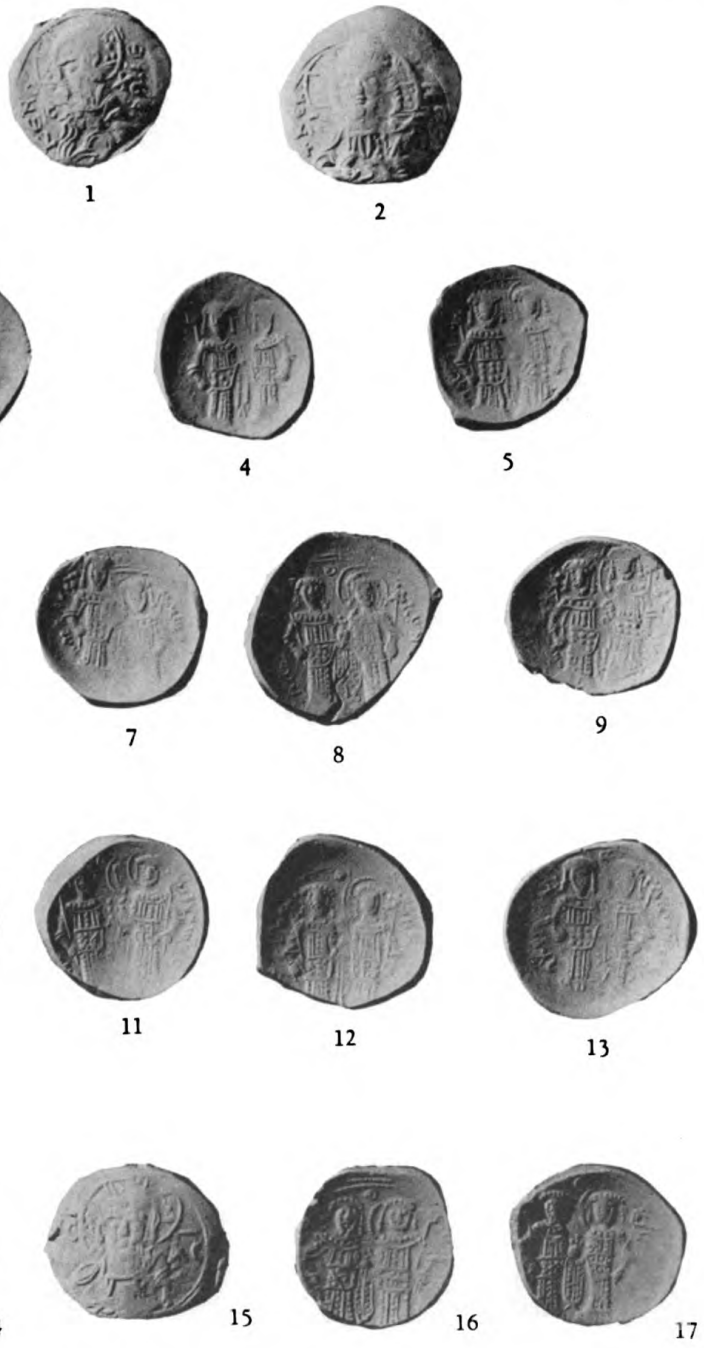
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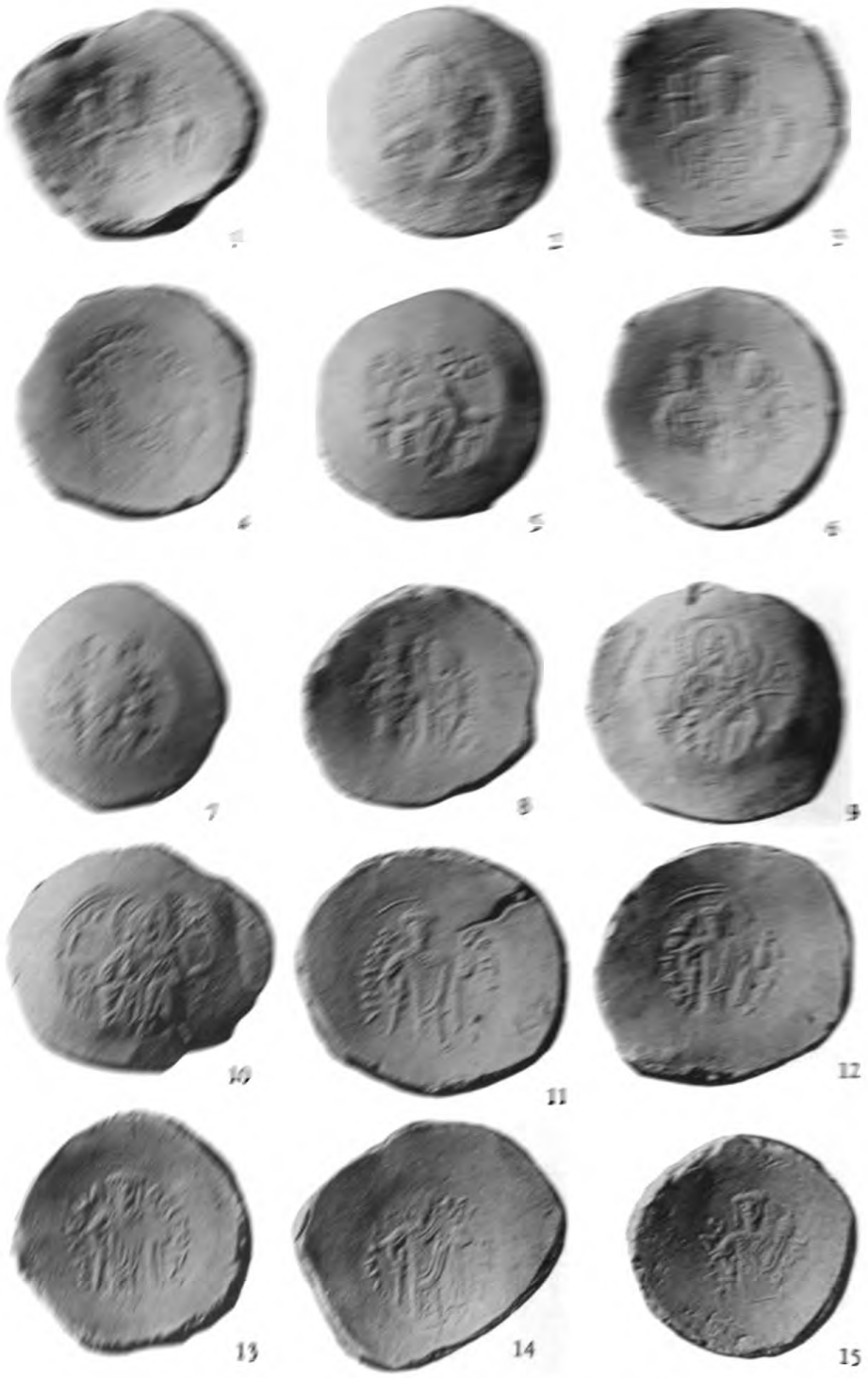
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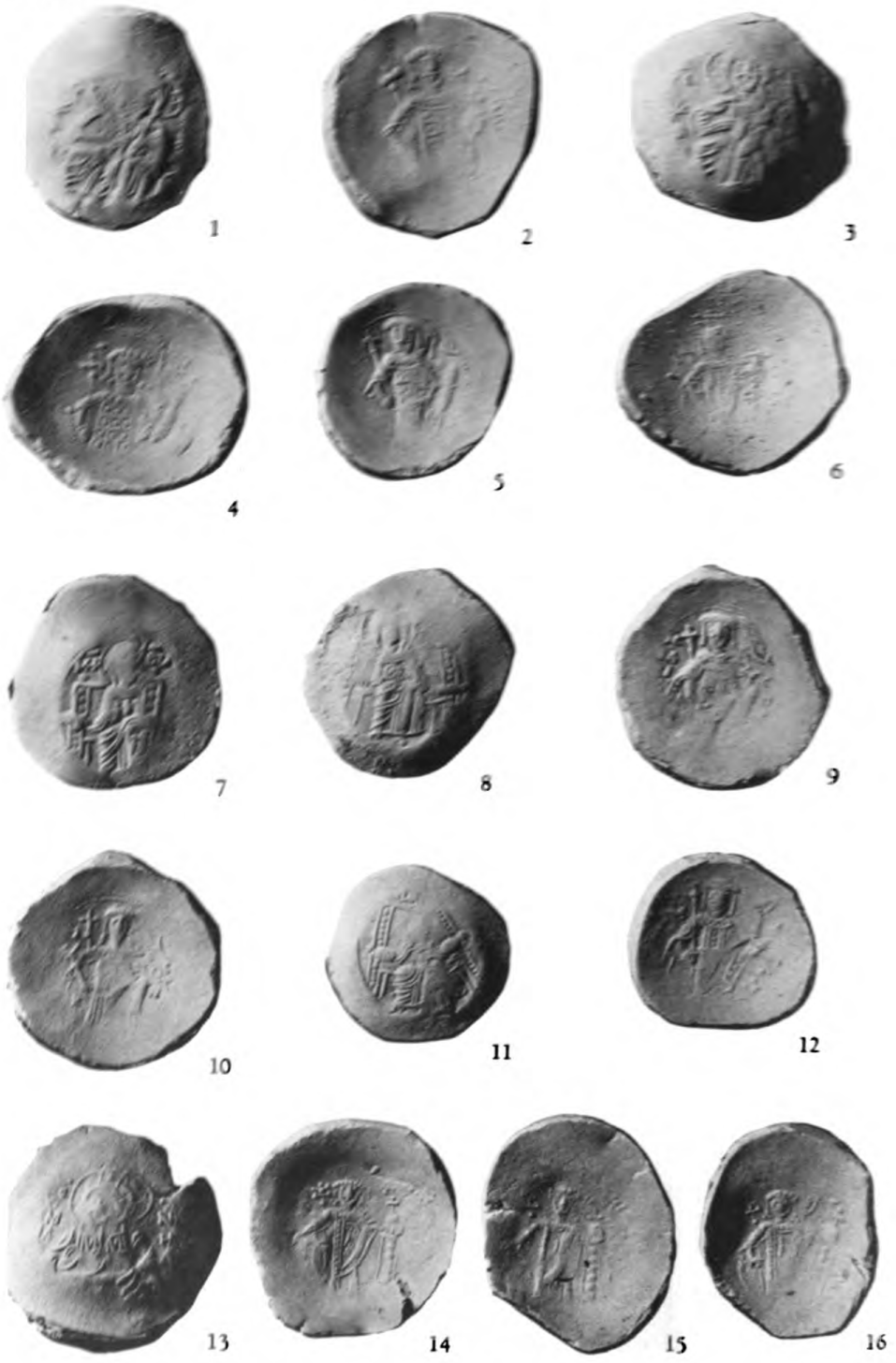
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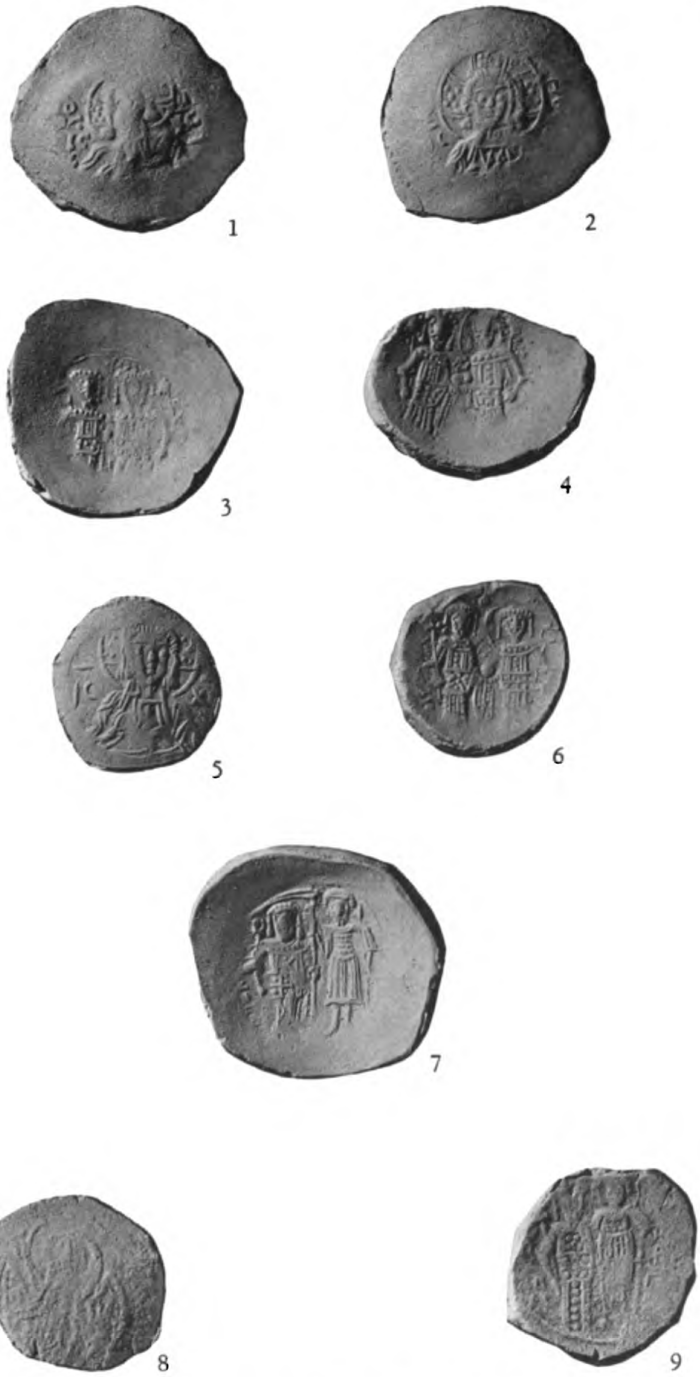
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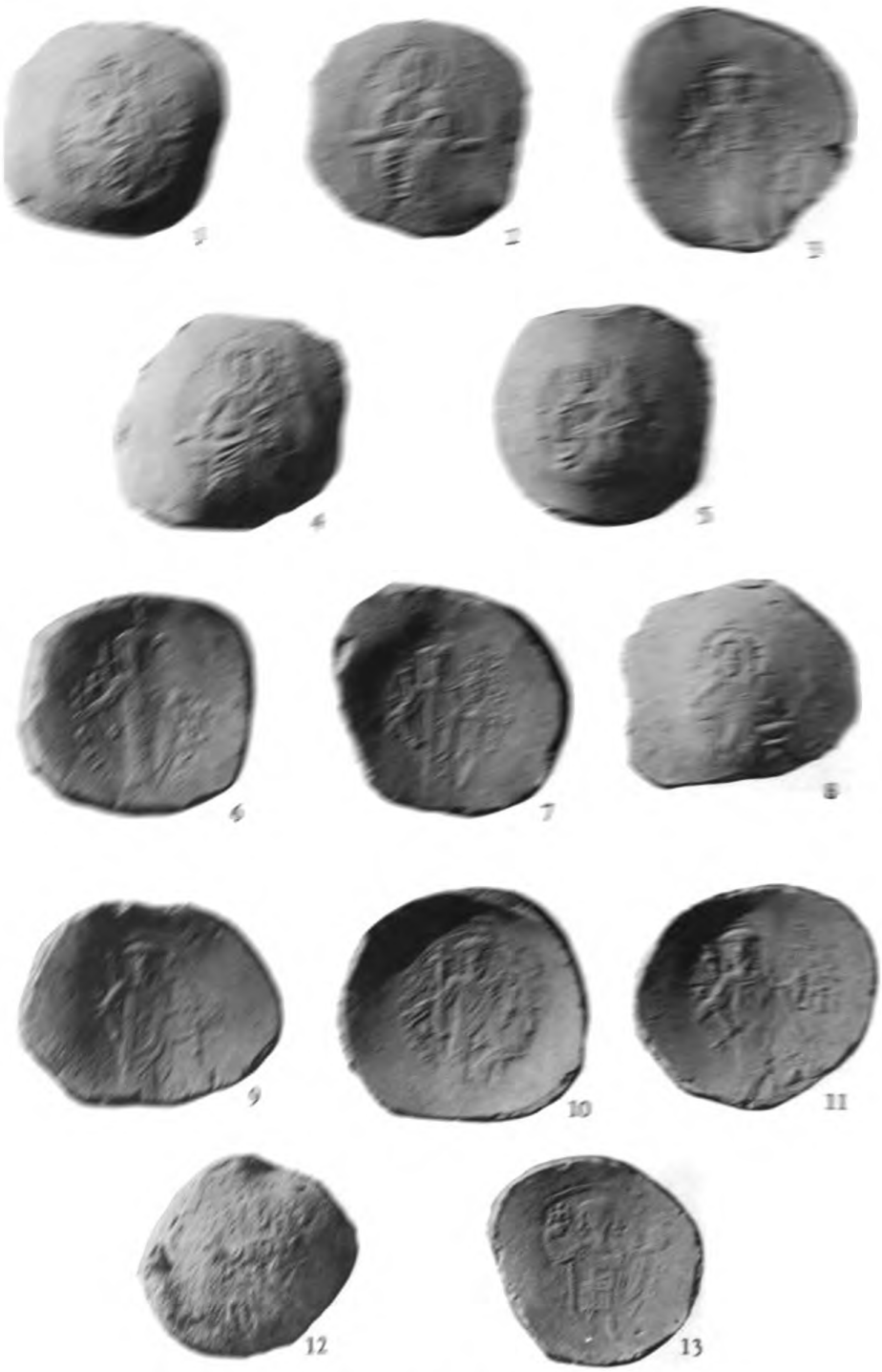
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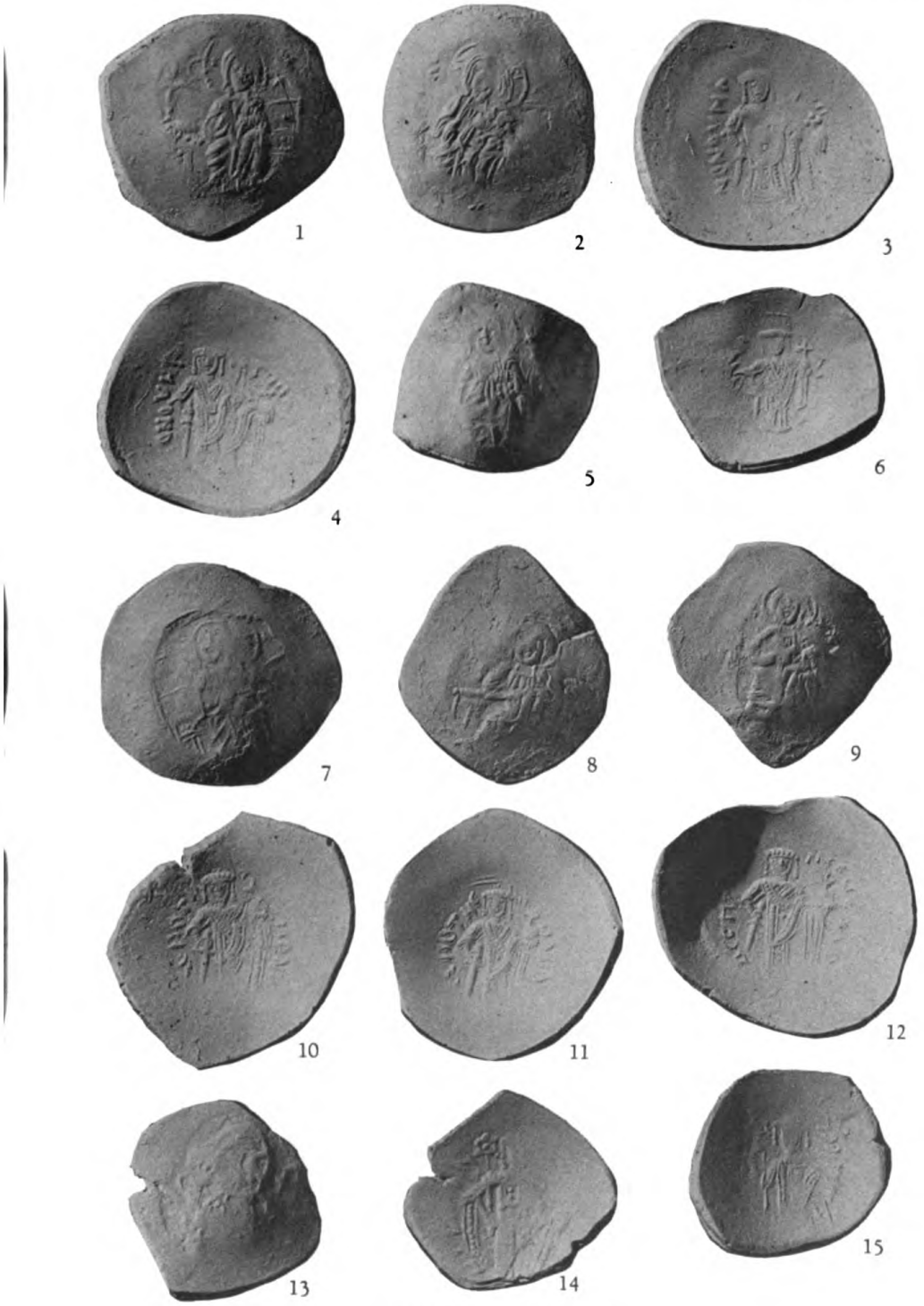
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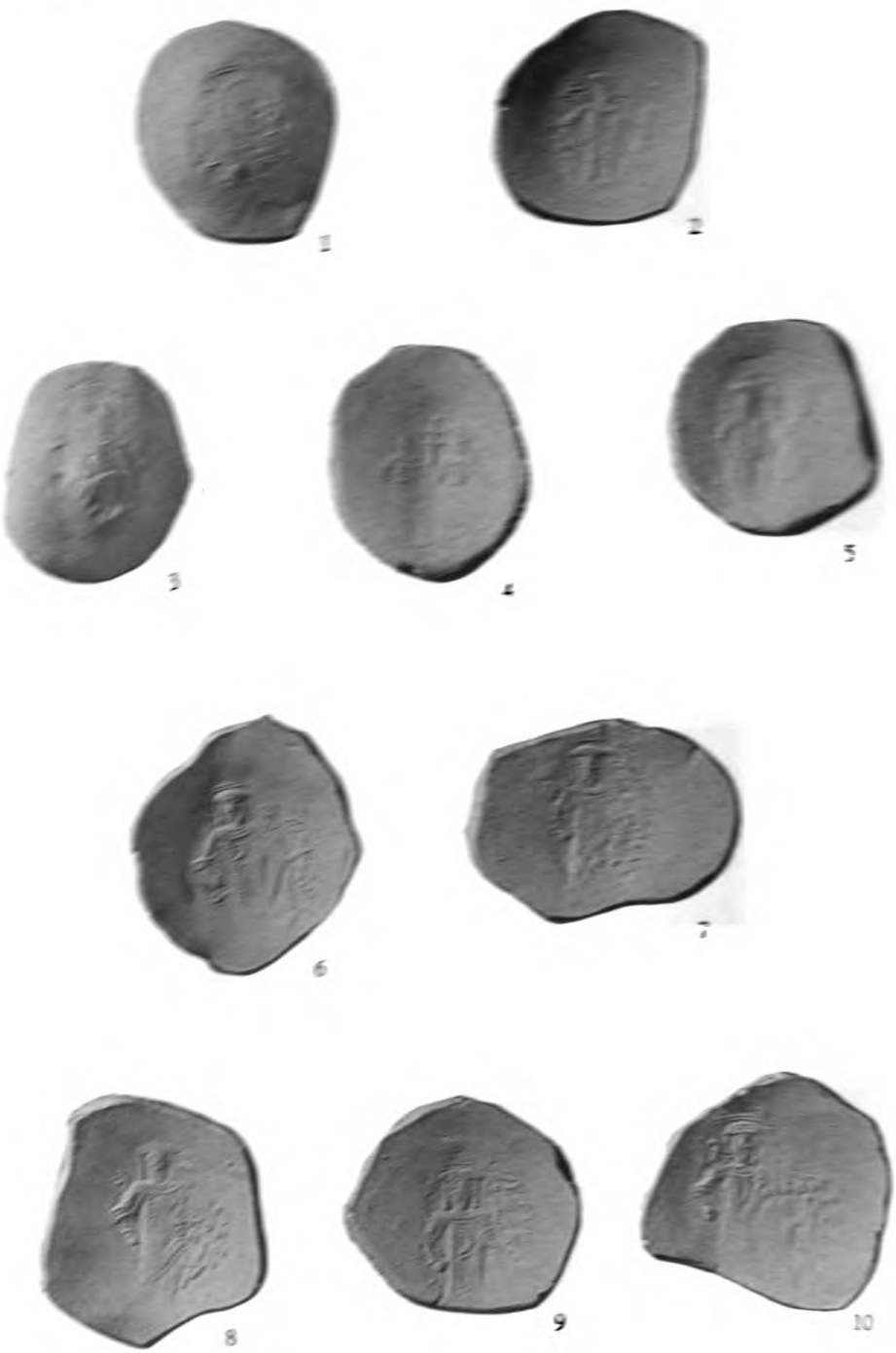
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TROAD HOARD

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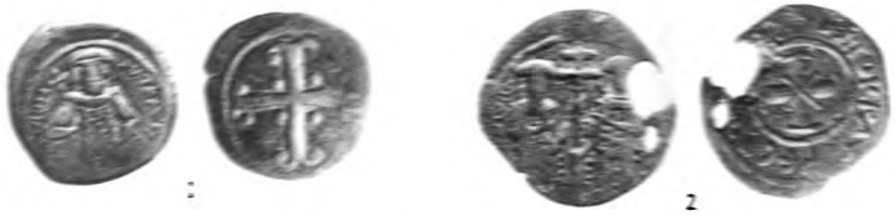


ICON OF THE VIRGIN (PERIBLEPTOS)

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ROMANUS III — MICHAEL IV



THE STAVRATON

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THE STAVRATON

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A HOARD OF LEEUWENDAALDERS

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A HOARD OF LEEUWENDAALDERS

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XLV



PORTRAIT OF RUKN AL-DAWLAH

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PORTRAIT OF RUKN AL-DAWLAH

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PORTRAIT OF RUKN AL-DAWLAH

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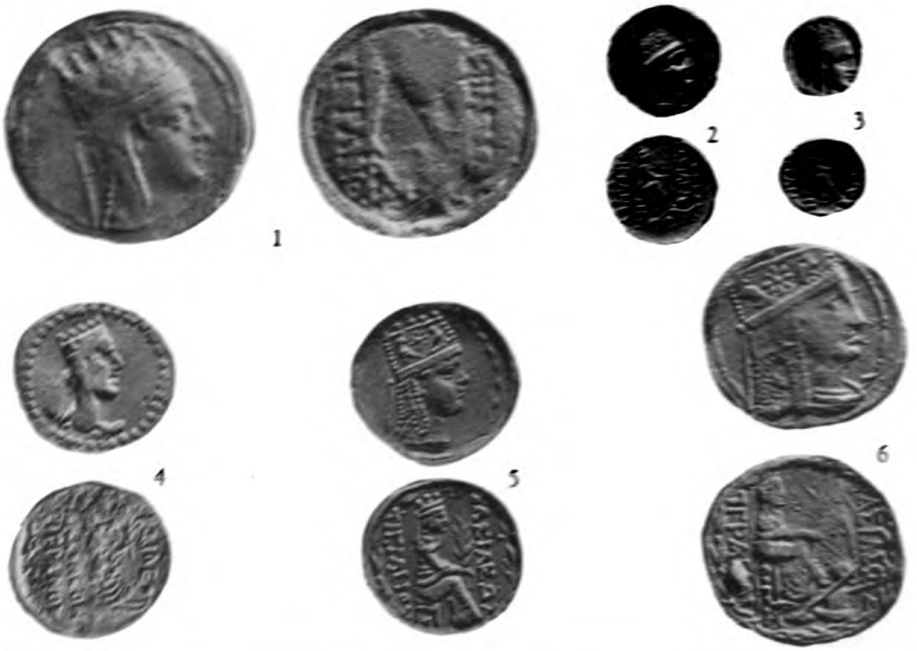


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DEUX TRÉSORS DE MONNAIES D'OR

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XLIX



GOLD FORGERIES OF TIGRANES



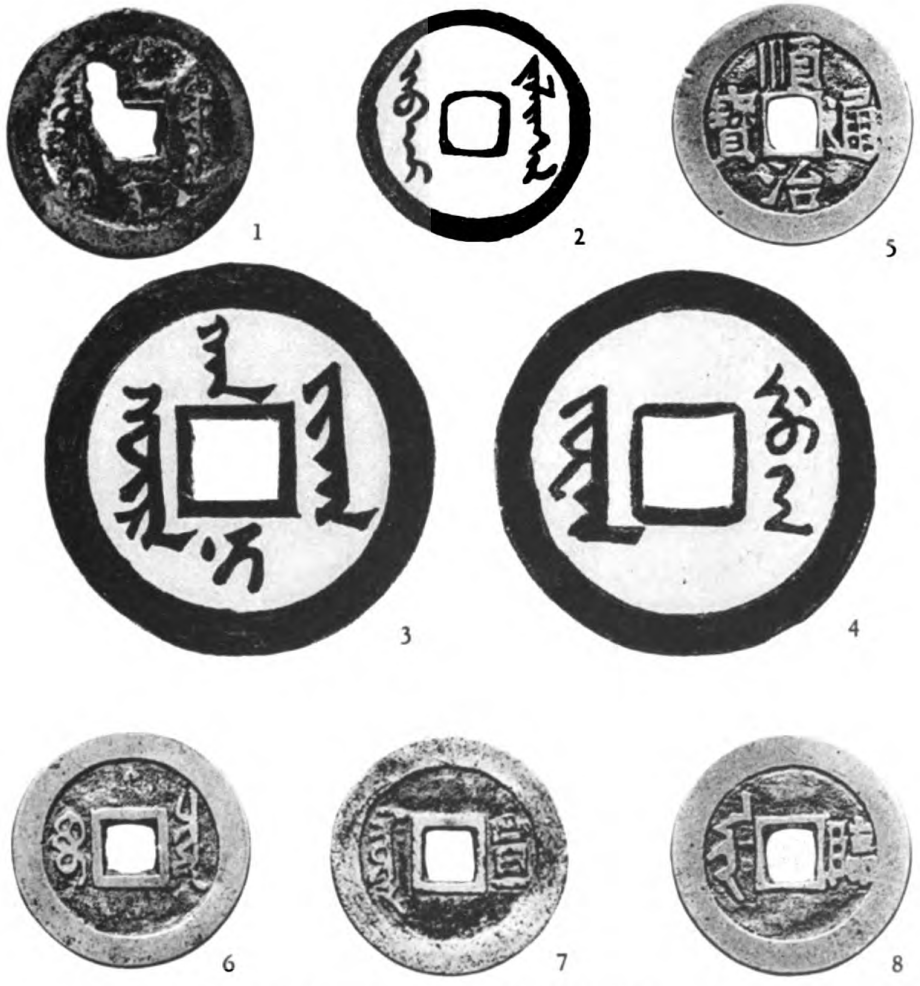
A MAMLŪK HOARD OF ḤAMĀH

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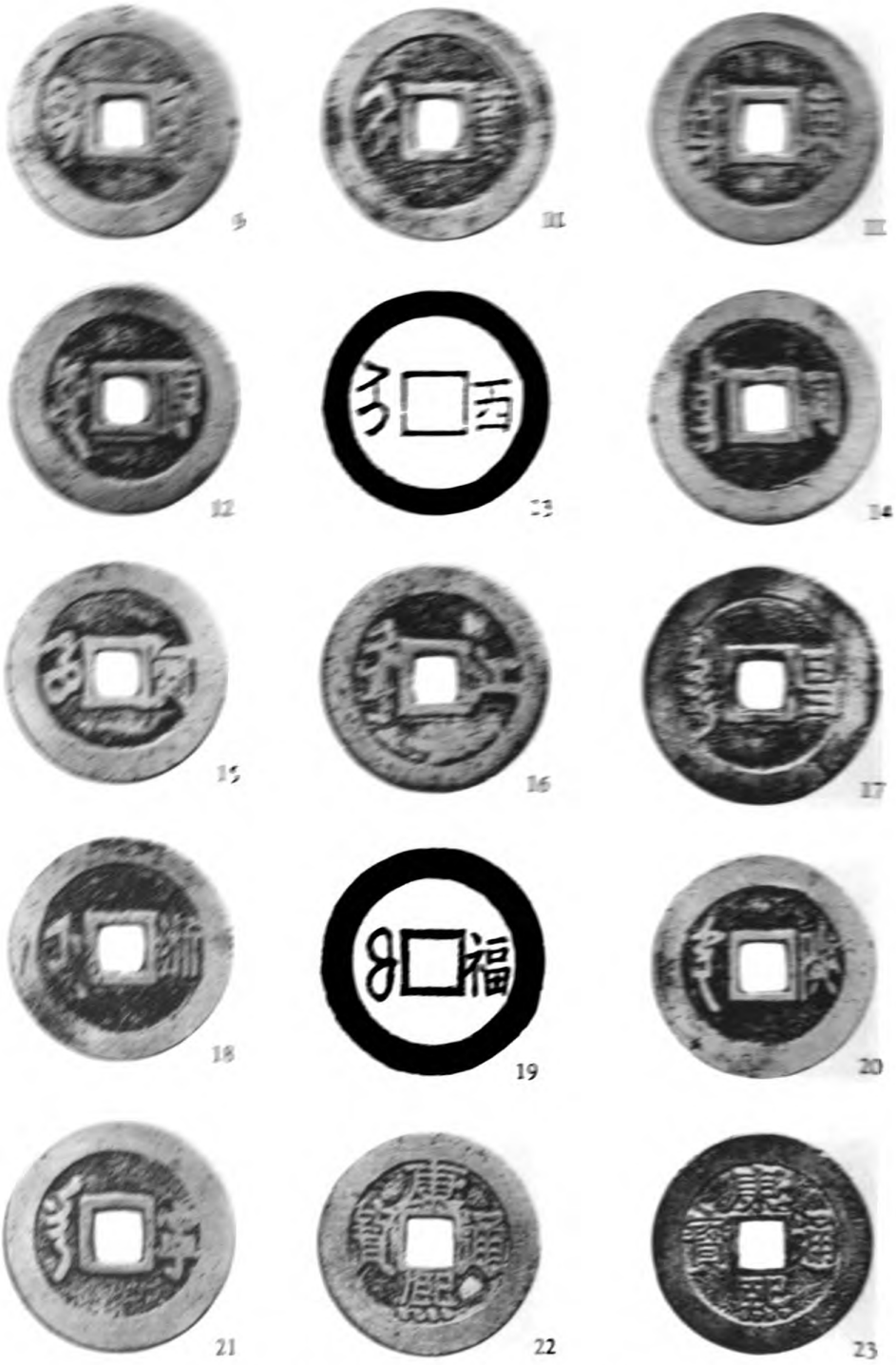
Enlarged 2×.

GLADSTONE MEDALET



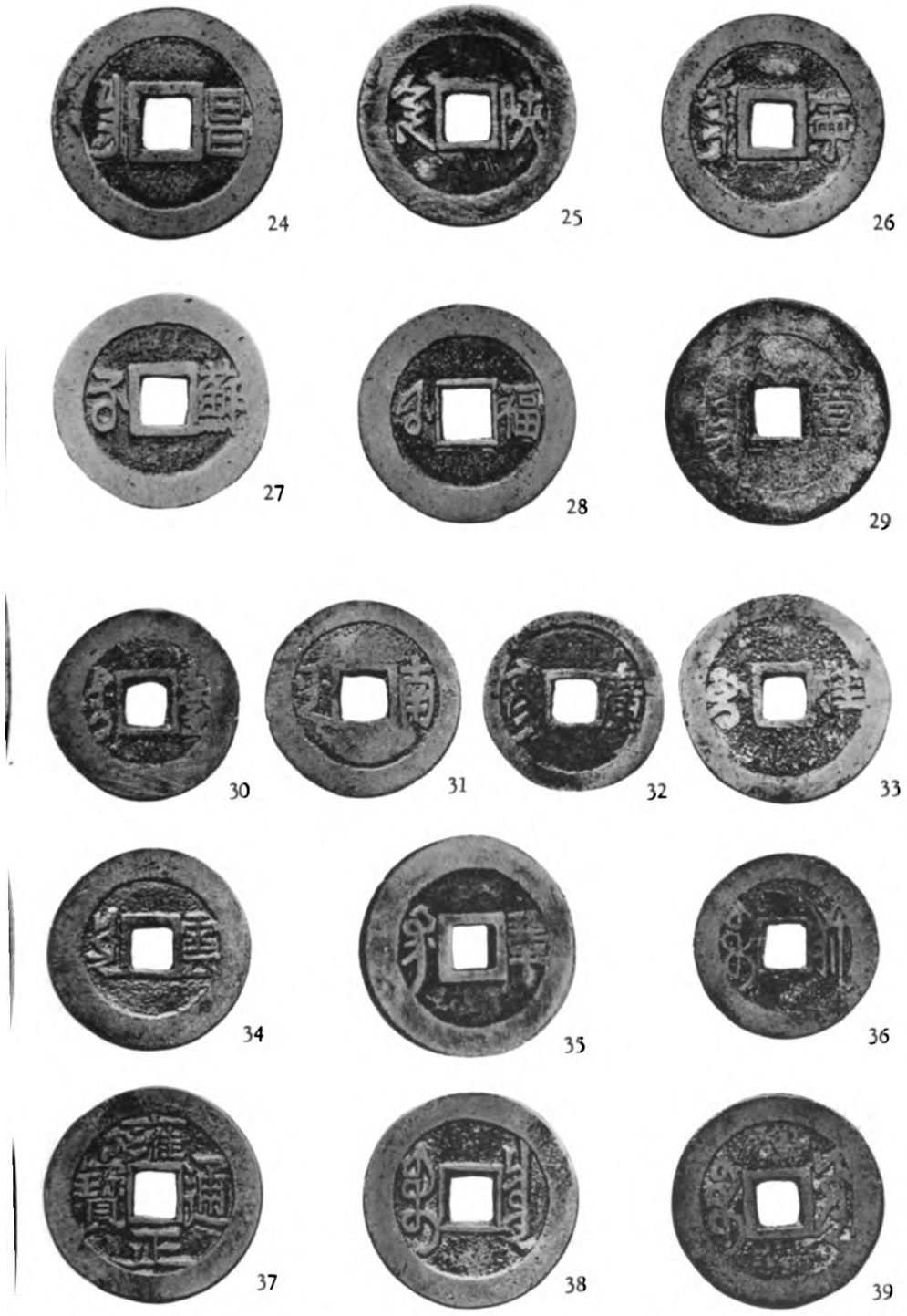
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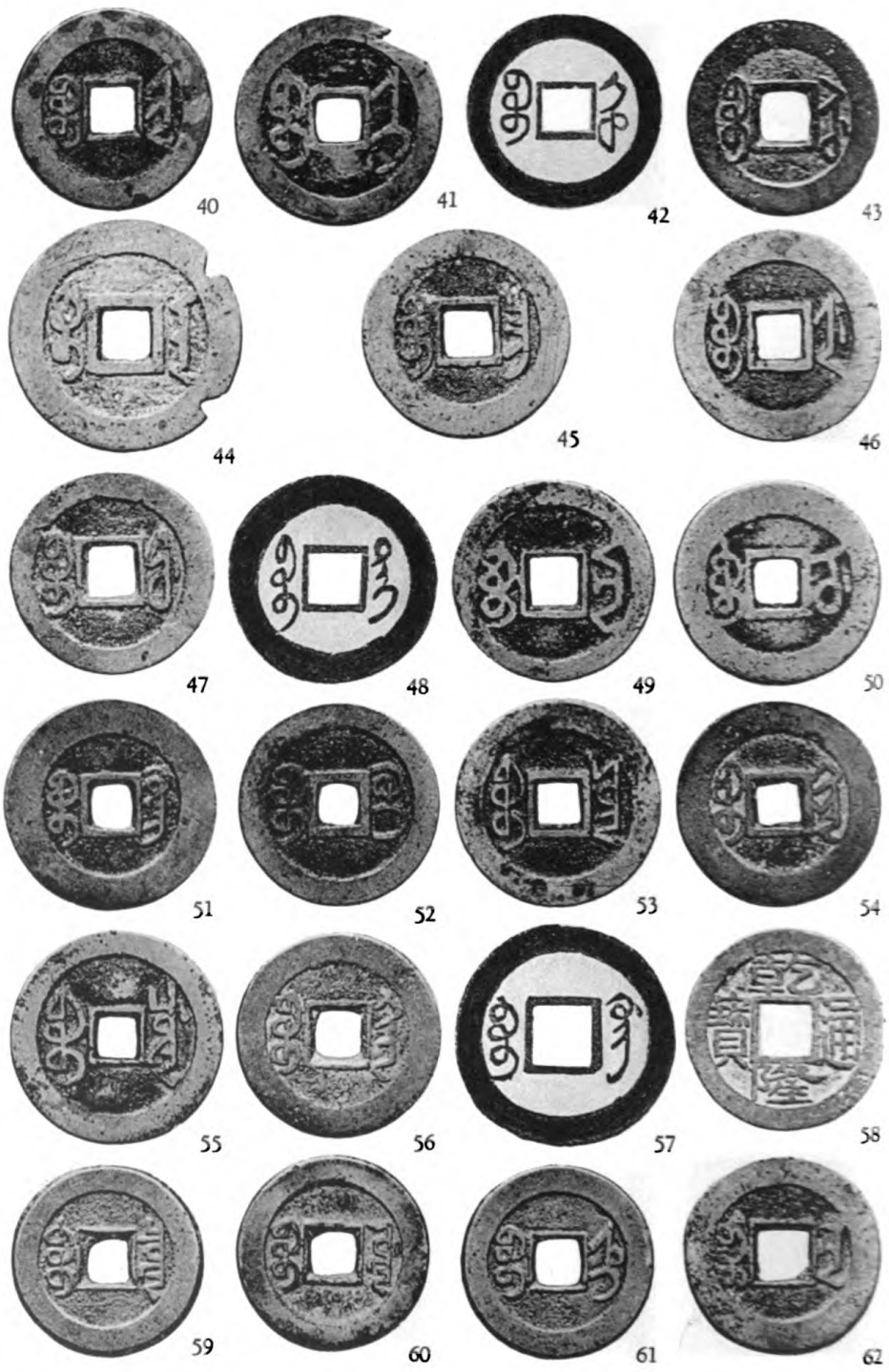
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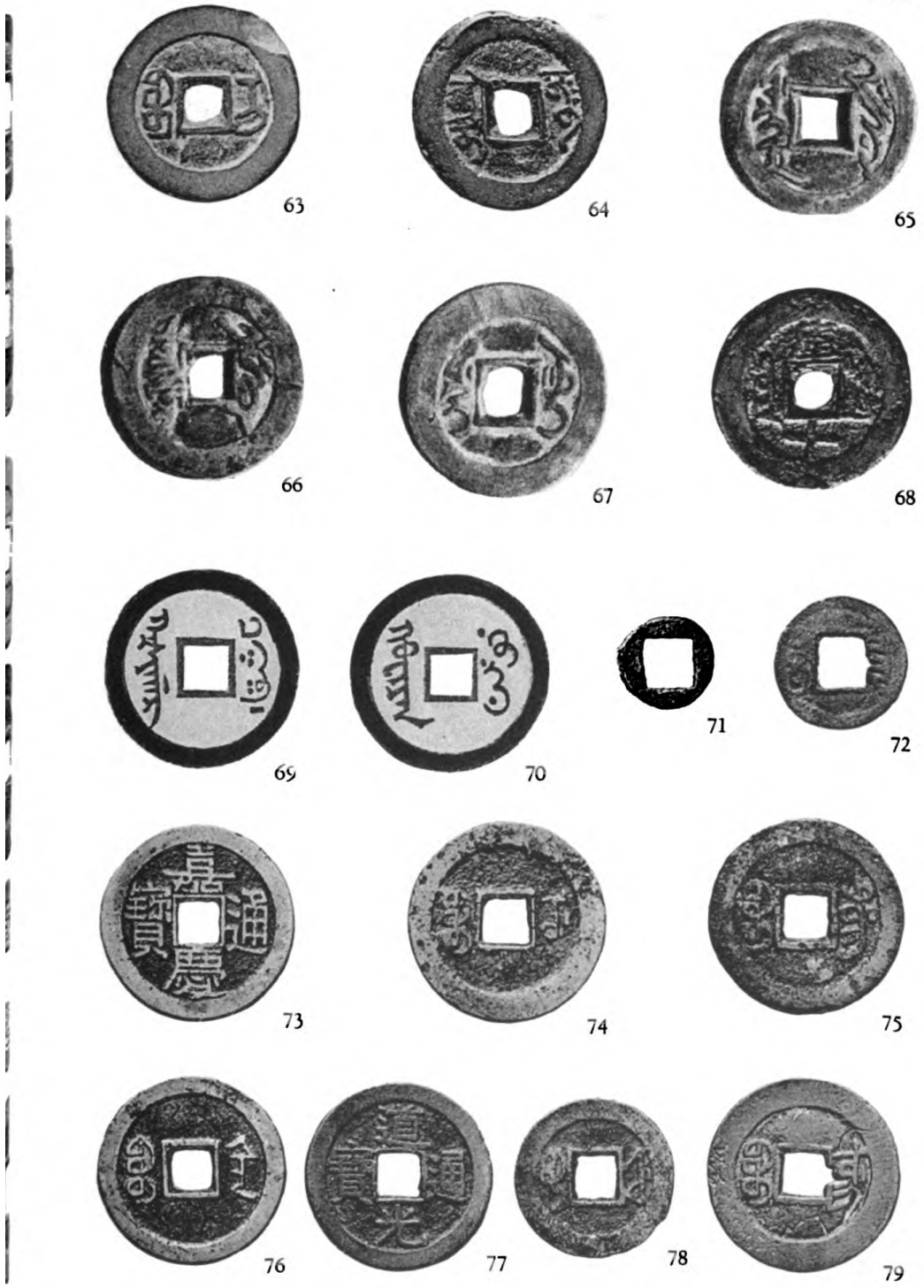
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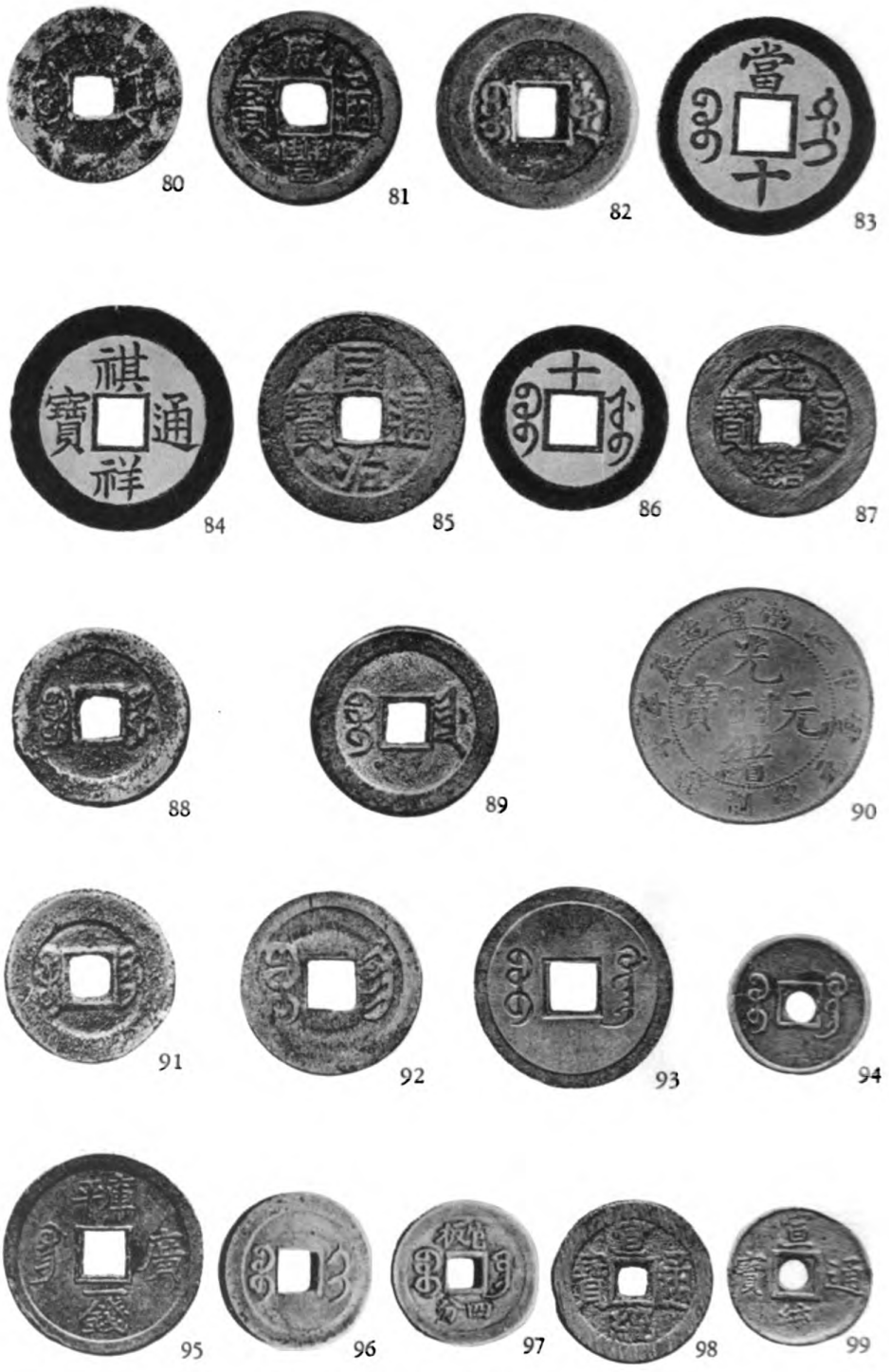
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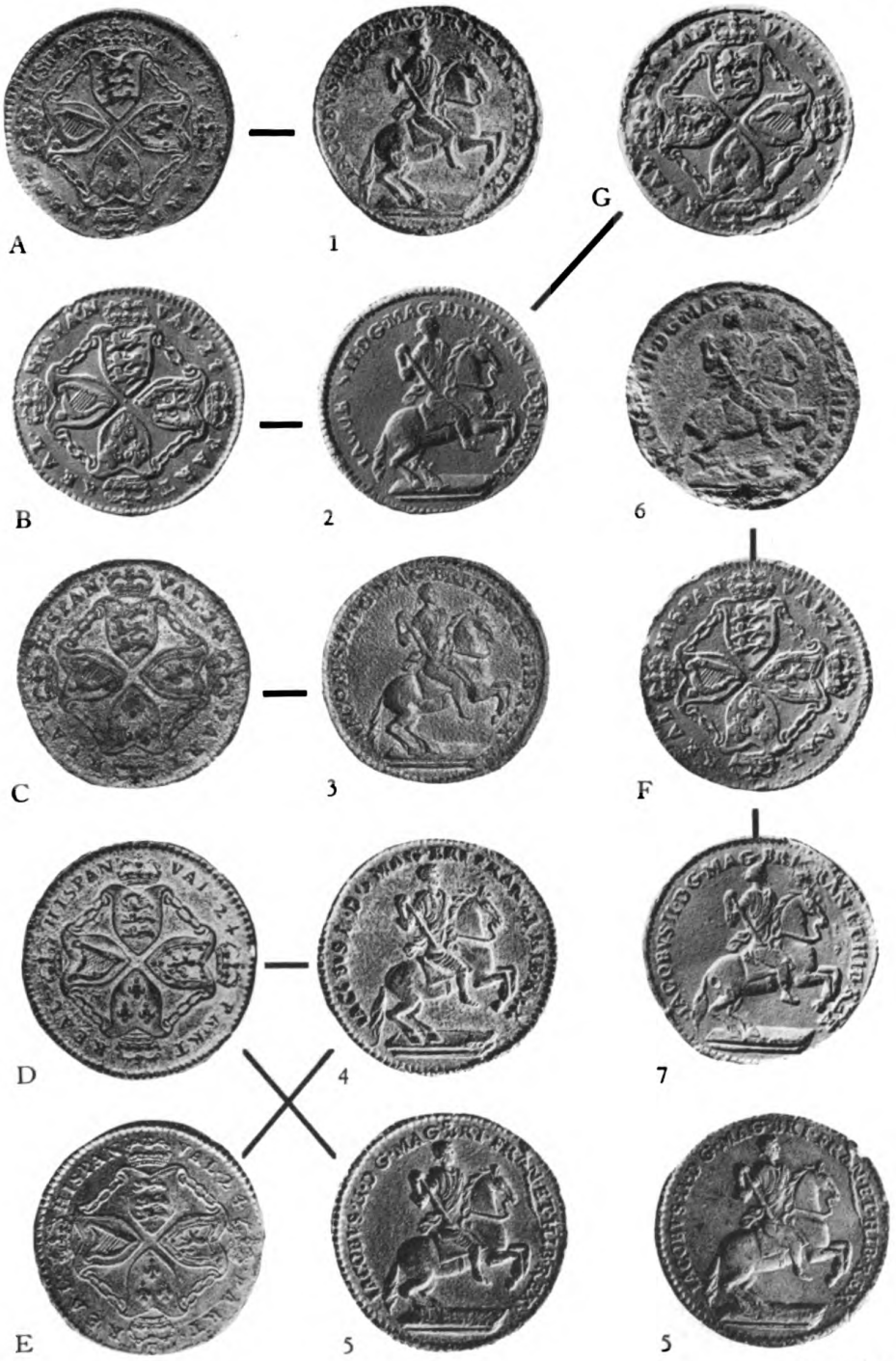
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Restrike

JAMES II — 1/24TH REAL

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1 Silver Coin



2 Aluminum Coin







3 Silver Coin



4 Aluminum Coin





ALUMINUM FOIL IMPRESSIONS

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1 Aluminum Cast



2 Plaster Cast







3 Aluminum Cast



4 Plaster Cast





ALUMINUM FOIL IMPRESSIONS

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LIX



1
Silver Coin



2
Aluminum Foil



3
Aluminum Cast



4
Plaster Cast

ALUMINUM FOIL IMPRESSIONS

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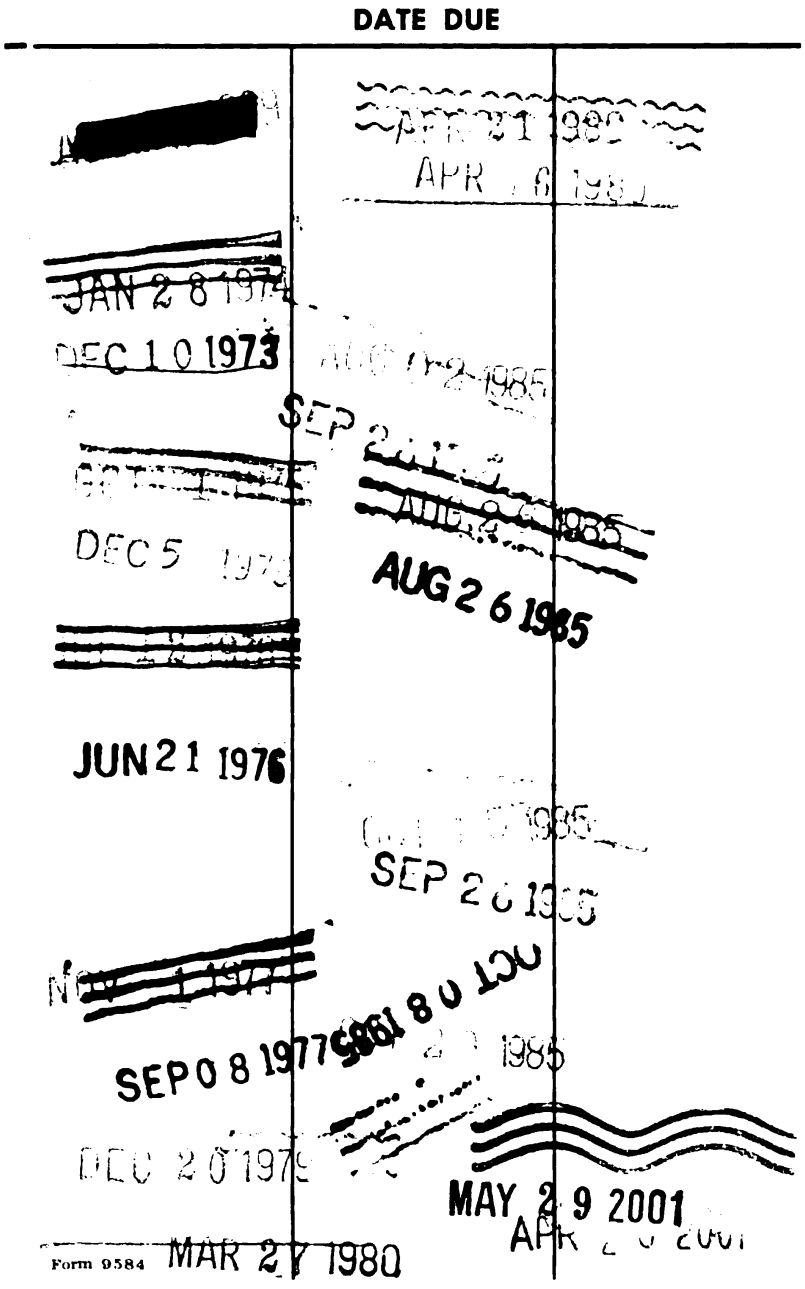


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